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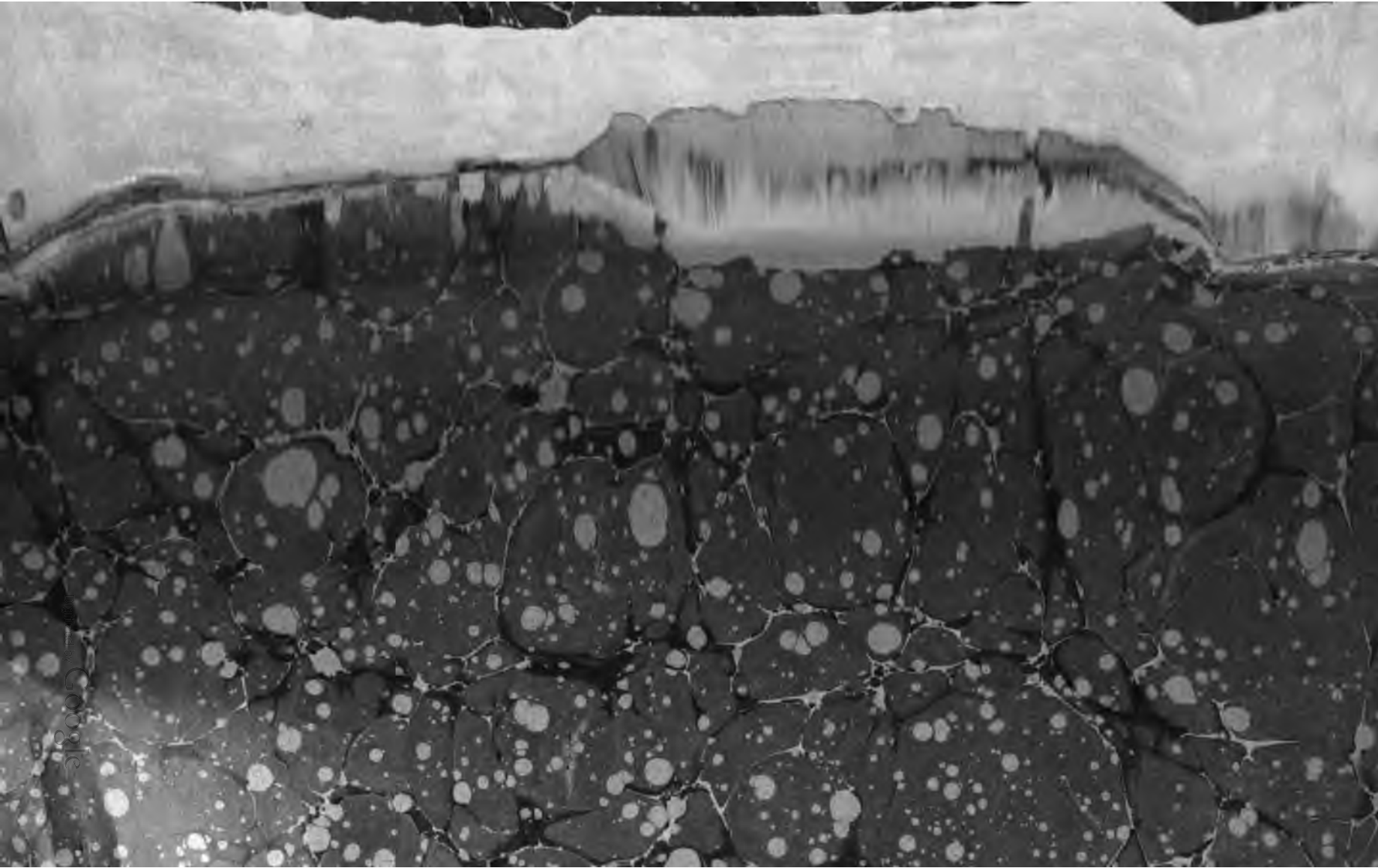

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THE

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A MONTHLY REVIEW

EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES

No. 209, JULY, 1894.

I. Carnot. By ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

II. The Failure of the Labour Commission. By MRS. SIDNEY WEBB.

III. The Partition of Africa. (*With a Political Map.*) By A. SILVA WHITE.

IV. Delusions about Tropical Cultivation. By SIR WILLIAM DES VŒUX, G.C.M.G.

V. Religion in Primary Schools. By J. G. FITCH.

VI. A Night in India. By MRS. LOGAN.

VII. The 'Virgin of the Rocks.' By SIR FREDERIC W. BURTON (*late Director of the National Gallery*).

VIII. Competitive Examinations in China. By T. L. BULLOCK.

IX. Proposed Overthrow of the Church in Wales. By LEWIS T. DIBDIN (*Chancellor of the Dioceses of Durham, Exeter, and Rochester*).

X. The Art of Dying. By MISS I. A. TAYLOR.

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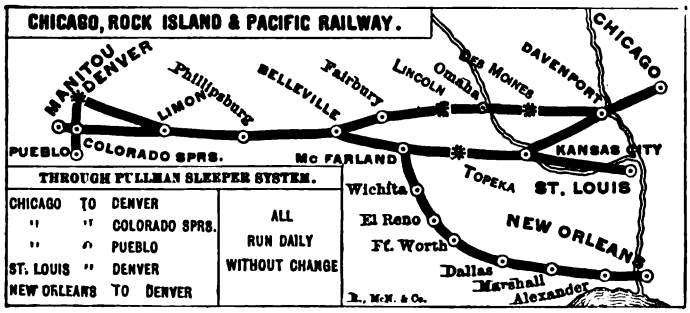

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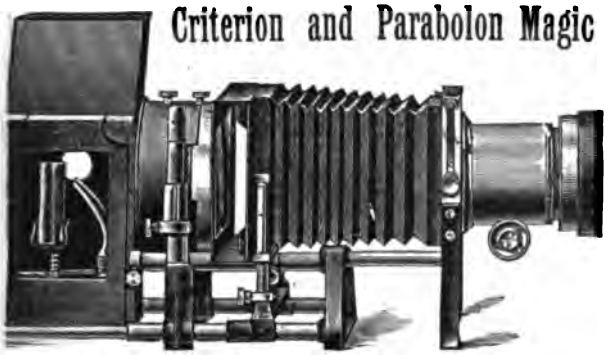

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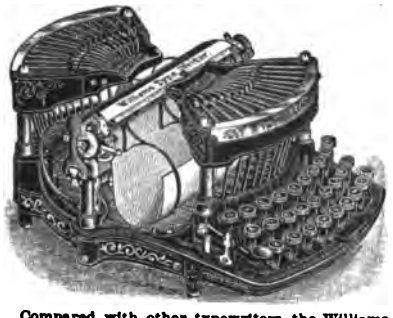

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

No. CCIX—July 1894

Carnot

Death, winged with fire of hate from deathless hell
  Wherein the souls of anarchs hiss and die,
  With stroke as dire has cloven a heart as high
As twice beyond the wide sea's westward swell
The living lust of death had power to quell
  Through ministry of murderous hands whereby
  Dark fate bade Lincoln's head and Garfield's lie
Low even as his who bids his France farewell.

France, now no heart that would not weep with thee
  Loved ever faith or freedom. From thy hand
  The staff of state is broken : hope, unmanned
With anguish, doubts if freedom's self be free.
  The snake-souled anarch's fang strikes all the land
Cold, and all hearts unsundered by the sea.

A. C. SWINBURNE.

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THE FAILURE OF THE LABOUR COMMISSION

THE publication of a Blue Book is not usually a matter of thrilling interest to any large circle; but the Royal Commission on Labour has rescued its Report from obscurity by securing for it the eminence of a national disappointment. Appointed, three years ago, to investigate

> the questions affecting the relations between employers and employed, the combinations of employers and employed, and the conditions of labour, which have been raised during the recent trade disputes in the United Kingdom, and to report whether legislation can with advantage be directed to the remedy of any evils that may be disclosed, and, if so, in what manner,

the Commission enjoyed from the first the distinction of being the best-advertised public inquiry on record.

> The course and result of this inquiry (said the *Times* of the 18th of June, 1891) will be watched with intense curiosity. The appointment of such a Commission, unparalleled for size and the representative character of its members, has undoubtedly aroused great expectations.

For a time it seemed as if the Commission were going to live up to these expectations. The publicity of its early proceedings, the publication at intervals of no fewer than sixty-seven separate Blue Books, the expenditure of nearly fifty thousand pounds, and—shall I add?—the persistent rumours of lively differences of opinion among its members, all promised masses of solid instruction, pleasantly relieved by touches of political comedy. Never had any Royal Commission spent so much money on investigation, cast so wide a net, or produced so great a bulk of printed matter. Yet, now that the outcome of it all is before the public, the verdict appears to be one of uneasy dissatisfaction. As this seems hardly reasonable on the face of it, I propose to examine, by an analysis of the whole work of the Commission, whether and to what extent the popular verdict is justified, and to what causes any failure is to be ascribed.

In point of quantity, the production of the Commission leaves nothing to be desired. I know of no literary device by which I can convey to the reader any adequate conception of the bewildering number and variety of the subjects dealt with. A mere

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enumeration of the separate points would fill the whole article. Not content with investigating the earnings, hours, and other conditions of the wage-contract throughout the industrial world—itself no small task—the Commissioners and their witnesses travelled from the nationalisation of the means of production to baby-farming and crêches; from the treatment of the unemployed to the licensing of cabmen; from the economic heresies of the London County Council to the lack of life-belts on canal boats; from the whole policy of trade unionism to the testing of weighing-machines; from the proper treatment of the young to State pensions for the aged; from unhealthy and dangerous trades to an amendment of the Coinage Act. Like Mr. Brooke in his youth, they went into everything, but, also like Mr. Brooke, 'only up to a certain point, you know.' They have even reprinted a current Parliamentary paper (a Report presented by the Chief Registrar of Friendly Societies) and a large selection from the published minutes of the London County Council, not to mention summaries of cheap books to be had at every bookstall. Whatever treasures a Blue Book may contain are, one would think, already sufficiently buried by useless new matter, without heaping over them material already accessible elsewhere.

However, if the Treasury and the Audit Office have nothing to say on the subject of the bill for superfluous printing, the ordinary citizen, who has only to pay it, will not complain. He will notice nothing except the Report, which is, let it be admitted at once, unexceptionable in tone and temper. In a hundred foolscap pages —the length of an ordinary three-volume novel—the Duke of Devonshire and his colleagues present, in the flowing periods of well-bred journalism, the popular arguments for and against the various legislative proposals and industrial institutions under review. From the merits of piecework to the drawbacks of overtime, from sanitation of factories to irregularity of employment, from Eight-hour Bills to employers' liability, from seamen to miners, and from women-workers to agricultural labourers, the Report gives an imperturbably even-handed presentation of the views of the opposing witnesses. On many capital points it carries its impartiality so far as to array the contradictory arguments in numbered paragraphs. We have, for instance, the five reasons for an Eight-hour Bill confronted with the five against that proposal, the three pleas for piecework with the five drawbacks alleged against it, the five arguments for overtime with the four in favour of a rigid adhesion to the normal day, the five advantages of trade-union organisation with the six evils of which it is accused, the three grounds for a fixed apprenticeship with the four reasons for employers' freedom, and the five benefits of extending the sphere of public employment with the same number of inconveniences arising from it. On these six points alone the Report distinguishes, in the aggregate, no fewer than fifty-five separate arguments,

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many of them with subsidiary considerations, and scrupulously refrains throughout from demolishing, criticising, or adopting any one of them. It is really capital reading, and candidates in search of speech material will find it a useful supplement to the wonderful manual in which Mr. Sydney Buxton has boiled down three thousand opposing views on every conceivable political issue. The Majority Report is, in fact, a symposium on the Labour Question, with the Duke of Devonshire as the courteous and impartial editor. If the object of a Royal Commission is merely to present a popular summary of views, opinions, and arguments, the Royal Commission on Labour has achieved a success in this line almost equal to the memorable first number of this Review.

But was it for a 'Review of Reviews' of the Labour Question that we put down our fifty thousand pounds hard cash? Have we got value for our money in this *omnium gatherum* of irresponsible and second-hand opinions, in which the serious student turns over page after page without finding a single statement of fact? One of the specific directions in the reference to the Commission was to inquire into combinations of employers and employed. The first point, one might have supposed, upon which the Report would contain definite information is the extent to which these combinations exist. Will it be believed that from beginning to end there are absolutely no particulars as to the prevalence or membership of combinations of employers; whilst with regard to trade unions the Commissioners helplessly repeat the widely conflicting statements of two witnesses, one putting the total membership at 871,000, and the other at a million and a half? It was surely not beyond the competence of twenty-seven Commissioners, spending three years' time and 50,000*l.* of public money, to have discovered whether the trade-union world includes 10 per cent. or 20 per cent. of English workmen. On this elementary fact of the Labour Question we know exactly as much after the Commission as we did before. And though the Commissioners may perhaps be excused for not giving an exact census of unionists and non-unionists in each industry, we might, at any rate, have looked for those statistical facts which are indispensable to any rational judgment upon the results of trade unionism as a whole. We are given the abstract arguments for and against apprenticeship, piecework, joint-boards, sliding scales, and so forth—as if these questions could ever be decided on abstract considerations, apart from the particular circumstances of each trade! Of the facts from which any useful inference might be drawn we are given none at all. The Commissioners do not tell us whether a majority of trade unionists insist, like the cotton-spinners, on unlimited boy labour, or maintain, like the boiler-makers, a rigid limitation of apprentices. It remains uncertain whether the piecework list of the shoemakers or the time-wage of the stonemasons is the more typical outcome of the effective organisation of labour.

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We are left ignorant as to the extent to which the wage-board of the ironworkers has spread to other trades, or how far the example of the cotton operatives in leaving the application of the collective bargain in particular establishments to the joint arbitrament of the salaried officials of the employers and employed has been followed in other industries. The whole Report shows a hankering after profit-sharing and a belief in sliding scales. But absolutely no facts are given as to the firms which have adopted profit-sharing, still less of those which have tried and abandoned it; whilst on the simpler question of sliding scales we are left in the dark as to the history of their rise and progressive abandonment, or the number of operatives who work under them, as compared with the number who strenuously resist their introduction. The Commissioners were specially charged to inquire into the recent strikes, but they have made no attempt either to correct or extend the strike statistics compiled by Mr. Burnett—to which, by the way, they do not refer. And whilst the Report exhibits throughout an almost feminine horror of statistical analysis, it stands no higher on its historical or descriptive side. Whether with regard to the extent, character, and conduct of employers' associations and workmen's trade unions, or to their effect upon the methods of remuneration; whether with regard to the hours, wages, sanitation, or other conditions of labour, or to the causes and relative extent of the strikes which called the Commission into being, the Majority Report supplies no new facts, and even fails to summarise those which were on record in places within its reach, though inaccessible to the politician or the public.

However, the inadequacy of the Report as a diagnosis of the industrial situation is no proof of its worthlessness. We in England are well accustomed to see excellent practical proposals issuing from imperfect analyses and confused arguments. The practical man will not dally long with the so-called 'review of the facts, opinions, and arguments,' but will turn at once to the positive proposals of the Commissioners. His heart will rejoice to find no fewer than seventeen pages headed 'Recommendations.' Here at last he will expect to find solid ground beneath his feet. But as he reads paragraph after paragraph, each cooled down by the same ominous phraseology of depreciation, he begins to wonder whether the Commissioners will ever find any reform which has their sympathy. 'Upon the whole we do not find ourselves able to recommend' is the effect of nearly every paragraph of these so-called 'Recommendations.' Here and there, however, a crumb of positive proposal does reward those who have patience to wade through eighty, mainly negative, paragraphs.

These recommendations have been so thoroughly analysed by the newspapers that it would be useless to set them out in detail. Suffice it to say that, if we include the Bills which the Home Office and the Board of Trade have now actually before the House of Commons, the Commissioners, in effect, decide that, by some miraculous coinci-

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dence, we have, in June 1894, reached the exact point at which we should stop in legislative regulation. They recommend no step backward, and, practically, no step forward.[1] They cannot bring themselves to make a single suggestion for the improvement of our Factory Code which has not already been decided upon by the Home Office. Similarly, in their curiously futile suggestion of English *Conseils de Prudhommes*, the Commissioners propose that these bodies should be endowed with precisely the same powers, no more and no less, as are already enjoyed by County Court judges as arbitrators in industrial disputes—powers which, it is needless to say, have proved absolutely abortive.

This general satisfaction with exactly what exists at the date of signature, coupled with total inability to adopt any step ever so little in advance, irresistibly reminds me of the occasion on which a number of conservative-minded ladies (among whom I was numbered) published in this very Review a protest against the alarming progress of women's suffrage. The authors of the protest screwed up courage to approve of precisely the amount of women's rights that then actually existed, including the sitting of women on County Councils. But whilst the proof was being circulated for signatures a legal decision excluded women from the latter sphere; whereupon we promptly withdrew our previous approval of the innovation! A fellow-feeling makes me wonder whether, if Mr. Asquith had been driven to further emasculate his own Factory Bill, and if Mr. Mundella had dropped his Arbitration Bill, the Duke of Devonshire and his colleagues would not have repeated our pretty manœuvre to be abreast, yet no whit in front, of the times, and cut out even their tiny residuum of positive recommendations.

It would, however, be ungracious not to observe that, insignificant as are the Majority Recommendations, they are all in what our friends the Collectivists would call the right direction. Nothing is more remarkable than the complete collapse, in this respect, of the strong and able majority of convinced Individualists which has throughout dominated the Commission. During their three years inquiry they have had repeatedly brought to their notice, from both points of view, the rapid growth of municipal administration of public services, the adoption by the Government and local authorities of the principle of a 'living wage,' the introduction of the eight-hour day in the great Government departments, and the sudden

[1] I have found but one material exception to this statement. As regards one industry, that of seamen, the Majority adopt (p. 109) three or four of the proposals laid before them by the Trade Unionist Minority (p. 137) for the extension of Board of Trade control. In view of this obvious borrowing from the Minority draft, it seems a little ungracious for the Majority to complain (p. 7) that, because the workmen prematurely submitted their suggestions in the form of a draft report, instead of as separate amendments, the Majority were unable to consider them.

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tightening up, under Mr. Asquith's administration, of the restrictions upon free competition embodied in our Factory Code. Upon all these points the Commissioners find nothing to say by way of criticism, warning, or objection. On the contrary, they accept, with apparent complacency, every step in collective administration and collective control which has, up to the date of their Report, actually taken place. They even 'see with satisfaction' all that the most collectivist of Home Secretaries has done or decided to do, just as they record with appreciation exactly the degree of interference with private property now exercised by the Board of Trade. As regards every step taken down to the present date the Individualists have, in fact, thrown up the sponge in despair.

On one point, indeed, the capitalists on the Commission, with the Duke of Devonshire at their head, did for a moment pluck up courage to resist the stream of tendencies. During the course of the inquiry the employers had marshalled up any amount of evidence as to the danger of allowing the trade unions to retain their present exceptional immunity from being sued in the law courts as corporate bodies. The Majority Report, in its earlier portion, contains at par. 104 (p. 41) the natural capitalist criticism on this anomaly, and points unmistakably to a recommendation for an alteration of the law. Accordingly we find in the supplementary recommendations of the Duke and his legal and capitalist colleagues with regard to trade unions, published in the *Times* of the 11th of June, the following momentous proposal:—

> Apart from the question of collective agreements, it may, we think, be desirable to enable trade associations to take legal action in certain cases to secure the rights of their members, and at the same time to make them responsible and legally liable for acts done by persons when acting as their agents. Reference has been made in paragraph 108 [now 104] of the Report to the injury which conduct not amounting to legal intimidation may inflict upon employers or non-unionist workmen, and it has been pointed out that such persons are not prohibited from bringing civil actions to recover damages on account of such wrongs. But at present no one can be sued except the individuals who commit such wrongs, against whom adequate damages cannot always be recovered, and there appears to be no reason why trade associations should not be liable to be sued for civil wrongs charged against their officials or other persons when acting as their agents.

Now it is obvious that any such proposal to place the accumulated funds of the great unions at the mercy of the law courts would amount, in effect, to a repeal of the charter of trade union freedom won in 1871–75, and would go far, to quote the workmen's Minority Report, 'to make trade unionism impossible for any but the most prosperous and experienced artisans.' It was therefore natural that so bold a blow at 'trade union coercion' should call forth a chorus of approval from the *Times*, the *Spectator*, and other respectable journals. Here, at last, thought the propertied classes, is a firm grasping of the

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nettle. Lo, and behold! when the blue book appears, we find this gallant attack on the trade union position absolutely omitted. It is true that the Duke and six of his colleagues tentatively suggest for discussion the propriety of granting the trade unions a new 'privilege' (which they are not likely to accept)—the option of entering, by majority vote, into legally enforceable collective agreements on behalf of all, even dissentient, members. But to maintain inviolate the freedom of the individual workman, to combat the coercion and intimidation of which we have heard so much, to check the picketing so bitterly complained of by the employers, to control the 'dangerous' new force which the trade unions exercise in the State, neither the Duke of Devonshire, nor any one of his colleagues, has ventured, from beginning to end of the recommendations, to make a single suggestion.

In marked contrast with this timid acquiescence in the *status quo* stands the Minority Report, signed by four working-men Commissioners. In twenty closely packed pages, they apply themselves to recommending a series of practical reforms, some comprehensive and far-reaching, others small and technical, covering every industrial grievance of which they have personal knowledge. Every one of these proposals is distinctly collectivist in character; and, what is more remarkable, they are put forward avowedly as parts of a systematic industrial and political policy which will be no less instructive than novel to the average member of the House of Commons. But although the Minority Commissioners have taken the trouble to give elaborate references to the evidence for each of the reforms they recommend, it is easy to see that these do not originate in the work of the Commission, but come straight from the programmes of the trade unions themselves, or from that adopted last September by the Trade Union Congress at Belfast. In short, they could just as well have been written without any Commission at all. Personally, I attach considerable importance to this remarkable declaration of policy by representative leaders of every shade of trade-union opinion. But I have grave doubts whether the ordinary citizen, not engaged in propagandist work, will think that this political ultimatum of Messrs. Abraham, Austin, Mawdsley, and Mann at all compensates for the lack of any authoritative diagnosis or definite advice by the large majority of the Commissioners.

But though the ordinary citizen judges the Commissioners by their Reports, the student will inquire rather what new facts they have collected, and how they have carried out their primary duty of investigation.

In one department, at any rate, the Commission has done competent work. When it came to deal with the position of the agricultural labourer, it delegated its investigations to a carefully selected staff of Assistant Commissioners, working under the direction of a

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skilled expert. Seventy-six typical Poor-Law Unions in England, Wales, and Ireland, and fourteen selected districts in Scotland, were chosen by the senior Assistant Commissioner, Mr. W. C. Little, and allotted among his twelve assistants in such a way as to secure the most accurate diagnosis in each case. The Assistant Commissioners received a perfectly definite, narrowly circumscribed reference, prepared with full knowledge of what were the exact points on which information was required. From the lucid 'Summary Report' which each was directed to prefix to his statement of facts we learn the exact course of the inquiry. We see him going from parish to parish, holding meetings of the labourers to elicit complaints; visiting the workers' cottages, and hobnobbing with shepherds, carters, and ploughmen in country lanes, rural markets, and auction marts; consulting trade-union and friendly society officials in informal chats; interviewing ministers of religion of all denominations, Poor Law guardians and relieving officers, masters of workhouses, and inspectors of nuisances; taking counsel in the little towns with solicitors, auctioneers, estate agents, and everyone able to assist his inquiries; and extracting from the accounts of farmers, bailiffs, and landowners, actual statistics with regard to wages, perquisites, the supply of labour, use of machinery, allotments, and the labour-bill per acre for large farms and small holdings respectively. The reports, as might have been expected, vary in quality. Moreover, some bias could not be avoided; we all have our own views, and cannot pretend to leave them at home on our investigation tours. To some of us the predominant complacency with existing conditions which characterises these reports makes their careful photograph of the agricultural labourer's life revoltingly impressive. But all classes alike—the agitators for an agrarian revolution and those who stand upon the old ways—have, for the first time, in these excellently ordered reports a definite, authoritative, and trustworthy account of the actual condition of the agricultural labourer from one end of the kingdom to the other.

It is much to be regretted that the inquiry into women's labour had from the first no such chance of success. Here, again, the Commission delegated its investigations to Assistant Commissioners, and was fortunate enough to secure four accomplished women for the task. But the lady Assistant Commissioners were handicapped by an impossible reference and unworkable conditions. The thirteen Assistant Commissioners for agriculture were charged to inquire into a single industry within specified and limited districts. The four lady Assistant Commissioners were directed to investigate the whole range of women's employment from one end of the kingdom to the other. But this was not all. Whereas the Agricultural Commissioners were given certain clearly defined and limited subjects on which each was to bring back specified information, the ladies were

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sent on roving commissions, not only to elicit all the grievances of women-workers, but also to report on the 'difference in the rate of wages of men and women'—as if the 'wages of men' was an already ascertained fact!—and on the 'effects of women's industrial employment on their health, morality, and home,' a subject opening up a cloudy vista of unsettled questions in economics, physiology, ethics, and what the Americans call stirpiculture. With such a reference the precise, elaborate, and uniform plan of campaign marked out by Mr. Little for the Agricultural Commissioners was plainly impossible. But the Commission fared better than it deserved. In spite of all disadvantages, the lady Commissioners have produced, next to the Agricultural Reports, the most valuable Blue Book of the series. To present a complete picture of woman's labour—let alone answer the conundrums put to them by the Commission—was manifestly impossible. What they did was to ignore the impracticable reference given to them, and to apply themselves, each in a particular sphere, to collecting information on the subjects which each thought most important. Miss Orme, for instance, gives us a business-like and entertaining description of the working life of the barmaid, founded on personal investigation into 287 cases and ninety-one different establishments. Miss Clara Collet compiles useful tables of wages and carefully selected statistics wherever she goes; makes, too, detective investigations into the prevalence of 'phossy jaw' among the lucifer-match workers, besides lucidly describing the economics of the Luton straw-plait industry. Miss May Abraham—an ideal factory inspector—makes sanitation, unhealthy processes, and dangerous machinery the main features of her reports, having expiated the thoroughness of her investigation into the woollen manufacture and white-lead works by suffering successively from the 'shoddy fever' and 'lead colic' which she describes. Miss Irwin's rather ambitious essays on the course of trade in Scotland are, perhaps, less pertinent to the subject. Throughout the whole inquiry, indeed, the Assistant Commissioners have been most successful where they have applied themselves to a definitely limited and easily compassed inquiry, in which they took time for a complete survey and adequate verification.

The only other branch of its investigation which the Commission delegated was that relating to the condition of labour in foreign countries, India, and the Colonies. Mr. Geoffrey Drage, the Commission's very energetic secretary, himself undertook to prepare these reports; and he has produced a veritable encyclopædia on the subject. In these volumes we find summarised for each country, not only the legislation and administration relating to every aspect of the Labour Question, but also the official reports, the literature, the economics, the statistics, and even the contemporary politics. Investigators who are accustomed to spend several months in mastering the organisation

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and problems of one industry in a single district of their own country will be appalled at the wide range of knowledge—economic, historical, juristic, statistical, industrial, and political—which enables Mr. Drage to give an authoritative summary of the social state of every country, from India to France, from Norway to Australia. I am, of course, unable to form any judgment upon the merits of this stupendous work considered as a whole. On a few points as to which I have some information I have discovered a few not unimportant inaccuracies.[2] But, after making all deductions, I readily admit that Mr. Drage has provided future investigators with a useful bibliography and index to the materials available in each country on particular topics.

The inquiries into the condition of the agricultural labourer and women's employment, together with the foreign and colonial excursions, were, however, only subordinate parts of the work. Rightly or wrongly, the Commission decided, except in these particular branches, to conduct its own investigations. This 'evidence,' embodied in 97,333 answers to the Commissioners' questions, forms the greater part of the material with which they present us, and that by which they will be judged. To what extent have the Commissioners performed their mission of inquiry, and given us material for a trustworthy diagnosis?

Let us take, as samples of the whole, the subjects to which the Commission devoted most time and attention. Foremost among these stands the eight-hour day, and the various proposals for its extension by means of legislation. If one may judge from the enormous number of questions asked by the Commissioners on this one subject, its paramount importance was fully present to their minds. Here, therefore, at any rate, we might have expected a thorough investigation into facts. What we all wanted to know was, what had been the economic results in the large number of cases in

[2] Thus, in the Colonial volume (p. 33), the New South Wales Arbitration Act of 1867, which is applicable only to commercial disputes between merchants, &c., is cited as if it related to arbitration between employers and employed. On the other hand, we are told that 'no other Colony has yet (1893) passed any Act on the subject,' whereas Victoria, in 1891, enacted a measure (No. 1226) 'to provide for the establishment of Councils of Conciliation' on the lines of English legislation. In the French volume, the lengthy table of profit-sharing firms (pp. 78–9) omits the four most celebrated examples (Leclaire, Boucicaut, Godin, and Laroche-Joubert). The case of MM. Mame et Fils (p. 79), given as a good example of profit-sharing, is, as Mr. Drage's own description shows, not profit-sharing at all, but merely a species of piecework bonus, wholly irrespective of the rate of profit realised. In the Colonial volume (pp. 177–8), the summary of United States legislation against the Chinese is incorrect in several particulars. The Act of 1884 did not, as stated, forbid the entrance of 'Chinamen of every class,' as certain classes (*e.g.* merchants) were not included in its operation. Nor is the wording of the 1882 Act rightly given (*see*, for instance, sec. 6, as printed at p. 209). And, most remarkable of all, there is no mention of the Act of 1892, which re-enacted the previous law, and made new and important provisions as to the registration of Chinese in the United States.

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which an eight-hour day had been tried. What effect did it actually have upon output and cost of production? Did wages rise or fall? Was there any increase in the number of persons employed? or was it accompanied by the introduction of additional labour-saving machinery? Having ascertained the economic results, we should then have required the facts as to the extent to which voluntary action had succeeded in effecting a permanent and genuine reduction of working time; in what industries and under what circumstances this had been successfully accomplished; and how far the shortening of the normal day had been neutralised by systematic overtime on a piecework basis. The student would have asked also, to what extent legislative regulation of the hours of labour had been set at naught in certain industries by such practices as 'cribbing time' and the resort to home-work; whether the legislative stereotyping of the labour day had not, in some cases, positively prevented a further reduction; and, finally, in what way it had affected the growth of trade unionism in the regulated industries. An accurate statement of ascertained facts on these points would have been of the utmost value. If, for instance, it could be shown that where the eight-hour day had been introduced there had been no increase in the number employed, and an accompanying tendency to the introduction of labour-saving machinery, much of the present clamour for a universal eight-hour Bill would cease to perplex the thoughtful politician. If, on the other hand, experience demonstrated that the change had not involved a reduction of output or increased cost of production, much of the theoretic hostility of some economists and most capitalists would be removed. Again, if voluntary effort in the past was found to have been efficacious only in well-paid industries during times of prosperity, and legislative regulation to have been directly productive of trade-union organisation, much of the still-existing objection of the elder school of trade unionists would disappear. In any event, the Commission, by ascertaining the exact facts, and placing them before the politicians and the public, would have left the issue clear for authoritative decision.

The first step in this direction would have been to call as witnesses a representative selection from those employers in each trade who had already actually tried the experiment. I have not myself investigated the question; but I do not think I should have any difficulty in enumerating a hundred private establishments in this country, comprising at least twenty different trades, in which the eight-hour day has been adopted within the last five years, to say nothing of the numerous American and colonial instances. Complete statistical tables, giving the exact particulars of output, numbers employed and wages, before and after the change, might at any rate have been compiled, even if the names of the firms had to be omitted. And if these hundred cases had been considered too

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narrow a basis for a useful induction, the Commission might have proceeded to obtain similar information and statistics with regard to such previous reductions of the hours of labour as the Factory Act of 1875 in the textile industries, and the nine-hour movement of the trade unions in the building and engineering trades in 1872. Will it be believed that, though altogether some 150 capitalists or their agents attended as witnesses before the Commission, up to within two months of the close of the evidence not one of the hundred or more private employers who have adopted the eight-hour day had been called as a witness; that from first to last no circular or other inquiry on this subject was sent to any one of them; that no statistics whatsoever were compiled from their books; that absolutely the only eight-hour employer whose evidence was taken was Mr. William Allan, M.P. for Sunderland, who was called in from the other side of Westminster Hall, just as the evidence was closing, to give, in half an hour's perfunctory examination, his personal impressions of the result; that no statistics or information of any kind were obtained as to the eight-hour experiments of the War Office factories, the staff of the London County Council, or the numerous gasworks of provincial municipalities. Absolutely the only witness representing any public authority was the traffic manager of the Huddersfield tramways, who declared that he knew nothing of the accounts. After this revelation it is comprehensible that the Commission should not have taken the trouble to inquire, even in the most casual manner, what had been the actual results of such sudden and general reductions in the hours of labour as the Factory Act of 1875 or the nine-hour movement of 1872. It does not even seem to have occurred to any member of the Commission to ascertain from the great builders of London what had been the effect of the coercive and simultaneous shortening of the average working week from 50 to $48\frac{21}{26}$ hours which the Building Trades' Federation forced upon them in the summer of 1892, at the very beginning of the Commission's work. And turning to the other questions which inevitably arise, the Commission obtained, practically, no facts bearing on the relative efficacy of legislative regulation or trade-union effort in making a genuine reduction in working time. One of the reckless historical generalisations in the Report tells us that 'well-organised workmen very rarely, if ever, have lost the gains acquired by them in the way of reduction of hours.' The working-men members did their best to save the Commission from this blunder; for Mr. Tait twice brought out in cross-examination the general backwardation that took place among the best-organised workmen on the Clyde in 1879–80, when the shipbuilding employers succeeded in permanently increasing the normal week from 51 to 54 hours. This clue was, however, not followed up. The printed monthly reports of the Amalgamated Society of Carpenters

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and Joiners show that in Manchester and at least a score of other towns the members of this great society suffered a long-continued increase of their normal working time between 1875 and 1885. The old-established union of coachmakers had their hours increased from 53 to 56½ per week as the result of the great strike of 1878. I have a shrewd suspicion that an investigation into the history of the bricklayers', boot and shoe operatives', and other highly organised trades would show many similar instances. Moreover, though abundant evidence was pressed upon the Commission as to the prevalence of systematic overtime, its bearing on the efficacy of reductions of hours won by voluntary effort does not seem to have occurred to the Commission; at any rate, no attempt was made to get at its precise effect upon the average number of hours actually worked in particular trades or districts. Not one of the many great employers who appeared before the Commission was asked for a statistical statement of the actual number of hours worked by trade unionists in his establishment during the preceding year. And it gives one a positive shock to find that when the Amalgamated Society of Engineers went to the trouble and expense of taking an elaborate census of the amount of overtime and the prevalence of insanitary conditions in 125 separate districts, the Commissioners took absolutely no steps to verify it by reference to the factory inspectors, local employers, and Chambers of Commerce. This *ex parte* indictment of the engineering trade is thus unconcernedly bequeathed as fact to the future student.

Inquiries along another line might have brought to light the imperfections of the rival method of legislation. Grave objections have been raised to any further regulation of factories, by Eight-hour Bills or otherwise, on the ground that legislation of this sort tends to drive work into the homes. On this important point we learn absolutely nothing from the Commission. Many industries, it is clear, could not possibly desert the factory for the home. Whether there are any which could so migrate, and, if so, which, is a question into which no investigation was made. Another evasion of legislative regulation, the employer's habit of 'cribbing time,' was, except for one trade, never inquired into. Owing to the pertinacity of Mr. James Mawdsley, the representative of the Lancashire cotton-spinners,[3] the prevalence of 'cribbing time' in cotton factories was brought out in evidence in support of his argument for more efficient inspection. Here, again, the Commission failed to follow up the clue. No investigation was made into the extent to which this practice had neutralised

[3] The practical value of the Commission's unsifted material may be gauged by the fact that its latest volume (C. 7421, I. p. 539) leaves it doubtful whether the Lancashire cotton-spinners are men or women. 'It was stated before the Commission that this association consisted exclusively of men, but from the Answers to the Schedules of Questions it appears that the Oldham branch includes 7,000 women.'

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the legislative shortening of hours, even in Lancashire; whilst with regard to its prevalence in the small workshops of other industries, to the utter defiance of the law, no evidence whatever was obtained. The result is that the draughtsman of the Majority Report not unnaturally inferred (see par. 269, p. 92) that 'cribbing time' was a peculiarity of the Lancashire cotton-mills. But Mr. Mawdsley would readily acknowledge that, owing to the dominance of the cotton trade unions, it is precisely in this industry that it has been reduced to a minimum. With regard to the crucial question of the eight-hour day, the outcome of three years' labour is, therefore, to leave us precisely where we were before.

And if, in discussing the causes of industrial discontent and strife, we pass from the hours to the remuneration of labour, we find the same desultory superficiality and the same absence of result. It may have been too much to expect that the Commission should have compiled systematic tables of the wages prevailing throughout the country, as Mr. Little has done for agriculture, and Miss Clara Collet and her colleagues have done for certain women's trades; or that it should have utilised its unrivalled opportunities for extending and correcting the existing wage-tables of the Board of Trade. But since it was deemed advisable to extract from the witnesses innumerable statements as to earnings, it was surely desirable that these unpremeditated replies, necessarily lacking in statistical precision, should have been checked by reference to employers' wage-books or otherwise, before being offered to the world as statistical material. So far as I am aware, the Commission took no means to check or verify the statistics laid before it. Every statement, by every witness, whether employer or employed, philanthropist or agitator, receives the same virtual 'consecration' by embodiment in a Blue Book, and will, fifty years hence, be quoted as of equal authenticity. Nor was the action of the Commission any more satisfactory as to the method of remuneration than as to its amount. From certain vague passages in the Report I gather that a majority of the Commissioners have satisfied themselves of the efficacy of profit-sharing in harmonising the interest of the workmen with that of the capitalist. But I find in the Blue Books nothing that could, by the utmost courtesy, be called an investigation into this particular form of the wage-contract. It is true that the representatives of the co-operative movement, and one or two private profit-sharing employers, were permitted to expatiate on the advantages of their respective panaceas. An *ex parte* memorandum on the subject by Mr. George Livesey, a member of the Commission, is appended to the Report. But no critical evidence was sought for. No inquiry was made as to the results of profit-sharing upon the total remuneration of the workers, or its effect upon trade-union organisation, in the large number of firms—probably a hundred—at present practising this method of remuneration. What is still

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more remarkable is, that no one would gather from the proceedings of the Commission that, in innumerable other instances, profit sharing had been tried and abandoned. Piecework, too, engaged a great deal of the attention of the Commissioners. But here, again, they never even mastered the elementary facts of the question. It still remains obscure whether piecework or a time wage is preferred by a majority of the trade unions; and we are left absolutely in the dark as to why it is that the cotton-spinners and the cotton-weavers, the coal-miners and the steel-smelters, the boot and shoe operatives and the carpet-weavers, the basket-workers and the lace-makers, vehemently insist on piecework, and would instantly strike against an attempt to substitute time wages; whilst the engineers and the cabinet-makers, the stonemasons and the shipwrights, the iron-founders and the carpenters, regard piecework as the bane of their industry, and struggle fitfully against it; whereas other trades, again, such as the compositors and the boiler-makers, appear to be equally content with either method of remuneration. These elementary facts, known to every trade unionist, are not alluded to in the Report, and are only imperfectly and incompletely brought out in the evidence, whilst no attempt is made to explain the paradox. One would have thought that it would have occurred to any intelligent investigator to give up eliciting general praises of piecework from employers, and general objections to it from operatives, in favour of an attempt to ascertain the exact conditions in each case under which a particular trade union regarded piecework as either advantageous or detrimental to the workers' interests. In fact, the hundreds of pages filled with questions and answers on the methods of remuneration, whilst affording no new light on the question, contain positively less accurate and complete information than a popular three-and-sixpenny manual available to the most casual student of the Labour Question.

I do not think I need adduce further instances of the futility of the investigating work of the Commission itself. Those who expect to find in these Blue Books any material for a summary of the cases in which arbitration has succeeded or has failed; or of the instances in which joint-committees of employers and employed have been formed or have been abandoned; those who search for the facts as to the extent and direction of the alleged increase in the area of national or municipal employment, and of its advantage or disadvantage compared with private enterprise, will be no better satisfied than the student of the eight-hour movement and of the amount and methods of remuneration. After reading the 'evidence,' indeed, we can easily exonerate the draughtsman of the Majority Report for the futility of its diagnosis. The Commissioners failed to elicit adequate data for coming to any conclusion whatsoever on the questions referred to them. They obtained no facts from which they could infer the extent to which combinations of employers or employed

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prevailed throughout the industrial classes, or whether these were increasing or decreasing in number and influence. No information was obtained as to whether the labour disputes of the last five years were exceptional in magnitude, duration, or character, or whether they represented only the normal condition of English industry for the past fifty years. Nor were the Commissioners, as we have seen, more successful on particular subjects. In no case did they obtain a sufficiently exact or exhaustive account of any particular evil to justify the statesman either in standing still or going forward.

This lack of positive result in the work of the Commission is all the more surprising when we remember that it included in its ranks some of the keenest and most highly trained intellects in the country. Possibly the failure may be partly accounted for by the spirit in which certain of the most competent of the Commissioners approached their task. At the very beginning of the Commission it was rumoured in London drawing-rooms that the sharpest intellects among its members had declared their intention, not of discovering new facts, but of 'showing up' the fallacious ideas in vogue among the workmen. This may explain the anomaly that when the secretaries came to index the whole of the evidence on the eight-hour day they found no need for any heading as to the actual results of eight-hour experiments, but made endless entries about the 'effects of (the eight-hour day) *presumed or expected.*'[4] The eight-hour movement, was, in fact, to be exploded by the logical demolition of the theoretic arguments of the witnesses on its behalf. The great bulk of these volumes of oral 'evidence' is accordingly made up, not of statements as to matters of fact, but of the answers to abstract conundrums put in cross-examination by a section of the Commissioners about every conceivable social or legislative reform. One by one the working men are brought up to give, as they believe, the facts of their own trades. Presently they find themselves entangled in a discussion on abstract economics, political philosophy, or even history, with such cultivated dialecticians as Mr. Gerald Balfour, Sir Frederick Pollock, and Professor Marshall. It would have been surprising if, in these academic debates, the workmen had not frequently got worsted, quite as often when they were right as when they were wrong. The greatest triumph was to lead them by skilful questions into some logical inconsistency. This game of cat and mouse may have been interesting enough to the Commissioners; it was certainly amusing to the casual visitor to watch the dialecticians 'purring' at each other with complacency when their little pounces came off. But it aroused the deepest resentment among the working-class witnesses, and had, as the Chairman might have known, the effect of destroying any chance the Commission ever had of getting to the bottom of the questions of fact within their knowledge. The workmen, feeling, as

[4] Index of the evidence taken before groups A, B, and C. (p. 94, C. 7063, IV.).

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several of them have since told me, that they were from the outset treated as hostile witnesses, were afraid of making admissions that could be used against them. The result was that they gave as little information as possible, and felt, as one of them expressed it to me, that they 'had enough to do to resist attacks.' It was easy to trace in them a dimly felt consciousness of the unfairness, as well as the futility, of insisting upon a dialectical duel on abstract questions between a practical man and trained debaters.

If we accept this underlying purpose of 'exploding fallacies,' we shall understand how it was that the Commission degenerated from an investigation of facts into an inquiry as to the state of public opinion. I do not mean to suggest that an accurate reproduction of the opinions of the trade-union world would be without its value. But a Royal Commission publicly interrogating a scratch collection of isolated witnesses is not a fit instrument for such a task; and if this was the Duke's object, it was most effectually baulked by the methods of the dialecticians. The very worst way to elicit any frank and deliberate opinion from a working man is to ply the arts of cross-examination in such a way as to make him uncomfortable. If Mr. Gerald Balfour, for instance, had really desired to understand the mind of the wage-earning class, he would have shown to the working-men witnesses that same appreciative delicacy of touch with which, by successive leading questions, he deftly led the employers from point to point of their often confused argument.[5] And directly the Commission was transformed from an instrument of inquiry into an attempt to expose the 'fallacies' of the working class, the fundamental unfairness of its composition flashed out. The employers and workmen were each represented by 'practical men' of their own class, holding 'watching briefs' for their own particular trades. But, whereas the workmen had no legal or economic expert to conduct their case, and no trained dialectician in their service, the four chairmen of the Commission and its committees, who conducted the examination-in-chief, were either great landlords or capitalists; and all the professional brainworkers, who took upon themselves most of the cross-examination, were well known to be irretrievably committed to the maintenance of the existing order. I have said that the Commission degenerated into an inquiry as to the public opinion of the workmen. But it would be more correct to say that it was a State trial of the leaders of trade-union opinion, in which the defendants had no notice that they were to be tried, in which they were given no copy of the indictment, and in which they were neither aided by solicitors nor represented by counsel.

It was an incidental consequence of this perversion of the Com-

[5] See, for instance, the difference between Mr. Balfour's cross-examination of Mr. William Thomas, a colliery owner (11910 to 11937), and of Mr. William Small, a trade-union secretary (10268 to 10107).

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mission and of the enormous range thus given to the inquiry that, although the Commission included many practical experts in particular industries, it never, considered as a whole, got beyond the most elementary knowledge of the general problems of the Labour Question. It does not seem to have occurred to those who directed the Commission's work that, before a useful investigation can be made into any particular point, the examiners must start by themselves acquiring some acquaintance with its technical terms and a knowledge of its elementary facts. The cross-examination of the witnesses makes it clear that the majority of the Commissioners never dreamt of preparing themselves for their task by reading the ordinary text-books. About the methods of remuneration, for instance, a large number of questions were asked of nearly all witnesses. Judging from the naïve innocency of these questions, I should very much doubt if the Commissioners had even glanced at Mr. David Schloss's *Methods of Industrial Remuneration*, in which they would have found the careful classification and accurate terminology indispensable as a basis for their inquiry. The result was, that although many practical men acquainted with the details of each trade appeared before them, it frequently happened that the Commissioners had hardly muddled their way, by innumerable questions, to the A B C of the subject before the witness left the box.

It would have been something if the Commission had thoroughly sifted those elementary facts which the witnesses forced upon it. But from the outset no idea of verifying these casual statements appears, so far as I can learn, ever to have occurred to the Chairman. The Commission began by hearing the workmen in each industry. After that the employers were called to have their say. But I can discover no sign that either party was supplied with a copy of the statements made by the other, or that documentary evidence of any kind—wage-sheets, time-tables, minute-books, or reports—was ever asked for. Here and there we have what the index calls 'refutations'; that is to say, an employer happening to notice by the brief reports given in the newspapers that a witness has said something reflecting on his establishment, comes up to deny it. But there the matter rests, even in the few cases in which we have two statements about precisely the same subject-matter. In the case of the Shipping Federation *versus* the National Amalgamated Sailors' and Firemen's Union, for instance, nearly every statement of fact on either side was categorically denied on the other. No further investigation into this 'leading case' of combinations of employers and employed was made by the Commissioners, and no judgment or opinion of any kind is expressed by them, either as to the merits, or even the facts, of the case. I defy any unprejudiced student of this voluminous evidence to come to any clear view of what actually occurred in the long and vicious conflict between Mr. Laws and Mr. Havelock Wilson. The

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Commission has simply made the tangle of newspaper recriminations worse than before, and has, as regards this typical case, bequeathed to posterity nothing better than a most undramatic and unpoetical puzzle of the nature of *The Ring and the Book.*

We are now face to face with what I conceive to have been the fundamental error in the Commission's procedure. However honestly the Commission had set about its task of investigating facts, however narrowly the Chairman had interpreted the reference, however diligently the members had got up their subject, it would still have been hopeless for so large a body to attempt to fathom the facts of a wide and complicated subject merely by itself interrogating witnesses in open court.[6] Such a procedure was possible in Lord Herschell's Commission on the accusations against the Metropolitan Board of Works, in which the reference was narrowly limited to one specific point, and the inquiry entrusted to an expert lawyer, aided by counsel for each side. Such a procedure could safely be adopted, too, by the Royal Commission on the London Water Supply, when seven technical experts sat to consider the evidence of highly trained technical witnesses, each of whom marshalled his own case. The five Royal Commissioners on the Unification of London could likewise adopt this course, secure that every point on either side would be brought out by the professional advisers of the two great Corporations concerned. In all these cases the evidence on both sides was prepared, marshalled, and dissected by professional experts. But the Labour Commission found itself confronted with an inquiry in which the parties concerned were innumerable and unknown, scattered all over the country, and not united in any common organisation. To this must be added the consideration that, in all but one or two instances, they could neither be expected nor trusted to prepare their own case, nor to supply the necessary technical criticism of the case of their adversaries. With regard to the agricultural labourers and the women-workers this was so obvious that the Commission relinquished the inquiry by interrogation in open court in favour of an investigation by Assistant Commissioners, with the result, as we have seen, that in these fields some valuable work has been done. But for all the rest of its material the Commission elected to rely on such facts as it could elicit from the witnesses who chose to appear before it, with the result that in no single instance, that I can find, has it done anything worthy of the name of investigation.

I do not mean to imply that the Commission should have absolutely refused to hear witnesses, or forgone the useful instrument of cross-examination. But if there had been any real desire to get at the facts about the eight-hour question, for example, it would

[6] This was foreseen and pointed out in a remarkably able article in the *Spectator* on the appointment of the Commission, entitled, 'Enquiry by Public Meeting' (18th April, 1891).

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have been better to have begun by setting a trained investigator to get up the case. Mr. David Schloss, Mr. Bernard Holland, or any of Mr. Charles Booth's trained secretaries, would have rapidly cleared the ground for the Commission. Any Assistant Commissioners of this type would have found out how many hundred establishments had already adopted the eight-hour day, and what evidence could be adduced for or against its extension. Equipped with his preliminary memorandum, the Commission would have known what witnesses to call and which points to elicit. With such a brief Mr. Gerald Balfour's searching questions, Professor Marshall's statistical inquiries, and Sir Frederick Pollock's juristic refinements would have been addressed to the right witnesses. If any point still remained obscure, or any facts unchecked, these would naturally have been again referred to the Assistant Commissioner for documentary or other *evidence* to be obtained, until all parties on the Commission were satisfied that they had got at all the facts available for the inquiry. Had such a plan been adopted also with regard to piecework and profit-sharing, arbitration, and factory legislation; had the oral evidence been preceded and verified by expert investigation, and the expert himself checked by the industrial witnesses; had precise statistics been collected in every case, and exact particulars been supplied about every discrepancy, the Labour Commission might have presented to us, at no greater cost than has actually been incurred, a body of carefully sifted materials on the problems of the day as useful, and possibly as convincing, as the celebrated Poor Law Report of 1834. As it is, their product will, but for the volumes on agriculture and women's work, rank in economic history along with such humiliating failures as the Select Committee on Manufactures, Commerce, and Shipping of 1833, or the Royal Commission of 1886 on the Depression of Trade.

But the majority of the Commissioners may have had other objects than to investigate facts and to propose practical reforms. I am unable to say whether the dialectical section considers that the expenditure has been justified by a successful crusade against the advance of Social Democracy. To me the facts look all the other way. No one except the German student will read the hundredweight of Blue Books in which their dialectical triumphs over the workmen witnesses are recorded. The Commission started with one Collectivist member; it leaves off with four. Mr. Tom Mann, far from being himself converted, has even succeeded in detaching from the Conservative Individualists so powerful a working-class leader as Mr. James Mawdsley, the general secretary of the United Textile Factory Workers' Association and the accredited representative of 150,000 cotton operatives. The Majority Report, which has enjoyed a wide though brief circulation, carefully avoids any destructive analysis of the workmen's case, and, as we have seen, makes in all

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its positive proposals for further restriction on free contract and additional regulation of private enterprise. On the other hand, the Minority Report—a plausible and practical manifesto of labour reforms, signed by such representative leaders of the Old Unionism and the New as Mr. James Mawdsley and Mr. Tom Mann—will quickly be circulating as a penny pamphlet up and down the country in every workmen's club and trade-union meeting. But, however valuable to the Collectivist cause may be so pronounced a declaration of trade-union policy, I do not think that even the Socialists would be willing to vote 50,000*l.* of public money merely to produce a telling propagandist tract. I see nothing for it but to endorse the public verdict. 'It is, in a word,' says the *Economist* of the 23rd of June, 1894, 'impossible to justify the Labour Commission by its results.' Not to put too fine a point on it, the Royal Commission on Labour has, from every point of view, been a lamentable fiasco.

BEATRICE WEBB.

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THE PARTITION OF AFRICA

THE question of Uganda has at last been definitively settled, so far as concerns the main issue—retention. Uganda is now an integral portion of the British possessions in Africa. Her Majesty's Government have, by their decision, simply confirmed what was apparently the will of the country in this matter. Whether the policy, which was announced simultaneously in both Houses of Parliament on the 1st of June, can be supported by the merits of the case, or whether it falls short of its requirements, is a question which is still under consideration by a very considerable section of both parties in Parliament; and it is not improbable that, on its reaching a further stage, a direct vote will be raised on this issue. Meantime, the vote for 50,000*l.* has received the sanction of the House of Commons, the dissentient members numbering only fifty-two.

Since, therefore, Her Majesty's Government are definitely committed to the retention of Uganda, it is a matter of the very gravest consequence to appreciate the precise conditions of the situation. After explaining the Government proposals, in so far as they affect the actual position in Uganda, it will be necessary, in order to fully define the responsibilities of Great Britain in East Africa, to enlarge the field of our investigation: for it is evident that the proclamation of a British protectorate in the heart of Africa necessarily involves the adoption of a policy of far-reaching consequences. This is not a party question; it is a national issue, for which both parties in Parliament are responsible, and in the treatment of which the continuity of our Imperial policy is involved. In its ultimate result it must necessitate, as I shall endeavour to show, the consolidation of British supremacy over the basin of the Upper Nile, and, in consequence, the eventual pacification of the Sudan.

The proposals of Her Majesty's Government may be briefly summarised as under:—

I. A British Protectorate is to be proclaimed over Uganda proper, the landward limits of which are roughly defined as being bounded by Usoga, Unyoro, Toru, and Koki.

II. The Coastal zone, or ten-mile strip of territory, which is held by the British East Africa Company under a concession from the

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Sultan of Zanzibar, is to revert to the sultanate under some arrangement that has not yet been completed.

III. In the intervening territories a British Sub-Commissioner will take up his residence at a suitable spot (probably Kikuyu). He will be under the orders of Her Majesty's Diplomatic Agent at Zanzibar; and his chief duties will consist in keeping up communications between the Coast and Uganda. The territories in question will not be placed under a British Protectorate, properly so called, but remain, at least in name, a British sphere of influence.

IV. The charter and concessions of the British East Africa Company are to form the subject of future discussion, as between the Government and the Company, and between the Company and the Sultan of Zanzibar, respectively; but they will be dealt with as a whole.

V. The projected railway between Mombasa and the Victoria Nyanza is not, in the meantime, to be undertaken by Her Majesty's Government.

The actual situation in British East Africa and Zanzibar may therefore be explained as follows:—

In the island of Zanzibar, off the German sphere of influence, there is a Sultan whose dominions are placed under a British Protectorate. These dominions embrace Zanzibar, Pemba, and some adjacent islets, and are to include the ten-mile coastal zone of British East Africa. A British Consul-General resides at Zanzibar, and in his hands the Sultan is a mere puppet. The natives are under Mohammedan law; the legal status of slavery is recognised; whilst foreign residents are not amenable to the jurisdiction of Her Majesty's representative, in consequence of early treaties between their respective Governments and former Sultans. In brief, Great Britain permits slavery, as an institution, to exist in a British Protectorate, although in the Territorial waters she maintains a squadron for its suppression; and foreign residents evade their fair share of taxation. The whole situation at Zanzibar, and consequently in the other parts of the sultanate, could, however, be placed upon a more permanent, prosperous and honourable basis simply by abolishing the legal status of slavery and by deposing the Sultan, whose chief function is to act as a cloak to British hypocrisy and cowardice.

Over the adjacent island of Pemba there is also a British Protectorate, under which the legal status of slavery is recognised. Pemba absorbs a large population of slaves, in spite of its heavy mortality.

Proceeding north, we arrive off the coasts of British East Africa, the chief port and emporium of which is Mombasa. To the conditions in the Coastal zone reference has already been made. The British East Africa Company, under their charter (the conditions of which, Lord Rosebery states, have not been implemented), have

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acquired rights of sovereignty over vast territories in the Interior, in the development of which they have expended a very considerable sum of money. They now stand to lose their charter and to be compensated for the transfer of their assets as a trading company. What their sovereign rights and the commensurate responsibilities really are cannot be accurately stated, because, although the treaties made with native chiefs were originally contracted in the name and on the responsibility of the Company alone, some have been adopted and others repudiated both by Her Majesty's Government and by the late Sir Gerald Portal. The latter made fresh treaties and set up a provisional Administration under the powers of his commission. In effect, however, those treaties which carry out the intentions of Her Majesty's Government have been sanctioned, either directly or under the terms of the charter, and those which go beyond the Government proposals have been disallowed. The consequence is that, since both parties repudiate their treaties at will, there is an entire absence of mutual trust and confidence.

It was estimated by the railway-survey party under Captain Macdonald that the route from the Coast to the Lake would be 657 miles in length. Throughout the whole of this distance the Company are said to maintain, at the present time, two stations only; but in effect the country has been abandoned. That this intervening country is now to be placed under a nebulous form of British protection may be vaguely assumed by the conditions under which a Sub-Commissioner is to be appointed to take charge of communications. But, as he will be under the orders of the British Diplomatic Agent at Zanzibar, it is difficult to see how he can serve the interests of Uganda itself, except at the expense of Zanzibar, in the event of any divergence of interests arising. Nor is it clear how he can exercise control over so vast a country, inhabited by scattered and marauding tribes, without the rapid means of communications such as a railway affords. Sir Gerald Portal himself stated that his position without such a railway would be hazardous.

Finally, a British Protectorate is to be proclaimed over Uganda proper. A special Commissioner, appointed by the Government, is to have a certain limited control over the administration, which in the main is to be left in native hands. The Commissioner is to have an adequate force and staff; but no mention has been made of a divorce between Church and State: on the contrary, there is to be entire freedom of religious propaganda—the determining cause of all the recent wars.

In the absence of any obstructive natural boundaries or sharp racial escarpments—if I may use such an expression—it will probably be found impossible [1] to define and maintain the geographical boun-

[1] Uganda and Usoga are one people, and speak one language. Unyoro, Toru, Koki, &c., all speak Kinyoro, and have Wahuma chiefs: they maintain close relations with Uganda. These are surrounded by mixed and Nilotic tribes.

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daries of what is now called Uganda proper. The inevitable result will be that in a very short time the British Protectorate will be obliged to immensely increase its boundaries, as Sir Gerald Portal himself foreshadowed in the recommendations he made to the Government. A British Protectorate, to have any cohesion and stability, should, in fact, include the whole source-region of the Nile within the British sphere.

No part of the Government proposals is calculated to cause greater astonishment and disappointment than the announcement that the projected railway scheme has been temporarily abandoned. If there be one subject on which the opinion of experts is unanimous, it is that Uganda cannot be profitably or even safely administered without a railway. It is not contended that, in the meantime, it is necessary to build a railway the whole way between the Coast and the Lake, but only, and, I think, rightly, from Mombasa to the Kikuyu plateau. That such a railway must prove an economy in the long run is a demonstrable fact. The initial cost would be 900,000*l.*

Sir Gerald Portal, whose opinions the Government appear to trust, though there are others who speak with equal authority, made the following remarks towards the close of his Report :—

> I may safely say that any idea of making use of the route by the three lakes to the mouth of the Zambezi in preference to the roads to the East coast may, for the present at all events, be abandoned so far as Uganda and the neighbouring countries are concerned (p. 37). The whole problem of the development of East and Central Africa, the prospect of the creation of a profitable British trade, the suppression of internecine religious wars, the security of European travellers, the control of the lake district and of the upper waters of the Nile, and above all, I may confidently add, the only hope of really and definitely killing the slave trade within a reasonable time—all resolve themselves into the all-important and overshadowing question of transport and communication (p. 37). Moreover, under the existing conditions, not only must any real progress be laborious and uncertain, but the retention of authority in Uganda, and any improvement in the condition of that country, will react mainly to the benefit, not of ourselves but of the German colony. Transport from the German coast to the south shore of the lake is cheaper, the road is more frequented, porters are more easily obtained, and food is more abundant than in the English sphere. [Perhaps this is why British Government stores were sent to Uganda through the German sphere?] . . . To effect any real improvement in prosperity or commerce, to efficiently check the slave trade, and for ourselves to reap the benefit of the material progress that may be made, there is but one course open. The system of transport by the 'English road,' already the shortest in actual distance, must be made the safest, cheapest, and quickest. It would then drain the commerce, not only of Uganda, Usoga and Unyoro, but of all the other countries round Lake Victoria. *The only means of effectively doing this is by making a railway.* I have no hesitation in saying that, until this step is taken, any organisation, system of administration, or plan for the improvement of these countries which may be devised must be of the nature of a makeshift (p. 38).

Further, Sir Gerald Portal shows how that, even by the railway as far as Kikuyu, the cost of transport could be reduced 'to such a

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price as would effectively secure all the commerce of these regions'; and he states that 'the execution of the whole of this scheme, including the railway, should not, even at first, cost H.M.'s Government more than 50,000*l.* a year'—which, curiously enough, is the exact amount of the Uganda vote.

It is unnecessary to quote at greater length or to bring forward other evidence to prove that the Government proposals, in the absence of any provision being made for the railway scheme, are singularly inept and inadequate.

The above, then, is a brief exposition of the actual situation with regard to the relations of Uganda and Zanzibar to the Home authorities. That the proposals of the Government are entirely inadequate to meet the circumstances of the case was, undoubtedly, the feeling expressed in both Houses of Parliament by those who supported the vote, and even by some of those who on principle opposed it. The Government programme is, in fact, a compromise, and, like most compromises, it satisfies no one. That it will be found necessary, in a very short space of time, not only to undertake the railway scheme, at least between Mombasa and Kikuyu, but also to considerably enlarge the boundaries of the British Protectorate, is my firm conviction. The hands of the Government have undoubtedly been forced in this matter by the friends and supporters of the British East Africa Company and a certain section of the Press. The solution of the Uganda problem was shirked by Lord Salisbury's Administration, and has been shelved by the present Government until action of some kind became absolutely necessary. Sir Gerald Portal's mission was sheer procrastination. The result, so far, we know. But there are other far-reaching consequences which, I venture to think, are scarcely appreciated by those clamorous Imperialists who heap unmeasured scorn on 'Little Englanders.' I am not a 'Little Englander,' so called: on the contrary, I can discover very good reasons in support of an ambitious and comprehensive policy in the Nile valley; but I wholly disapprove of half-measures. Most of our disasters in Africa have been due to the fact that we have entered blindly and half-heartedly upon schemes the successful performance of which required prompt and vigorous action. The occupation of Uganda threatens, I fear, to be a case in point.

The whole question turns on the British occupation of Lower Egypt. If there were no Eastern Question, no apparent necessity of maintaining the supremacy of British sea-power over the Mediterranean and Red Sea route to India, then the retention of Uganda would be a matter of comparative insignificance. The position of affairs, which grows out of the former positions I have sketched, may be outlined as follows:—

The loss of the Egyptian Sudan was primarily due to the fact that, in consequence of their geographical position and physical and

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political conditions, the Territories were too remote for the Central Executive to exercise adequate control over them. Anarchy followed on corruption, and still prevails in the 'Egyptian Sudan.'

The sanctuary of the Mahdiists, which at one time was a source of illicit profit, is now a constant menace to Egypt, involving a considerable outlay on military expenditure. But Egypt is under the tutelage of Great Britain. Therefore the menace is partly directed against the protectoral State.

Great Britain refuses to fix a term for the withdrawal of her Army of Occupation. Her sole concession is, that as soon as Egypt is able to 'stand alone'—or, in other words, so soon as Egypt can offer guarantees of her power and capacity to maintain her complete independence and political integrity—then, but not before, will Great Britain retire from her equivocal position. But experts who are not grossly prejudiced are fairly unanimous in deciding that such a time may never come, considering how rival European Powers are doing their utmost to hamper the benevolent intentions of Her Majesty's Government. Consequently, the British evacuation of Egypt is likely to be more forcible than the usual arguments of diplomacy.

Since, therefore, it is possible, and even probable, that Great Britain will continue to occupy her position in Egypt till the Greek Kalends, it behoves her to make all reasonable provision for the future.

Now, apart from forcible ejection, the contingencies inimical to the maintenance of British control over Egypt appear to me to be the following:—(*a*) The renewal of hostilities on the part of the Mahdiists; (*b*) the total collapse of the Mahdiist movement and organisation; (*c*) the withdrawal of Italy from Eritrea (Red Sea Colony); and (*d*) hostile enterprises on the part of France and, perhaps, Russia.

Effectively administered, Uganda should prove of the highest possible advantage as an advanced base from which to deal with machinations on the part of our enemies. But, on the other hand, unless Uganda be effectively administered, it would be a source of weakness to the protectoral Power.

I assume—the assumption is a fair one—that the British occupation of Egypt is intended to be permanent. The Army of Occupation is merely the outward and visible sign of our intention to maintain, by force if necessary, the integrity and neutrality of Egypt and, above all, to uphold the sanctity of British interests in that country.

Having provided for the safety of the northern entrance to the Red Sea, it is of equal importance to secure an exit in the south. It is true that we hold Perim, Zeila, and Aden; but the French have Obok, and the Italians have Massowa and Eritrea. The strategical position in the south depends largely on sea-power, and, to that extent, it is

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in favour of Great Britain. But what if these conditions, apart from sea-power, were altered?

Italy is friendly; but Italy has practically withdrawn her pretensions over Abyssinia—at least, they have been formally repudiated[2] by the Negus—and has entrenched herself within the modest wedge of territory demarcated by Massowa, Keren, and Asmara. She thus retains a foothold on the high plateau of Abyssinia. Her claims to a strip of the Red Sea littoral are valid enough; but it is not impossible they may be eventually abandoned, perhaps in favour of France. (There is room for a good deal of consideration to be shown to Italy by France.) One thing is certain: the Italians have shown themselves unwilling to make further sacrifices in the disheartening and costly task of founding colonies in Africa. Poverty, like charity, begins at home!

The most important native territory in that part of Africa is, undoubtedly, Abyssinia; but Abyssinia, though nominally independent, is at the mercy of any enterprising European Power. Perhaps we have not heard the last of the recent abortive intrigue carried out in Abyssinia by France and Russia, which, so far as I know, has up to the present been the only international expression of the *entente cordiale.*

Turning now to France, it is evident that she contemplates the construction, at least on paper, of a vast African Empire. In defiance of the *Hinterland* theory, she has surrounded British and other colonies on the West Coast, thereby throttling their trade with the interior. The Gambia is dead; other British colonies are all but moribund. Between Algeria and Senegambia, and between the latter and Lake Tsad, all is French, even the rocky plateaux of the Sahara. The French colony on the Congo is extending towards the Sudan, *behind* the German sphere (hence the term *Hinterland*, as interpreted at Paris!). Does this activity mean nothing? Moreover, is French diplomatic action in Morocco, in Egypt, in Abyssinia, in the Sudan itself, merely an expression of national inquisitiveness? Or do these facts, taken together, imply that France aims at the establishment of an Empire in Africa?

As regards the Sudan itself, which extends in a broad zone right across Africa, it is only with the eastern portion that we need concern ourselves in this place. The Central Sudan States can very well take care of themselves: they desire to be left alone, and are quite able to secure their *otium cum dignitate.* But across the Eastern Sudan we may now write 'Mahdiist Dominions,' though I, for one, do not believe that they can long remain thus banned. From the information brought together by Father Ohrwalder and Major Wingate and placed at our disposal, it is clear that reconquest, or at least pacifica-

[2] In the letters addressed by Menelik to King Humbert, dated September, 1890, and February, 1893. The date fixed by the Negus for the definite abrogation of the Italian-Abyssinian Treaty of 1889, in spite of Italy's protest, is the 24th May, 1894.

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tion, would be no very difficult or costly task for a European Power holding Egypt, Suakin and Uganda. Still, reconquest—if it came to that—is a sufficiently formidable programme: the subsequent responsibilities would be enormous, and much the same effect might be achieved in other and less costly ways. The Egyptian Sudan might, in short, be reconstituted as a Native State on the lines of Gordon's scheme, but under the suzerainty of Great Britain; for it seems hopeless to expect that Egyptian rule would again be tolerated by the wild Baggara Arabs and revolted tribes. To introduce law and order into the Sudan—above all, to stamp out the last sparks of the Mahdiist conflagration—is a measure essentially preliminary to the adoption of a commercial policy.

Once British rule is established over Uganda, it must be maintained. But those who know Uganda know that it will be a far more serious task for a European Power to administer the country than for a commercial company to exploit it. The relations of Uganda extend far beyond its political boundaries and are closely associated with the Slave Trade. The ramifications of this hateful traffic, which in those parts is another word for commercial enterprise, extend to the Sudan. It is evident, therefore, that the Power which holds Uganda will have its hands full. Apart from the internal elements of disturbance represented by three mutually hostile factions—one of which, the Mohammedan, may one day depend for its support on the subversive forces in the Sudan—there are the contingent dangers to British rule to which I have alluded.

It must be evident, therefore, to any but the most near-sighted of politicians, that Great Britain, by the occupation of Uganda, and by her recent treaties with the Congo Independent State and Italy, has embarked upon a most venturesome policy, which is likely to raise questions of serious international significance. That our position in Africa and our responsibilities as an Imperial Power may occasionally demand heroic measures, I am ready to admit. Had we abandoned Uganda, our position in Egypt, and all that that position implies, would have been undermined. So long as we struggle with France for mastery in the Mediterranean we must, in fact, be prepared to accept heavy responsibilities.

Now, what are these responsibilities, and in how far have they been tacitly accepted by the British Foreign Office?

A British Protectorate has been proclaimed over Uganda, and the Bahr-el-Ghazal has been leased to the Congo Independent State. That is the first step. The second step will be to consolidate British supremacy over the Upper Nile basin, and to secure it against invasion by the Mahdiists or other native enemies, and from encroachments on the part of European Powers having interests in East Africa and the Sudan. For the present we may put aside, as not being imminent, all question of native hostilities. Against Italy and

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Germany we are protected by treaties. But what is the position of France?

M. Deloncle has been good enough to supply me with a copy of the documents which have been distributed among his fellow Deputies; and these I have carefully studied. The position taken up by France is therein clearly defined and supported by documentary evidence. It may be described as follows:—

France holds a lien, or what are called pre-emptive rights, over the territories of the Congo Independent State. These rights were accorded to France in 1884,[3] and subsequently confirmed, by the King of the Belgians in his personal capacity as sovereign of the Congo Independent State. They were given up by the King at a moment of personal irritation, it is said, against Great Britain, and at a time when it was thought that Belgium, as a neutral European State, might not hold colonies. But, owing to circumstances it is not necessary to recapitulate, King Leopold, in his will dated the 2nd of August, 1889, ceded all his acquired rights over the Congo State to Belgium; and by a codicil dated the 21st of July, 1890, stipulated that the Congo State could not be alienated. In consequence of these testamentary dispositions, Belgium, on the 3rd of July, 1890, undertook to advance a sum of twenty-five million francs, payable in ten years, on condition that, six months after the expiry of this period, Belgium should have the option of annexing the Congo State. France protests and has protested against these arrangements on the grounds of the neutrality of Belgium, guaranteed by the European Powers, and of the French rights of pre-emption aforesaid. But it must be remembered that the Congo State at no time received a *quid pro quo* for the former cession of pre-emptive rights, except the assertion of French benevolence—a simple 'God bless you,' which was very natural; and that the relations between the King of the Belgians and the Congo State are purely personal, thus giving His Majesty entire freedom in his testamentary dispositions. There remains the question, whether the consent of all the Signatory Powers at the Berlin Conference of 1884–85, and not that of France alone, is necessary to give validity to any change in the constitution of the Congo State. Subsequent African Conferences have enlarged and extended the powers of the Congo State, which has quite grown out of its original constitution; and it is therefore extremely difficult to determine its inherent rights. In fact, this is a matter for international jurists to decide, and may necessitate another Congo Conference.

France, moreover, protests against the Anglo-Congo Agreement

[3] In a despatch addressed by M. Strauch, President of the International Association of the Congo at Brussels, on the 23rd of April, 1884, but withdrawn in favour of Belgium in a despatch addressed by M. Eetevelde, the Administrator-General, to the French Minister at Brussels, on the 22nd of April, 1887.

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of the 12th of May, 1894, on the grounds of (*a*) her pre-emptive rights of 1884, which, as residuary legatee, involve the power of veto; (*b*) the *General Act* of the Berlin Conference of 1884–85 (in particular, the clauses referring to the neutrality of the Congo State and its declared boundaries); (*c*) the treaty of 1831, which declared Belgium to be a perpetually neutral State; and (*d*) Turkish firmans[4] and Egyptian rights in the basin of the Upper Nile. But Great Britain, as the tutelary Power in Egypt, has expressly reserved Egyptian rights in the Sudan, and herself reserves her own sovereign rights whenever these may be implemented under the various treaties which, rightly or wrongly, constitute the Upper Nile basin a British sphere of influence. By leasing the Bahr-el-Ghazal to King Leopold Great Britain, it is clear, does not cede any sovereign rights; and therefore the question in dispute is not one, or should not be one, between Great Britain and France—at least, on the grounds above stated—nor even between the Congo State and France alone: it is a question in which *all* the Signatory Powers of the Berlin Conference (1884–85) may rightly claim to have a voice.

France, in contesting the validity of the Anglo-German Convention of 1890, exercises a veto to which she is not now entitled, as I shall endeavour to prove; and, as this constitutes her chief protest against Great Britain, it will be necessary to examine it carefully. It is true that France also protests against the establishment of British influence over the Territories in the Upper Nile basin on account of its infringing the acquired rights of Egypt—rights which, though 'reserved' by Egypt, have been practically and, in the case of Hat-el-Estiva (Emin's province), even formally abandoned—and of violating the firmans of the Sultan of Turkey by which those Territories were declared inalienable. But, in this case also, France has no greater right than the other Powers who are consulted in the administration of Egypt, or who guarantee the integrity of Turkey, to lodge a protest against the extra-territorial action of the tutelary Power, Great Britain; in fact, France deliberately resigned her predominant position in Egypt when she permitted Great Britain to alone fight Egypt's battles. The British campaigns in Egypt and the Sudan may or may not be held to entitle Great Britain to make the most of her equivocal position in Egypt and of her predominant position on the Upper Nile. No other Power can, at least, produce such title-deeds—valueless, in a purely legal sense, as these may be—and if strictly legal principles were applied to the political boundaries of Tropical Africa, very few would be found to stand the test.

Article XXXIV. of the *General Act* of the Berlin Conference (1884–85) provides that:—

[4] Dated the 13th of February, 1841, and the 14th of August, 1870; and the firman of investiture addressed to Abbas, the present Khedive.

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The Power which in future takes possession of a territory on the coasts of the African continent situated outside its actual possession, or which, having none there, has first acquired them, *and the Power which assumes a Protectorate*, shall accompany *either act* by a notification addressed to the other Powers signatory to the present Act, so as to enable them to protest against the same *if there exist any grounds for their doing so.*

I have italicised the essential passages having reference to the case in point. France protested against the Anglo-German Convention of 1890, on the ground of its violating (as it undoubtedly did) the stipulations of the Anglo-French Agreement of 1862, guaranteeing the independence of the Sultan of Zanzibar. This was the only clause in the Anglo-German Convention against which she was entitled to lodge a protest. The remaining clauses affected her as much as, but no more than, the other Signatory Powers of the Berlin Act; but against them she raised no protest: therefore she may be held as *ipso facto* having had no protest to lodge. The French protest against the Anglo-German Convention having been satisfied by the Anglo-French Agreement of the 5th of August, 1890, and withdrawn, surely it is not too much to say that, in accordance with the stipulations of the *General Act*, Article XXXIV., of the Berlin Conference, France became a consenting party to it? I am not aware that, since the signature of the Anglo-French Agreement of 1890, France has ventured to raise any protest with reference to the British occupation of Uganda. Certainly she made no protest at the time. Why should she now? There are French missionaries in Uganda, as there are English missionaries in French African possessions (although, it is true, English missionaries were turned out of Algeria), but France has no vested rights in Uganda, nor in the contiguous territories, that are in the least affected by this Anglo-German Convention. To be strictly impartial, the high-handed action of France in seizing Algeria and Tunis may be held to disqualify her protest against the infringement of Turkish and Egyptian rights in the Sudan.

It is clear, therefore, that, judged by precedents and the international instruments regulating the annexation of territories in Africa, the French case against the intrusion of Great Britain into the basin of the Upper Nile must fall to the ground unless France can establish prior rights of sovereignty or occupation.

It seems probable that, in order to avert such a contingency and to block the passage of France, the Anglo-Congo Agreement was negotiated by Lord Rosebery in May, 1894. Under no other conceivable circumstance, I think, could Lord Rosebery justify the apparent sacrifice of the rich Bahr-el-Ghazal province. The lease, which has since been cancelled, on the demand of Germany, of a narrow strip of unknown and unexplored territory connecting British East Africa with British Central Africa, by way of Lake Tanganyika, was of no great value, because, by the Anglo-German Convention of

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1890 (Article VIII.), 'it is specially understood that, in accordance with these provisions [exemption of dues within the Free Trade zone], the passage of goods of both Powers will be free from all hindrances and from all transit-dues between Lake Nyassa and the Congo State, between Lakes Nyassa and Tanganyika, on Lake Tanganyika, *and between that lake and the northern boundary of the two spheres.*' The small *enclave* of territory abutting on Lake Bangweolo is, therefore, all that Great Britain gets in exchange for the Bahr-el-Ghazal. And even that country Mr. Thomson and Mr. Sharpe had covered by prior British treaties, although these were relinquished by the Foreign Office on the demand of King Leopold.

The Anglo-Congo Agreement also relinquishes to King Leopold a zone of territory between the 30th meridian and the Congo-Nile watershed, as also an *enclave* of territory south of the Luapula, to which the Congo State is in nowise entitled. I have observed no mention of these concessions, or apology for them, either in the Press or in Parliament. In short, I know of no African treaty which gives so much in exchange for so little. Not only that, but this stillborn Agreement has had the mischievous effect of raising serious international jealousies, and of opening up questions which cannot at present be settled, even if ever they are likely to be settled without the aid of another African Conference. And to enter such a Conference without clear views in regard to Egypt and the Sudan, though those subjects should be avoided, would be disastrous to Great Britain.

The German protest against Article III. of the Anglo-Congo Agreement was based upon the ground that it infringed (*a*) the repeated declarations of neutrality by the Congo State, (*b*) the treaty between that State and Germany in 1884, (*c*) the *General Act* of 1885, and (*d*) the Anglo-German Convention of 1890. In principle, if not in fact, it did actually infringe stipulations in all those diplomatic instruments. It was therefore quite inexcusable that the British Foreign Office should have trespassed on the rights of a friendly Power and have overlooked her express reservations. That an amicable settlement was speedily reached is, however, no less than was to be expected from the circumstances of the case. Article III. of the Anglo-Congo Agreement has been rescinded; and it remains to be seen how Her Majesty's Government can maintain the operative effect of the other clauses. The Agreement was concluded with the *ostensible* object of securing the advantages under Article III. But the validity of the German protest having been recognised, Germany is now expected to withdraw her former objection to the erection of a British telegraph-line between Lakes Tanganyika and Albert Edward.

In spite of this, the public should discredit that insane Jingo doctrine voiced by the 'Cape to Cairo' war-cry. Who wants to go from the Cape to Cairo, a distance of 4,000 miles, either now or at any future time, except, it may be, bicyclists and professional

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pedestrians? I have shown elsewhere that there need be no obstructive commercial barriers between British East Africa and British Central Africa. It would be waste of space to further demolish so absurd a fiction in the pages of this Review, but I refer incredulous readers to the paper which I read before the Royal Society of Edinburgh on 'The Comparative Value of African Lands.' This paper was subsequently published (with an original map by myself) in vol. vii. of the *Scottish Geographical Magazine.*

There is yet another protest to consider, that of Turkey; but even if it be seriously advanced, it is not one that need cause serious alarm (since Turkish protests are as inevitable as Christmas cards), unless, unhappily, it should raise the whole question of the position of Great Britain in Egypt to a stage beyond the present. Such a question as that can, I imagine, only be settled by a Conference and another sheaf of treaties.

As matters stand, and in view of the fact that a Belgian expedition has, in defiance of British protests and of former diplomatic engagements 'in the name of Almighty God,' actually penetrated to Lado and acquired certain shadowy claims over other people's territories; in view also of the fact that the British flag has been hoisted at Wadelai by Major Owen, a representative of Her Majesty's Government; and, finally, because it is evident that Great Britain will be sufficiently occupied in Uganda to exonerate her from adventurous schemes in the Sudan that are not actually forced upon her—it is evident that, by putting in a 'man in possession,' even nominally, Great Britain asserts her claim over the Bahr-el-Ghazal and reserves her sovereign rights.

I regard Lord Rosebery's action, therefore, as a diplomatic move of great astuteness; although it must be evident to him that it is quite beyond the power of the Congo State to set up and maintain any effective form of administration in the countries it has thus rashly 'occupied.' If the State fail to do this, or if it fail to establish its claim, as against France, to the Congo territories north of 4° N. lat., the position will become more serious, especially as France is creeping in the direction of Darfur. The Congo Independent State has been greatly indulged by the European Powers, and has occasionally taken undue advantage of these indulgences. Although some excellent work has been accomplished on the Congo, the State, instead of doing its utmost to develop the resources of its already enormous possessions, has wasted its strength and its limited funds by embarking on adventurous and scarcely legitimate schemes of conquest. It has not fulfilled its pledges to Europe, and has entirely altered its constitution and character. Its financial difficulties, too, are becoming serious; 'its resources diminish as its expenses increase'; heavy deficits[5]

[5] For 1894 the estimated expenditure is 270,000*l.*; the estimated receipts cannot be brought up to 80,000*l.* (exclusive of the subsidies from the King and from Belgium);

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are inevitable; and the Congo railway, from which so much was expected, is not only unfinished, but is likely to cost, if ever it is finished, at least two and a quarter times the original estimated expenditure.[6] Under these circumstances the prospects of the Congo State, in spite of the munificence of its Sovereign, are not very encouraging to Belgium, the residuary legatee, who may very possibly refuse the responsibility of annexation: in which case France may with good luck be able to establish her claim to pre-emptive rights in the basin of the Congo, thereby entirely changing the situation. But such a claim is, under any circumstances, one which, I maintain, can only be rendered valid by the formal concurrence of the Signatory Powers of the Berlin Conference (1884–85).

I have now completed my survey of some of the outstanding obligations and responsibilities which Great Britain has accepted by proclaiming a Protectorate over Uganda and by negotiating the recent treaties with the Congo State and Italy.[7] They are sufficiently daunting, even to an Imperialist like myself.

We thus see that by the Anglo-Congo Treaty, out of which Great Britain gets absolutely nothing but relinquishes much, France has been roused to a pitch of indignation which, if it does not upset the Treaty itself, at least may cause serious obstructions at a moment when unanimity between the Powers is of the utmost importance. The doubtful issues in Morocco may or may not be safely met by the European concert; but an equilibrium that can be easily disturbed by the fanaticism and unrest of a Mohammedan populace is not one to view with equanimity.

Those who follow events in Africa are liable to be convinced that the British policy of making concessions to any Power capable of knowing its own mind, and of enforcing its decisions by the muttered threat of hostilities, must in the end lead to disastrous consequences. In the absence of any settled policy in Africa, Great Britain, by making these repeated concessions, will end by eventually jeopardising her position for effective action. That position is either worth maintaining, at all reasonable cost, or it should be frankly abandoned;

and a deficit is consequently anticipated to amount to 190,000*l.*, though this may be reduced (on paper) to 70,000*l.* The estimate for the defensive forces of the State during 1894 is 150,000*l.*; in 1892 this charge was only 40,000*l.*

[6] Moreover, it is anticipated that the annual expenditure for maintenance will exceed the receipts by at least 12,000*l.* when the railway is in working order.

[7] France also contests the Anglo-Italian Treaty, or Protocol, of the 5th of May, 1894; but as this is somewhat of a side issue, I have not referred to it in the body of this paper. On examination it will be found, I think, that the Anglo-Italian arrangement *does* make provision for 'the independence of Harar,' upon which the French protest is chiefly based, so far as the British boundary itself is concerned. France must therefore fight out this question with Italy. She was entitled to raise a protest, under Article IV. of the Anglo-French Convention of the 8th of February, 1888, but the protest should be lodged against Italy, not Great Britain.

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it is obvious folly to secure it up to a certain point, at great sacrifice, and then to relinquish it. I have shown, I think conclusively, that the position of Great Britain in Egypt, in Uganda, and in the Sudan cannot be detached from her Imperial policy in the Mediterranean and elsewhere. What that policy costs we know; what it may ultimately cost we can vaguely guess from recent events in Africa. It is a policy of conquest and adventure, and can have no end but that which the arbitrament of war awards it. Indeed, I have no hesitation in stating that, to uphold that policy, Her Majesty's Government, if at all logical in their methods, and therefore deserving of the confidence of this country, must be prepared, not only to meet all the responsibilities of the Eastern Question, but also to keep France or any other European Power out of Egypt, Tripoli, Morocco, and the entire Nile Valley. Whether this can be done without Great Britain openly joining the Triple Alliance is a very questionable point, on which I have grave doubts. On the other hand, if she were to join the Triple Alliance, and thus involve herself irremediably in the rivalries on the continent of Europe, I fear there would be an end to all prospects of 'Imperial Federation.' The self-governing colonies of the British Empire would very naturally hesitate to accept these added responsibilities, in which they could not fail to become deeply involved.

I have thus shown myself quite prepared to admit the reasons, as reasons, which support a comprehensive and adventurous policy in North and East Africa. But if I were asked, is it worth it? I should feel embarrassed to know what answer to return. The conviction is being forced upon me, as it is upon many others, though Imperialists, that the whole of our foreign policy may be impugned for the never-ceasing and ever-growing responsibilities which its maintenance engenders, whilst equally effective and much less costly and adventurous means might be found in a reversal or modification of the main maxims that hitherto have supported it.

A. Silva White.

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DELUSIONS ABOUT TROPICAL CULTIVATION

THE uncultivated regions of the tropical world afford a wide field for the indulgence of imagination. Though the soil is probably not more fertile on the average than that of temperate climates, the greater rainfall and more powerful sun produce a comparative wealth, brilliancy, and rapidity of vegetation which make a vivid impression upon eyes accustomed to a less prolific nature, and commonly lead to transports of enthusiastic prophecy. Whenever there is a question of taking possession of a new tropical country—whether it is Fiji, Borneo, Madagascar, or Central Africa—we are presented with the same picture of a not too far distant future, when the vast tracts hitherto subordinate to an unaided Nature shall have been brought under the dominion of Man. The luxuriance of the virgin forest, with its flowering trees and its profusion of tangled lianes, so dear to the æsthetic sense of a Charles Kingsley, appeals to the colonising enthusiast chiefly as indicating possibilities of its succession by equal luxuriance of human plantations; and that which with a certain contempt he calls 'bush,' or 'jungle,' or 'scrub,' is seen in his mind's eye replaced by vast fields of sugar, cotton, rice, and bananas. Now it is, no doubt, within the bounds of possibility that each of these forecasts may be realised some day; but, while each enthusiast regards that day as 'within the region of practical politics' for the country in which he is specially interested, that which they all ignore entirely, and what the rest of the world is apt to forget, is how extremely distant must be that day for all but a comparatively infinitesimal portion of the total of 'uncultivation,' and that, as a matter of fact, the very profusion of growth which so excites admiration is destined, for the most part, to defeat the aspirations based upon it. Early in the century, Humboldt, struck with the luxuriance of a Guianian banana grove, calculated that it produced, I think, twentyfold more human food to the acre than a wheatfield—an estimate which, if correctly stated, I have reason to believe under the mark. Though no other cultivated vegetable rivals this in the bulk or weight of produce used for consumption, yet, relatively to their extent, human requirements are supplied from a similarly small space by most other tropical products; and, in any case, all that is

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required of such products by the non-tropical world is provided from an area which is, comparatively speaking, an extremely narrow one, and the extension of which is not likely to be much greater than the increase of population. Indeed, there is no warrant for supposing that the increase of the one will be any greater than that of the other; for even if the human capacity for consumption should increase, it is even more likely that there will be an improvement of scientific knowledge by which a given portion of surface will be made to produce more with less labour. Allowing, however, for an advance of the area of cultivation at a much greater rate than this, even a lion's share of it, such as each enthusiast expects for his own country, would not within any reasonable period bear more than a very insignificant proportion to any of the larger areas of the uncultivated tropics, such as those of Africa, Australia, and Brazil. There is, moreover, strong ground for believing that none of these countries will obtain even this advantage, and that while there will be a lion's share, it will fall elsewhere, the rest of the world having to be content with a very insignificant residue.

Had this view been generally recognised as correct, it is probable that there would have been a much less keen contest among European nations for the possession of Tropical Africa—a possession which (for reasons which may incidentally appear in the course of this paper) will, in my opinion, give no adequate return for its cost in lives and money; and it is even more probable that there would never have been undertaken many of the planting and other enterprises connected with the tropics which have proved unprofitable or disastrous. A delusion which has already caused much loss, and is likely to cause much more that is now unavoidable, ought to be fully exposed as such; and, though I cannot hope to do this with any approach to completeness (especially as I am writing where it is impracticable to obtain many of the necessary references and statistics), I propose to offer some considerations assisting towards that object, which may, I trust, lead to the full elucidation of the subject by others more competent and in a better position to deal with it.

I have been induced to take this course principally by the perusal of a paper entitled 'The Australian Outlook,' which was read lately before the Royal Colonial Institute, and received very favourable notice from a leading article of the *Times* specially devoted to it, as well as from other newspapers. Miss Shaw, the authoress of the paper in question, has by her writings frequently won my admiration for the copiousness of her knowledge of Colonial questions, and the ability and strong commonsense which she brings to their discussion. This particular paper also, as evidently appears from the long extracts published, was a powerful and eloquent one, and, no doubt, as a whole, especially in respect of Temperate Australia, very fully deserved the unanimous applause which was accorded to it. Though

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I am very loth, therefore, to strike a discordant note, it is, in fact, because the paper was so admirable, and the applause awarded to it by a representative Colonial audience was apparently so unqualified, that I deem it necessary to call attention to its altogether too sanguine anticipation of the future of tropical Australia. Roseate views of this kind no doubt assist their own realisation by stimulating energy and promoting enterprise, and are thus valuable when they make any approximation to probability; but, on the other hand, they can be hardly otherwise than mischievous and fraught with abundant danger to the innocent outsider when this necessary condition is absent. And this especially when such views are so ably expressed as to be specially noticed by the leading press, and when they have apparently received the approval of an audience of experts.

In the forefront of the extracts from this paper, as published in the *Times*, is a paragraph headed 'The Two Australias,' which term is explained to mean Temperate Australia and Tropical Australia. It is pointed out that 'the life, the commerce, the labour, and consequently the politics' of the one will be widely different from those of the other; that the tendency of the tropical division, with 'a large servile population' of coloured labourers controlled by a relatively small body of white masters, is likely to be towards aristocracy, in contrast with the Southern tendency towards democracy; and the opinion is then expressed with regard to Tropical Australia 'that, if it be allowed to develop itself in accordance with its requirements and situation, there are scarcely any limits which could be safely assigned to the addition which it may make to the wealth of the world,' and, further, that, in view of such a development, each division of the Continent is likely to 'profoundly modify' the other.

If such a development of Tropical Australia should ever take place, it almost goes without saying that it will be of the nature indicated. The coast-lands, which are principally in point, are, I believe, for the most part little above the level of the sea, and it is contrary to all experience that they can be permanently cultivated by the white man. Indeed, *pace* Mr. Stanley and other Uganda enthusiasts, I have grave doubts whether any tropical country can become a prosperous white man's colony—I mean a colony where white men are labourers as well as employers, and are able to rear a healthy progeny, inclined to and physically capable of work with the hands, such as were in the past the Colonies of Massachusetts and New York, and such as are now those of Canada and Temperate Australia. For my own somewhat varied experience, and what I have read of the experience of others, have caused me to believe that there is something in tropical latitude which, independently of temperature or elevation, operates against both the 'physique' and the 'morale' of the white man; and that,

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apart from this, the mere presence in large numbers of an inferior race causes manual labour to be regarded as a degradation, and thus affects, if it does not preclude, the energy which is so absolutely necessary to the pioneers of new countries. Africans, unlike many other coloured peoples, have proved themselves prolific and 'irrepressible' in the presence of the white man, even in the temperate climate of North America, where the conditions might be supposed to be comparatively unfavourable to them; and it is morally certain that in Tropical Africa, under civilised government, they will multiply rapidly and ever make their presence felt, so as to render a colony of the kind indicated altogether impossible.

But whatever may be the case with respect to the elevated plateaux of Central Africa, there can now, I imagine, be no such question with regard to Northern Australia. It is true that in his memorandum addressed to the people of Queensland, dated February 1892, Sir Samuel Griffith, then Premier of the Colony (and one of the ablest of many able Australian statesmen) expresses his dissent from the opinion that tropical agriculture cannot be performed by white men. He, however, expressly recognises that the presence in large numbers of coloured labourers 'led to field labour in tropical agriculture being looked down upon as degrading and unworthy of the white race;' and as his paper was written for the purpose of justifying the resumption of Polynesian immigration (in promoting the abandonment of which he himself had taken a leading part) *because it was necessary for the maintenance of the sugar industry*, it is clear that his theory, even if it be correct, has little or no practical value. In any case, the fact that this immigration was resumed and still continues is a practical admission on the part of the people of Queensland that the Colony has not, as was at one time supposed, any peculiarity of climate or circumstances which renders it an exception from the ordinary rule in respect of tropical colonisation by white men.

A 'white' colony being thus out of the question for Tropical Australia, and as there is not the smallest probability of its being settled for agricultural purposes, by coloured races coming of their own accord, or that they would be permitted to do so if they would, the only alternative is a colony such as Miss Shaw describes, supported by introduced 'servile labour,' the white men being exclusively in the position of masters or supervisors. Such a community, or rather the governing portion of it, would doubtless have aristocratic tendencies; and given a sufficient development to realise the brilliant picture of extended cultivation which Miss Shaw has imagined I do not question that it might have a considerable effect upon the democracy of the South. Such a development, however, I regard as [illegible] omically and (2) politically impossible, meaning by [illegible] tent of the coloured immigration required for

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such a development, even if otherwise practicable, would not be permitted by the democracy of Temperate Australia.

First as to the economical question. In order to appreciate this, it is necessary to consider for a moment the present condition of the country.

The tropical portion of Australia occupies somewhat more than a third of the continent, and contains an area exceeding 1,000,000 square miles, or 640,000,000 acres. In this vast territory, cultivation is almost entirely confined to the tropical district of Queensland, and was at the date of the last statistics (1892), of an extent of only 44,932 acres. Of this area considerably more than two-thirds (30,604 acres) was in sugar-cane; the rest of the cultivation, with the exception of some 3,000 acres of bananas and other fruits, being for the most part of produce such as is never exported from the tropics, and evidently for the supply of local consumption. As regards population, there are some 10,000 Polynesians, 9,000 Chinese, and 2,000 of other Asiatic races in Queensland; but much more than half of these are in the southern, or extra-tropical district, or are engaged in mining or other non-agricultural pursuits; so that for the raising of produce in the tropical district there are available some 10,000 labourers at the most.

It is therefore evident that for the least possible development such as would realise Miss Shaw's outlook, and have the effect on the South anticipated by her, there will be required an enormous importation of coloured labourers. Now all countries which import such labourers, even those which, unlike Australia, are able to draw upon the huge population of China, have great difficulty in fulfilling their requirements at a sufficiently low cost in passage money and wages to render the importation remunerative. Even British Guiana, which produces a quality of sugar obtaining a specially high price in the market, and which can thus afford wages to imported labour at least as high as any other country, finds it difficult to fully supply its demands in the Eastern labour-markets, except in years of scarcity; and yet all these importing countries, while they are at a disadvantage as compared with those which have all their labour on the spot, have at the same time an advantage over Australia in possessing a certain amount of local labour. For coloured labourers can only be induced to leave their homes on the promise of being paid a minimum rate of wages continuously through the whole period of their contract; while local labour need only be employed and paid when there is special pressure of work. The advantage of 'local' over contract labour is, however, less in the case of sugar than in that of most other articles of tropical produce, because the quantity of work required for its cultivation and manufacture is comparatively even throughout the year; and this is probably one of several reasons why sugar cultivation so much preponderates over all other forms of agriculture in

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Northern Australia. But even in the case of sugar, there are times when the work required is not so heavy as at others, and when therefore the absence of necessity to pay the full staff that is occasionally required effects a great saving, and enables the payment of higher wages to those working continuously. The question thus arises whether, to set against the absence of 'local' labour, there is any more than compensating advantage which would enable greater inducements to be offered to immigrants by Tropical Australia than by other competing countries, so as to obtain for it a specially large share of the labourers open to recruitment. Judging from the Queensland returns of the different kinds of produce per acre, I should say that in soil and climate there was no such superiority. The yield of sugar per acre (one and a half ton), though a fair one, is fully equalled by some other countries; and the dry winds of the continent, which if not too prolonged would not be a disadvantage to sugar, would be actually injurious to other kinds of cultivation, such as those of rice, cocoanuts, coffee, tea, and tobacco; this being perhaps one of the reasons why none of these articles are produced except to a very small extent; while the same cause probably accounts for the exceeding precariousness of the banana crop, to which reference will be made presently. Apart from soil and climate, the only advantage which Australia could have over some of the competing countries would be a larger local and protected market. If the democracy of a federated Australia should prove willing to purchase its requirements in tropical produce at a price much higher than necessary for the benefit of a planter-aristocracy, the protected market thus afforded would be sufficiently large to give a substantial advantage. But, for reasons given below, even the large consumption thus exclusively supplied would support an extension of cultivation only up to a point immeasurably short of the predicted development; and the advantage would cease almost entirely when that point had been reached. For the above reason it seems doubtful whether for any large supply of immigrants Australia would be able to compete with some other countries even on equal terms.

Supposing, however, that it can offer inducements equal to any, another question then arises as to where the number of labourers can be obtained which would be the minimum required for a development of the kind contemplated. At the present moment, though experimental importations have taken place from Java and Japan, practically the whole supply of coloured labourers obtained by Tropical Australia comes from the Pacific Islands. The wages required for these people are very low, and it is owing largely to that cause that the country has reached its present production. But this source of supply is an extremely limited one. In a paper prepared by me, as High Commissioner of the Western Pacific, for the Australasian Convention of 1883 (the principal arguments of which

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being very similar to those of this article had a very practical effect on that assembly with reference to the Pacific Islands) I pointed out that various causes, of which the labour traffic was a potent one, were rapidly depopulating Polynesia. For this reason, among others, I then deplored, and still deplore, the existence of this traffic, because to set against the exceedingly temporary advantage derived from it by the importing countries, there is the fact that the islands thus rendered vacant by the destruction of the native races cannot, like North America and Australia, be peopled by Europeans, and will have to remain uninhabited until that indefinitely distant period when other coloured races come or are brought thither from some other part of the world. Despite, however, all that can be said against it, the traffic has been renewed in Queensland, and is likely to continue so long as the people are to be obtained. But unless conditions have greatly changed in the ten years since I left the Pacific, that cannot be very long. Possibly, if the present rate of importation into Queensland (under 2500 per annum) is not exceeded, the supply may, though I much doubt it, last twenty-five years. But by the end of that time, or before then if any larger importation be attempted, it will have become completely exhausted. The only other sources from which coloured labourers can now be obtained, or are likely in the future to be obtained, are the densely populated countries of the Eastern Hemisphere—India, China, Japan, and Java. Of these China must be left out of account, owing to the recent prohibitive laws, which, for reasons to be indicated in connection with the political difficulty, are very unlikely to be repealed. Japanese also must probably be excluded from calculation; for all previous experience goes to show, even that in respect of Northern Chinese, that the inhabitants of temperate climates have an enormous death-rate on tropical plantations, and that therefore, humanity apart, their importation thither for contract labour is economically unprofitable. As regards Java, the rapid increase of population may render it possible to obtain recruits there; but the direct interest of the Dutch Government in cultivation would probably preclude any large emigration such as would raise the wages of labour, while the great area of the Dutch East Indies which is still uncultivated would support a population immeasurably larger than the present one. As regards India, the Government there has never yet been persuaded to permit recruiting for Australia. Supposing, however, their objections overcome, and Australia left free to carry away all the people who could be induced to go there, the difficulty of obtaining any large supply would still be extremely great, if not insuperable. Even if the total number of labourers (under 20,000 per annum) which are now obtained with much difficulty by all the competing countries were to be doubled or trebled and monopolised by Australia, the development created by them would not, as we shall see, for centuries to come reach the

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desired point, and indeed would never reach it in the absence of natural increase, which, owing to the political difficulty hereunder described, will probably have to be left out of account.

But even if all these difficulties should in some unforeseen manner be overcome, and Australia should be able to obtain labourers in practically unlimited numbers, there would still remain the greater difficulty, which consideration will quickly show to be insuperable, of selling at a remunerative price the enormous quantities of produce which would be necessarily involved in the contemplated development.

In order to appreciate this and other economical difficulties, let us suppose cultivation extended over 6,000,000 acres, or less than $\frac{1}{100}$th part of the total area of Tropical Australia.

And let us in the first place consider of what this supposed extent of cultivation would be most likely to consist. We have seen that at present in Queensland, the only part of Tropical Australia where there is any agriculture of appreciable extent, the area of land in sugar-cane is twice that of other cultivation. As it is now more than twenty years since the commencement of tropical agriculture there, it is probable that Australian enterprise and energy have by this time made considerable progress towards the discovery of what kinds of tropical produce and what proportion of each kind hold out the best prospects of profit in cultivation. But, besides this, there are other and stronger reasons, which will be indicated in connection with the particular products, why the above proportion is not likely to be disturbed by the increase of other cultivation relatively to that of sugar. Indeed in view of the declining production of maize and bananas, which occupy areas in extent second only to that of sugar, indications would seem to point rather in the other direction. Let us suppose, however, that the proportion remains the same; in which case 4,000,000 acres of the above area would be in cane and 2,000,000 in other cultivation. According to the present yield in Queensland (one and a half ton to the acre) which the progress of science will probably increase, the above area of cane would produce 6,000,000 tons of sugar, this quantity being considerably more than double the whole of the cane-sugar consumed by the civilised world (2,805,733 tons per annum according to the returns of 1887), of which, moreover, 139,168 tons came from temperate climates (Louisiana and Egypt). It thus appears that when the above point of development has been reached, the consumption of cane-sugar will have more than doubled even if, the production of the rest of the world being extinguished, Australia were monopolising the whole supply, and more than trebled if merely the increase of consumption were supplied from Australia, production elsewhere having remained stationary. Even if very large allowance be made for possible eventualities, the above consideration would seem to defer the supposed development to an extremely

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distant date; and there are also others, to be adverted to presently, which appear to indicate an even more indefinitely prolonged postponement. With a view, however, to estimate its effects, let us in the first place suppose that this development has actually taken place. Six million acres would require at most 2,000,000 labourers. As with few exceptions white men do not remain in the tropics after they have attained competency, and are specially unlikely to do so in Australia, where they have a temperate climate on the same continent within easy reach, the number of them as compared with the labourers will be very small. The proportion of white to coloured varies greatly in different tropical countries under European government, being one to 600 in Ceylon, and one to ten in Barbados. It is abnormally large in the latter case because of the survival in a degraded condition of many descendants of the white slaves imported thither two centuries ago. Apart from Australia (where the mines have attracted a large and continually shifting population of whites, while the great extent of pasture supports a considerable number of white shepherds) no other colony in the tropics has a proportion nearly so large as Barbados. In order, however, to be again on the safe side, let us suppose that the white population connected with agriculture should be double that high ratio, or 20 per cent., which for the above number of labourers would be 400,000, or less than one-eighth of the present white inhabitants of Temperate Australia. Considering that the mining and pastoral population, whatever it may be, is much more likely to be in sympathy with the democracy of the South than with the aristocracy of the North, I regard the probability of the former being appreciably affected, not to speak of 'profoundly modified,' by the latter as scarcely greater than that of the United States being affected by the future development of Labrador or Greenland.

I have mentioned that there are still other economical difficulties than those already indicated in the way of the supposed development. In order to appreciate these, it will be useful to take a separate glance at the case of each of the leading tropical products, beginning with an article which is at least as important as any other.

Cotton, though largely produced in the tropics, comes in far larger quantity from temperate climates. In 1891 the United States exported in quantity 2,907,359,000 lb., valued at $290,713,000 or nearly 60,000,000*l.*, and Egypt exported a quantity of the value of about 9,000,000*l.*; while the export of Tropical India was in quantity only 536,390,512 lb. valued at 12,743,679*l.*, the contributions of the rest of the world being comparatively insignificant. During the civil war in North America, which caused a partial failure of the world's cotton-supply, many attempts were made elsewhere to fill the void thus created in the market, and several tropical countries (within my own experience Fiji and Guiana) showed that they could

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grow cotton equal to the finest sea-island of Carolina. But as soon as the war was over the United States quickly regained its former supremacy in production, with the result above indicated. As the available lands of the Southern States are still largely uncultivated, and the negro population, which supplies the necessary labour, is rapidly increasing, the advantage thus gained is likely to be maintained, with the result that a large portion of any increase of the world's consumption will be thence supplied. Failing the United States, there are large tracts still uncultivated in India, where labour is cheaper than in any other part of the world; and there is an immeasurably larger area of 'uncultivation' in Burmah, the Malay Peninsula, Siam, Sumatra, Borneo, and the other islands of the Eastern Archipelago, to each of which countries Indian labour will either flow naturally, or be carried under the contract system at considerably less cost than to Australia; and several of which, moreover, have, or are likely to have, the advantage of Chinese labour, henceforward to be denied to Australia. Going farther afield, there are still uncultivated all but an infinitesimal portion of Tropical South America, and by far the larger portion of the West Indies,[1] Fiji, and the Pacific Islands, which, though they are more distant than Australia from the Eastern labour-markets, have all to a greater or less extent the more than compensating advantage of local labour. In respect of every one of these countries we have heard at one time or another, probably with truth, of its great fertility, and its capability of growing successfully all kinds of tropical produce; and it would thus seem that, all things considered, they between them leave but little opening for cotton cultivation to Tropical Australia.

Sugar, which is of importance next to or equal with cotton, comes also largely from temperate climates. For of the 5,532,545 tons (beet as well as cane-sugar) which appear in the returns for 1887 as the total of the world's supply, less than half came from the tropics. However, in the small agricultural development which has hitherto taken place in Northern Australia, the cultivation of the cane occupies, as we have seen, a large place. This industry has hitherto had not only the advantage of the low-waged Polynesian labour, which, for reasons given above, will not continue long, but also another which

[1] The West Indies, which supply so large a proportion of the world's tropical produce, though they occupy so small a space on the map, might be supposed to be for the most part cultivated. But in fact they are so only to a very small extent, and thus afford an illustration of the narrowness of the area required for tropical cultivation. For instance, the island of Trinidad exported in 1890 51,000 tons of cane-sugar, or more than one-fiftieth of the world's supply produced in the tropics, and 21,552,593 pounds of cacao, which I know to be a much larger part of the general total; and yet of its area of 1,754 square miles, under 200 square miles are cultivated. Except two or three of the smallest islands, such as Barbados and Antigua, all the rest are equally or more uncultivated. Cuba, the largest, besides tobacco and other articles, exported in 1887 646,588 tons of cane-sugar, or more than one-fourth of the world's tropical supply.

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is likely to be equally ephemeral, viz. that of a protected market for a large portion of its produce. Of the 61,368 tons of sugar produced in 1892, only 36,914 tons were exported; so that apparently 24,454 tons were consumed on the spot; this consumption of the home product being encouraged by a duty on imported sugar of 5*s.* a ton for 'raw,' and 6*s.* 8*d.* a ton for refined. It is evident, however, that this advantage will be rapidly lost as increase of production outstrips increase of consumption, and would dwindle almost to vanishing point when the production became really large, or, say, equal to that of the comparatively small island of Cuba (646,588 tons). Hence the progress which has hitherto been made in sugar cultivation would be altogether misleading if it were regarded as a measure of the further development of the future: though this produce is always likely to retain its present relatively prominent position, not only for reasons previously indicated, but also because, owing to the great outlay required for works and machinery, the cost of wages bears a less than ordinary proportion to the total cost.

Of other articles of tropical produce there are a considerable number, unnecessary to be specified in detail, which, as specially requiring cheap labour, are rarely, if ever, grown for export elsewhere than in the cheap-labour countries of the East. If their cultivation should ever spread beyond such countries, the causes indicated in connection with cotton would probably carry it into places presenting much more favourable conditions than Australia. In this category the important articles rice, tea, and quinine may almost be included. For though the rice grown in the United States is protected both by duty and by comparative proximity to market, while it is of a quality which gives it a specially high intrinsic value, yet I observe from an article by Mr. Chauncey Depew in this Review of February last that the American planters are crying out for more protection against the rice of the East. And in further proof of the strength of the Eastern position as regards the production of this article is the fact that British Guiana and Trinidad, which have shown themselves able to grow rice equal to the finest of Carolina, and require very large quantities for the food of some 200,000 coolie immigrants, yet find it cheaper to import from the East than to cultivate on the spot. Thus in the years 1890–2 these two colonies imported between them 193,115,415 lb., or an average of 64,371,805 lb. per annum. Tea, again, though it has been successfully grown in various countries, has not, I believe, proved profitable elsewhere than in Ceylon, Java, Assam, China, and Japan, the cultivation in the last three countries being, moreover, almost entirely extra-tropical. In Fiji, where the climate and soil proved specially favourable, the evenly distributed rainfall producing more frequent 'flushes' of leaves even than in Ceylon, yet the want of sufficient local labour proved a fatal obstacle to success. Lastly, quinine, though coming originally from South America, is

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now being cultivated almost exclusively in the East. That low-waged labour is specially necessary for it is shown by the fact that, though the cinchona-tree grows and yields remarkably well in Ceylon, its cultivation is no longer profitable there (the export of quinine having fallen in value from 327,769*l.* in 1886 to 53,062*l.* in 1892), the cause probably being the reduction of the market price brought about by the still cheaper labour of India and Java.

Of articles which are largely or principally grown elsewhere than in the East, those which deserve notice, viz. coffee, cacao, maize, bananas, cocoanuts, and tobacco, will all of them probably meet with other obstacles, besides the labour difficulty, to any large production in Tropical Australia. Coffee production was, up to a period still recent, becoming gradually monopolised by the East, when the destructive leaf-disease gave a renewed opportunity to other parts of the world. If this pest should not spread to the Western Hemisphere, any increase of production may be looked for there, or possibly in Africa; but as in the East it has reached the more distant Fiji, it is not likely to be excluded from Australia, should cultivation on a large scale be attempted there. And to this article also, as to so many others, cheap 'local' labour is almost a necessity, it being the want of this which, on the downfall of slavery, put an end to the formerly flourishing plantations of Demerara and Surinam. In the case of all the other articles last enumerated, there will probably be to a greater or less extent a climatic difficulty. And this especially in the case of cacao, which requires a combination of heat and moisture found only in very low latitudes. In the northern hemisphere its cultivation has never, I think, met with commercial success in a higher latitude than 14°, and as the Southern Hemisphere has a lower average temperature, it may be doubted whether the cacao-vine could be anywhere profitably cultivated in Australia, except perhaps in the extreme north of the York Peninsula. Maize, on the contrary, is much more productive in temperate climates (unless I have been misled by what I have seen in Illinois and Iowa on the one hand, and in various tropical countries on the other); and hence by far the larger quantity consumed beyond the countries of production does not come from the tropics. In 1892 less than one-tenth part of the total quantity produced in Queensland came from the tropical district; and it may also be noted that between that year and 1891 the area occupied by maize in Queensland decreased by 9,426 acres, and the produce by 744,362 bushels, showing apparently, as I should have expected, that this cultivation was not proving profitable. Cocoanuts, though they give a profitable return to cultivation only in the immediate neighbourhood of the sea, might yet be very largely cultivated along the immense coastline of Tropical Australia, if other conditions were favourable. The fact therefore that none of the various products of this palm appear in the Queens-

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land Returns would seem to indicate a climatic difficulty in this case also. Possibly, however, the sole cause may be found in the fact that the great area which has been brought into cultivation in other countries (according to the Colonial Office List, 649,869 acres in Ceylon alone) has sometimes reduced the price of the produce below the remunerative point in countries affording much more favourable conditions for cultivation than Australia. Bananas, owing to the great productiveness above referred to, are never likely to occupy any large area in Australia, even if all conditions are favourable. They can never be grown for export, because all temperate countries have nearer to them other tropical countries where the fruit can be produced under more favourable conditions, certainly as regards labour and probably as regards climate also. Indeed improvements in carriage and refrigeration are much more likely to increase the competition in Australia on the part of other countries than to enable Australia to compete in outside markets. And as regards Australian consumption, though it is probably larger per caput than in any other country, even a monopoly of its supply would require no large area of cultivation. At present some 4,000 acres in Queensland and a somewhat larger area in the Pacific Islands—certainly under 10,000 acres altogether—are all that are required for this purpose; so that with a population now increasing (according to the latest statistics) at a rate little exceeding 2 per cent. per annum, 50,000 acres would be more than enough for a century to come. If the Australian democracy should consent to a heavy import duty on one of its favourite luxuries, this area might be entirely in Australia; if not, the supply will probably come from other countries even in a larger proportion than now. For the production in Queensland, never very large at the best, appears to be exceedingly precarious, the return per acre varying in different years from 874 dozens in 1884, to 5,656 dozens in 1890, and falling again to 2,988 dozens in 1891. Probably owing to this cause in connection with the active competition of Fiji, the area of Queensland banana-cultivation diminished by 838 acres between the years 1891–2. Here again we have an indication of a climatic difficulty—probably the hot winds from the desert—which has been noticed with reference to other products. Tobacco comes into civilised markets principally from temperate climates. The finer kinds which come from Cuba and a few other tropical countries occupy so small an aggregate area that the share of production obtainable by Australia would be insignificant even if all conditions were favourable. With regard to this point it may be noted that of the 318 acres of tobacco which was the total of Queensland in 1892 only thirteen acres were in the tropical district; and the cultivation was moreover proving unprofitable, as the area of it was greater in 1891 by 472 acres.

In connection with the observations preceding it, the above review of the different articles of produce seems to indicate that there is

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nothing in the circumstances of any of them which points to any extensive cultivation in Australia within any near future, and that even as regards sugar, while it is likely to retain its present prominence, the development created by it cannot, relatively to the size of the country, be otherwise than very small indeed.

I now come to the political difficulty above referred to, which will probably render still narrower the narrow limits imposed upon development by economical causes. There are two distinct forces existent in Australia, which together will almost certainly have this effect: (1) the strong jealousy of the all-powerful democracy in respect of the introduction of any labourers, and especially of coloured labourers, who, being willing to accept low wages, are the more likely to cause the reduction of their own; (2) the almost equally strong feeling on the part of the better educated class, which furnishes the statesmen and leading politicians, against the permission of any conditions which would reproduce in Australia the embarrassing questions of 'colour' which are already making themselves severely felt in the United States, and which promise infinitely greater difficulty in the future—a feeling, in fact, in favour of a purely English race for Australia. Polynesian immigration is tolerated because the immigrants return to their country after a short period of service. Sir Samuel Griffiths, in his apologetic defence of the measure for its resumption, expressly urges this ground for preferring it to other coloured immigration, while he recognises the necessity of regulations to prevent the immigrants from competing with whites in other occupations than agricultural labour. Such regulations may sufficiently well serve their purpose, while the number of the coloured population is as insignificant as at present; but it is impossible to conceive that they would remain practically effective when the number became large; and especially when it had increased a hundredfold. Even now, I observe, from complaints in the reports of the Queensland Immigration Department, that Polynesians are in the habit of straying across the border into New South Wales. It may be taken for granted therefore that, as the number of immigrants increases, the number of these stragglers will increase also, as the difficulty of restraining them will be all the greater. In this and many other ways any large coloured immigration would almost certainly affect the wages of white labour; and when this was once felt, the democracy would rise in its might and put an end to coloured immigration altogether, as it has already at different times put an end to the importation of convicts and Chinese. But whether this complete termination of coloured immigration should occur or not, no one who knows Australia would regard it as otherwise than certain that all such immigration will be jealously watched with a view to prevent the permanent settlement of the immigrants in the country. In all probability when the scale of immigration makes any considerable

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increase of magnitude, the immigrants will be forced to return to their country after the conclusion of their period of contract service, which in the case of Indians is usually five years. Under these circumstances the coloured population of Australia would never be larger than the importations of that period, minus such number as may have died in the country. And even without such a regulation Indian immigration, if left to its ordinary course, would not produce any greatly better results. For natural increase (which is in any case small, owing to the small number of women who can be induced to emigrate) would be confined to the very few who would elect to remain in the country and to abandon their right to return passage. Owing to this cause it would take a long time before the population became greater than the importations of ten years; and in order to reach the point of development above hypothetically indicated there would be required for many successive years an importation of about 200,000 people per annum. It is needless to say that things must greatly change in India to render such a scale of recruiting possible, even if Australian conditions were such as to permit it.

As the result of the above considerations, it may, I think, be concluded that the development of Northern Australia must be an extremely gradual one. Considering all the obstacles in the way, I question whether at the end of the next generation the area of cultivation will have much more than doubled; and in no conceivable circumstances can it for many generations to come occupy more than a very insignificant fraction of the whole country. And after all I cannot say that the continuance in its natural condition of the wide expanse of Tropical Australia seems particularly deplorable. The race which has achieved present conditions in the short time which has elapsed since New Holland was first utilised for settlement (though not only men and women, but every animal and vegetable consumed or used by civilised man has had to be brought from the other end of the world) will for ages to come find in the temperate division of the continent abundant scope for its wonderful energy. As it is already beginning to utilise the desert, it may one day convert the whole of the southern portion of it into a vast garden of cultivation, and by this means open up an unlimited field for expansion. This is a prospect which can, I think, be contemplated with far more satisfaction than that anticipated for Northern Australia, inasmuch as it would have been the work of free men.

Though Miss Shaw, in a perorative passage says, 'Australia has already given us a democracy which is good. It is within the possibilities of the future that she may yet give us an aristocracy which is better,' I confess myself unable to conceive that an Australian democracy, whatever its defects, would be less desirable than a quasi-aristocracy of planters, with its necessary complement of coloured serfs. For, with my somewhat large experience of what is involved

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in communities where the coloured men are under the servitude of contract and the whites are merely in the position of supervisors, I cannot say that I should regard with pleasure the establishment of a new one on an enormous scale, in which the dominant race, owing to the power of its numbers, would be practically uncontrolled in the making and administration of its laws. To explain my reasons fully would require a long digression beyond the purpose of this paper; but I may give a sufficient notion of it from the following. Having been through the Southern States of America in 1859, with slavery at its full height; having since then had practical experience of the contract system of coloured labour in four different colonies; having learned what the laws respecting the latter may become unless watched and checked by a supreme authority, acting in the interest of employed as well as employers; having seen what such laws have actually become when the vigilance of such authority has been temporarily relaxed; having known, moreover, what under such a system may happen despite the best laws, and how these may be administered in the absence of a strong superintending control—I, after all this experience, have no hesitation in saying that at the cost of a huge community such as that above described, I should regard yellow ricefields, waving palms, and teeming banana-groves as very dearly purchased. Considering, therefore, what is involved in it, I contemplate without regret the fading of the brilliant vision which has been offered for our admiration; and I much prefer for Australia the anticipation of an unmixed English race, however democratic in tendency, even though that should mean the continuance in its natural condition of by far the greater part of its tropical territory.

For those who believe that the world has been created exclusively for man, it is, no doubt, difficult to understand that any such large portion of it is to remain for an indefinite period untouched by the plough or spade. But those who have considered the infinite life of Nature, to which man has no apparent relation, especially those who in the tropical forest, where the foot of man has rarely or never trodden, have had brought home to their imaginations the thousands of generations of plants since the world was evolved out of chaos, and the millions of generations of insects which are born, multiply, and die in a day, find it hard to believe that all this can have been intended for the benefit of one item of the creation, however important, and will as readily, and without more sadness, contemplate that that which has been unused by man for ages past will remain so for an equally prolonged period of the future.

Possibly, however, the all-for-man theory may in the end seem the correct one even in this case. It may be that in the progress of discovery, by water drawn from below the earth or attracted from above, even what is now the arid tropical desert may be made to support flocks and herds in number beyond comparison with those

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now in the country: it may be that the gradual awakening of China from its long sleep may one day reach a point where the world will have to count with the power, now for the most part latent, of its 400,000,000 of men, and will be unable to prevent their overflow upon the vacant regions of the earth, that (*absit omen!*) of Tropical Australia included; it may be that in the course of time there will be evolved, by the survival of the fittest, a purely English race, which, having (as perhaps have the Southern Chinese) [2] overcome an original incapacity to withstand the tropical sun, will spread over the wastes of Northern Australia, and increase and multiply, and replenish the earth and subdue it: or, again, it may be that the inclination of the plane of the ecliptic, or a change, however produced, similar to the many which have already occurred on this planet, will render temperate the now torrid climate, and thus enable the white race, without any such radical modification in its constitution, to occupy a country now unsuited to it. Such speculations, however, concern a somewhat too distant future to have other than academic interest, and are beyond the question now under consideration. My present purpose will have been sufficiently served if, despite doubtless some errors, I have assisted, in however small a degree, towards the destruction of a too common delusion, and to show what I believe to be the truth, that anything beyond a very infinitesimal development of Northern Australia, and indeed with scarcely less certainty of other great areas of 'uncultivation' in the tropics, is for many generations to come in a very high degree improbable.

G. William Des Vœux.

[2] Apart from Tartars, Hakkas, and other alien races, the Chinese throughout their Empire seem to have had the same origin; and yet those of the North, unlike these of Kwang-tung and Kwang-si, seem as unadapted as Europeans to work in a torrid climate, and have had a terrible death-rate on tropical plantations.

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RELIGION IN PRIMARY SCHOOLS

RECENT events and controversies have drawn much of public attention to the state of our public elementary schools, and especially to the provision made in them for religious instruction. The moment seems not inopportune for a dispassionate review of the progress which has been already made in this respect, and of the problems which yet remain to be solved.

Our English system of primary education—if system it may be called—differs essentially from the systems in force in the European and American continents. It has not been fashioned as a whole by any statesman or philosopher, but has become what it is by the slow process of evolution, and by the teaching of experience. It is not, as in Lower Canada and in some of the German States, a denominational system, which, assuming that every citizen is either a Catholic or a Protestant, provides two kinds of religious instruction at the public charge. Nor is it, as in France or the States of the American Union, a purely secular system, which excludes theology in any form from the common school, and leaves the Churches to give supplementary teaching in their own schools, and at their own cost. It is the product of a long series of tentative efforts, concessions, and compromises; and though lacking in uniformity and symmetry, like many other English institutions, has shown in the course of years a power of adapting itself to the changed circumstances, to the feelings and traditions, and to the religious opinions of the English people.

This general statement is conspicuously illustrated in two ways: (1) in the recognition of voluntary and denominational schools as part of the public provision for instruction; and (2) in the constitution of those rate-aided schools which have been called into existence by the agency of School Boards. From 1839, when grants were first made by the newly constituted Committee of Council on Education, down to the Act of 1870, all the work done by the Education Department was effected by way of 'grants in aid' to local and voluntary bodies. The State established no schools, and took no steps to require that schools should be supplied where the provision was insufficient. It simply availed itself of voluntary agency; confided to the hands of local

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committees full control over the choice of teachers, the course of religious and other instruction, and the general management; and made liberal annual grants on the very easy conditions that the teacher should possess a proper qualification, and that the school should be open to inspection, and should conform to the regulations laid down in the Code. Since 1870, the further conditions exacted have been that two hours of unbroken secular instruction shall be given at each meeting of the school, and that parents may claim exemption from any religious instruction which they disapprove.

The Board Schools which have been since established, in accordance with the provisions of the Act of 1870, are required to fulfil the same educational conditions. They receive annual grants on the same scale, determined partly by the numbers in attendance, and partly by the efficiency of the teaching, as shown by the official examination of the scholars. The Boards are at liberty to make their own arrangements respecting religious instruction, subject only to this provision: 'No religious catechism or religious formulary which is distinctive of any particular denomination shall be taught in the school.' This is the well-known 'Cowper-Temple clause.'

A system of public instruction such as this would necessarily appear to an Abbé Sieyès or to the framers of the Code Napoléon to be lacking in unity and logical coherence. But it has, at least, succeeded in placing within the reach of every child in the country an elementary school under public supervision, and conforming with more or less success to the regulations laid down by Parliament. And it has so far conciliated the various religious and philanthropic bodies which have concerned themselves with public education that not one of them holds aloof; all have accepted the conditions imposed by the State; all receive its aid, and are co-operating loyally with the Education Department in the fulfilment of a great public work. These results are worth attaining, even at the cost of some loss of symmetry and of theoretical perfection.

The continued recognition of the voluntary schools, established to a large extent by religious bodies, as part of the national provision for elementary instruction is the chief and most characteristic feature of the English system. And in the course of a long life, of which more than half has been spent in close contact with schools and training colleges, I have learned to set a high value on the collaboration of the voluntary agencies with the State. Those agencies supply us with schools of different kinds, all alike in seeking to give sound elementary instruction, but differing materially in method, in organisation, and in many minor details of administration. From an educational point of view this variety is of great importance, as it is most undesirable that all the schools of the country should be of one type. Moreover, the denominational schools enlist in the service of the State a large body of intelligent, philanthropic,

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and religious persons who are often in close sympathetic relations to the children and their parents, and whose very effective aid would not be available under a system controlled altogether by Imperial or municipal officers.

Yet, notwithstanding the zeal and effort by which since the passing of the Education Act voluntary schools have been established and maintained, so that the average attendance in those schools which stood at 1,152,389 in 1870 had risen to 2,300,377 in 1892, the number of scholars in the Board Schools shows a much more rapid rate of increase, and the last report of the Education Department states that the average attendance in those schools, which in 1874 was 138,293, and in 1876 amounted to 328,071, had reached 1,704,130 in the year 1893. Year by year the disproportion in the rate of increase between the two classes of schools becomes more marked; and thus the character of the religious teaching in the Board Schools becomes more and more a matter of concern to that large portion of the English people who attach value to such teaching.

There are now 2,392 School Boards in England and Wales. In the exercise of the discretion allowed under the Act, 91 of these Boards have determined to omit religion altogether from their scheme of school work: 70 of these Boards are in Wales and 21 in England, but they are without exception in comparatively obscure villages, with a very small population. In the schools of the rest, including all the boroughs and places of importance, the Bible is read and careful provision is made for religious teaching. Birmingham stands nearly alone among towns in requiring that the Scriptures shall be read without note or comment. But it may be said generally that the Board Schools concur in principle with the policy from the first adopted by the School Board for London. The regulations of that Board provide that 'the Bible shall be read, and there shall be given such explanations and such instruction therefrom in the principles of morality and religion as are suited to the capacities of children.' The teachers are further instructed 'to make the lessons as practical as possible, and not to give attention to unnecessary details.' A syllabus has been drawn up making provision for regular progressive lessons, including the Lord's Prayer and the Ten Commandments, sacred biographies, the historical parts of the Bible, facts and lessons from the life of our Lord, the principal parables, and the learning by heart of passages inculcating truthfulness, temperance, and obedience to parents. Regular examinations are held in these subjects periodically by the Board's officers; and the Board has cordially accepted the offers of Mr. Francis Peek and of the Religious Tract Society to award prizes for Scripture knowledge. The prizes and certificates thus offered are much valued. At the last examination, the head-teachers were allowed to send up 10 per cent. of the scholars in the highest three standards for a special written examination in Scripture. Of 6,908 scholars thus

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examined—boys and girls—1,027 obtained prizes and 2,231 were entitled to certificates. A similar system of graduated instruction, of examinations and prizes exists for the pupil-teachers, and the reports of the examiners show that great attention is given by the teachers to this part of their duties.

The outcome of these arrangements, which, *mutatis mutandis*, may be said to prevail generally and to be characteristic of the entire system, is that a successful effort is made in the Board Schools to bring up the children in the fear of God, with a reverence for His word, a considerable knowledge of the history and poetry of the Bible, and of its plainer moral lessons, and especially of the life and teaching of our Lord; but that it is no part of the duty of the teacher to give instruction in controversial theology, or to permit the school to serve as a propaganda for the tenets of any particular religious denomination. No one who knows the schools well can doubt that under these limitations religious and moral teaching of a very valuable kind is imparted in the schools, and that the influence of this instruction on the conduct and the character of the children, and on the religious life of the nation, has been profoundly felt.

It may be thought by some that it is descending to a lower ground when we speak of the Biblical instruction as a great civilising power and as an elevating and refining influence on the intellectual life. But this aspect of the question ought not to be overlooked. Mr. Matthew Arnold was wont to insist on it with characteristic lucidity and energy. Literature, he always urged, was an essential factor in the cultivation of character and taste, and this is largely provided in higher schools by the study of the ancient classical writers. But for the mass of the people this kind of cultivation is only to be attained in one way:

> Only one literature there is—one great literature for which the people have had a preparation—the literature of the Bible. However far they may be from having a complete preparation for it, they have some, and it is the only great literature for which they have any. . . . If poetry, philosophy, and eloquence—if what we call in one word *letters*—are a power, and a beneficent wonder-working power in education, through the Bible only have the people much chance of getting at poetry, philosophy, and eloquence. . . . Chords of power are touched by this instruction which no other part of the instruction in a popular school reaches, and chords various, not the single religious chord only. The Bible is for the child in an elementary school almost his only contact with poetry and philosophy. . . . All who value the Bible may rest assured that thus to know and possess the Bible is the most certain way to extend the power and efficacy of the Bible.[1]

And in expanding this view into more specific suggestion, he gives in one of his reports this counsel to school managers—counsel which has been virtually adopted now by School Boards throughout the country:

[1] Preface to *The Great Prophecy of Israel's Restoration. A Bible Reading for Schools*

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Let them make the main outlines of Bible history, and the getting by heart a selection of the finest Psalms, the most interesting passages from the historical and prophetical books of the Old Testament, and the chief parables, discourses and exhortations of the New, a part of the regular school-work. This could raise no jealousies, or if it still raises some, let a sacrifice be made of them for the sake of the end in view. Some will say that what we propose is but a small use to put the Bible to, yet it is that on which all higher use of the Bible is to be built, and its adoption is the only chance for saving the one elevating and inspiring element in the scanty instruction of our primary schools from being sacrificed to a politico-religious difficulty.[2]

No practical difficulties have arisen in the interpretation or in the actual working out of the very simple and intelligible programme of the School Board. Of theoretical difficulties, indeed, much has been said on platforms and in pulpits, and by writers in religious newspapers, who cannot believe that any religious instruction can deserve the name which does not favour the interests of some particular sect or party. These theoretical difficulties, however, are virtually unknown in the school itself. The skilled teacher who finds himself face to face with little children, and who knows something of their character, their present immature opinions, and their spiritual and moral needs, soon learns to feel how infinitely petty and irrelevant are the topics which furnish the watchwords of rival parties, and the staple of sectarian disputes outside. To such a teacher, or indeed to any thoughtful Christian parent, probably the last thing he would care to discuss with a young child would be the difference between Church and Dissent, or between the tenets of a Baptist and those of a Unitarian. These differences, no doubt, become serious and significant as life advances and as opinions are formed. But they have little or no meaning to a young child, and are wholly out of place in a scheme of primary instruction.

The teachers of our Board Schools are, as a rule, fully conscious of their moral responsibility. Many of them have been trained in Church of England colleges, many others in colleges which, although not formally connected with any one denomination, are not less thoroughly penetrated with a religious spirit. They would not have chosen a profession, in which so much importance is attached to character and moral influence, if they had not been prepared to give religious instruction in such a way as to fulfil both in the letter and in the spirit the requirements of the managers. And all experience proves that as a class they may be safely trusted. I have scarcely ever heard of a complaint either of their failure to give the required instruction, or of any attempt on their part to use their influence with a view to attract children to their own church or form of worship.

Nevertheless, a disposition has of late been shown in some quarters to disturb the existing compromise, and to demand that more of definite dogmatic statement shall be introduced into the Board's

[2] Report to Committee of Council on Education (1869), p. 299.

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religious teaching. The Dean of St. Paul's constantly describes this teaching as that of a 'dissenting religion,' although I do not know that he has ever pointed out what distinctive doctrines either of Nonconformity *per se*, or of any one of the dissenting sects, are ever taught in Board Schools. Lord Salisbury, who has apparently forgotten that the Cowper-Temple clause has been twenty-three years at work with the hearty approval of many eminent Churchmen, including some of his own leading colleagues, thinks it right to describe them as having 'invented a patent compressible religion which can be forced into all consciences with a very little squeezing.' Mr. Coxhead goes into a school where presumably the children have just been reading how our Lord's 'parents went up to Jerusalem,' and how the mother tenderly rebuked her Son with the words, 'Thy father and I have sought thee sorrowing;' and on asking the scholars who was the father of our Lord, received for answer, Joseph. He is greatly shocked at the discovery of this heresy, although he does not say that he would probably have received the same answer in a Church school. Nor does he tell us by what sort of explanations he would have guarded the little ones against this error, and made the high mystery of the Incarnation intelligible to them; or what conceivable effect on the conscience, the character, or the religious life of a child the acceptance of the orthodox doctrine would be likely to have.

These and other objectors complain much of the inadequacy of the scriptural teaching in the Board Schools, and say that as a system of theology it is incomplete. This is perfectly true. Of course it is incomplete. All elementary instruction is incomplete. But the practical questions which have to be determined are: 'Is this the kind of teaching most appropriate at the school age? How far would instruction in creeds and catechisms to little children furnish a truer and sounder basis for the Christian belief and conduct, which we may hope will some day characterise the grown man?' These are questions which need more attention than they have yet received. Reasoning *a priori*, and without reference to actual experience, it is not to be wondered at that men should answer: 'The basis of all religion is faith. Faith means the acceptance of certain propositions respecting the Divine Being and His relation to man. Therefore, the first element in the education of a Christian child must be the inculcation of fundamental beliefs.' But if the simpler and wiser method of induction were adopted, and the questions were answered in the light of what is known about the constitution of child-nature, and the tenor of educational experience in regard to subjects other than religion, a very different conclusion would be arrived at. No skilled teacher of any other subject would think it his first duty to form a pupil's opinions, or to make him affirm propositions he does not understand. The larger and more philosophic generalisations in the science of philology, history, physics, or mathematics are not placed before the pupil

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at the beginning of his career, but at a much later stage. The earlier lessons are designed to awaken interest in the subject, to furnish the pupil with facts, to lead him to think, to give such instruction as is intelligible, and to prepare his mind for the future acquisition of what is difficult. Knowledge is supposed to come first, and opinion afterwards. Why should this process be reversed in relation to the one supreme subject of religion? It is easy, of course, to secure the acquiescence of an obedient child in any statements, however abstruse or transcendental, if they are offered to him by those in authority. But acquiescence is not belief. It is not even opinion, and cannot for any vital or effective purpose be called faith. Let any one in mature life look back on his own childhood, and ask himself what effect the learning by heart of the Creed had then upon his understanding and his conscience, or how far the exposition of the theory of sacramental efficacy in the Catechism helped to shape the religious convictions of his later life, and he will not fail to view the whole problem of dogmatic teaching for the elementary school in a new light.

For example, there is the Apostles' Creed, which includes eighteen distinct propositions, whereof tradition says that the first twelve were contributed, severally, by each of the twelve disciples. Of these propositions some, such as the miraculous conception and the communion of saints, are highly mysterious; others, such as the descent into hell and the resurrection of the body, have practically ceased to be enforced in our pulpits or to form any part of the living faith of modern Christendom; and others are, in various degrees, virtually unintelligible to a child. It is impossible to believe that the oral recitation of these propositions can serve any real educational purpose, either in a religious or an intellectual sense. Yet by many good Christian people this lip-service is deemed essential. They have even obtained from the Education Department a formal opinion that the Apostles' Creed may be taught in a Board School without violating section 14 of the Education Act. This extraordinary decision is said to have been approved by the Law Officers of the Crown, on the ground that the venerable formulary in question is not 'distinctive of any particular Church,' but is common to all Christian denominations. The assumption is wholly without foundation. The Apostles' Creed is not recited in Nonconformist chapels, or taught in their Sunday Schools. The Wesleyans, indeed, include it in their Liturgical Service and in the authorised Catechism for the young. But neither the use of the Liturgy nor that of the Catechism is enforced by any authority; both are left to the discretion of the local congregations; and, as a matter of fact, there is a large and increasing proportion of Wesleyan chapels and schools in which it is omitted altogether. Whatever, therefore, may be the legal and technical interpretation of the words of the Act, there can be no doubt that at present, in England, the Apostles' Creed is virtually an Anglican formulary, and that its use

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in a Board School is contrary to the whole spirit and intention of Mr. Forster's Act. This is so far recognised, even by what may for convenience be called the dogmatic party in the London Board, that they do not venture to advocate the adoption of the Creed; but they attach so much importance to definite dogmatic instruction in some form or other, that they have, in their well-known circular to teachers of April 13 last, formulated a creed of their own, designed to serve as a new safeguard for the faith, and to render all Unitarian and other heterodox interpretations of the Bible impossible. It may well be doubted whether this purpose will be achieved. The modern successors of Augustine and of Aquinas, and of the Nicæan and Tridentine councils, have assembled in high conclave on the Victoria Embankment, and have made a clumsy attempt to embody the essentials of the Christian faith in a new form unknown to the mediæval school-men or to the Latin Church—a form which, in the view of the anonymous author of the Athanasian Creed, would have brought them perilously near to anathema, as abettors of a Tritheistic dogma, or of some new modification of Sabellian heresy. They think to serve the cause of Christianity by means of formal and verbal statements of doctrine. They have introduced the word 'Christian' for the first time into the instructions to teachers—a device which either betrays a secret misgiving that after all the Bible *per se* is not Christian, and that the plain and intelligent use of it is not likely to secure Christian belief; or else is meant to raise difficult questions of interpretation in the time to come, and to place it in the power of one party in the Board to use the word as a test of the personal belief and sectarian preferences of the teachers. It is not thus that the religious life of the nation is to be elevated, and that her children are to be trained and disciplined to a sense of moral and religious obligation, and to the love of truth. One may quote, to those who would recommend such expedients, the well-worn language of Hecuba to Priam:

> Non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis
> Tempus eget.

A simple appeal to the teaching of history would go far to moderate the expectations of those who hope by means of creed and dogma to serve the interests of their own particular section of the Christian Church. All through the eighteenth century the only schools of a quasi-public character in England were the Charity Schools. They owed their origin to the zeal of earnest Churchmen, such as Robert Nelson the author of the *Fasts and Festivals*, Bishop Kennett and Dean Stanhope, who, soon after the passing of the Toleration Act, and at the beginning of the eighteenth century, established schools of a new kind, expressly designed to counteract what was held to be the dangerous tendency of that Act, and to attach the children of the poor to the Established Church. These

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schools, of which some two thousand were found by the Schools Inquiry Commission to have survived to 1865, were generally of one type. Their purely educational aims were very humble; but the teaching of the Catechism and Liturgy, and attendance at church on Sundays and holidays, were strictly enforced, and even the privilege of apprenticing was in many cases restricted to the sons of Churchmen, and was only to be enjoyed when the master to whom the boy was bound was also a Churchman. Edward Colston, of Bristol, in whose honour pious orgies are still annually celebrated in that city, expressly stipulated in his deed of settlement (1708) that

> in case the parents of any boy in the school shall prevail on him to go or be present at any conventicle or meeting, *on pretence of religious worship*, or by word or action prevail with or deter any child from attending the public worship according to the religion established in the Church of England, then it shall be lawful for the trustees to expel such child and to take away his clothing . . . it being entirely contrary to my inclinations that any of the boys should be educated in fanaticism, or in principles any way repugnant to those of the present Established Church.

This is a very characteristic utterance, and represents fairly the spirit of those who founded and maintained the Charity Schools of the last century. And when, in 1811, the 'National Society for the Education of the Poor in the principles of the Established Church' was founded, the teaching of the Liturgy and Catechism was prescribed as the staple and distinctive feature of all the 'National' schools; and these schools became far more numerous than all other elementary schools put together. Up to the time of the Education Act of 1870, it is safe to say that at least four-fifths of the schools accessible to the children of the poor were schools under the influence of the clergy, were characterised by 'distinctive Church teaching,' and were deliberately designed to attract the scholars to the worship of the Established Church, and to strengthen her influence. And what has been the result? There is no section of the community so hopelessly estranged from the Establishment as the very class which has been subjected to this exceptional influence. Educationally, the country owes much to the National schools and to the efforts of the clergy. But the one leading purpose contemplated in the definite Church teaching given in such schools has not been fulfilled. The schools do not help to fill the churches. The people who have been educated in Church schools do not, as a rule, go to church. The real strength of the Church of England lies in the middle and upper ranks of the community—that is to say, precisely among those persons who, in their youth, have not been compelled by any external authority, other than that of their own teachers and parents, to learn formularies of faith by heart. Nothing could be more disappointing to the advocates of dogmatic teaching than an honest inquiry into the beliefs of the men and women who have been educated in National

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schools, and into the present relations of such persons to the English Church.

Much has been said of late about the rights and claims of the parents. On this point I take an interesting extract from the report of a speech of Lord Salisbury delivered at Preston in October last:—

> There is only one sound principle in religious education by which you should cling, and that is that a parent, unless he has forfeited the right by criminal acts, has the inalienable right to determine the teaching which his child should receive upon the holiest and most momentous of all subjects. (Prolonged cheers.) That is a right which no expediency can negative, which no State necessity ought to allow you to sweep away. (Cheers.)

Now if by this is meant the right of every parent to teach his children what he likes, to take them to any place of worship or Sunday School he may prefer, and, where there is a choice of schools within reach, to exercise his own discretion freely, *cadit quæstio*. There is no need to vindicate this right or to declare that it is inalienable, seeing that nobody disputes it and nobody, as far as it at present appears, has ever proposed to alienate it. But if it means that the parent has the right to demand that the distinctive theology of his own Church or sect shall be taught in the common school and at the public charge, one is fain to inquire how this right originated and where it is recognised. It is not recognised in any civilised country known to me. It has certainly never been recognised in England; and a little reflection on what would happen in a village with only one school, if the Churchman, the Baptist, the Wesleyan, and the Presbyterian all insisted on such a right, will show how impossible the admission of this claim would prove in practice. There is, indeed, one sense in which the 'right' is 'inalienable,' since you cannot alienate that which has never been possessed.

The truth is that the demand for more 'definite dogmatic teaching' comes from the clergy, and from the benevolent people who subscribe to schools, and not from the parents. It is made in their name but not by them. In a long intercourse with teachers of all ranks, from the head-masters of great public schools to the teachers of the humblest ragged schools, I have repeatedly asked the question, 'Do you receive requests from parents for the formal dogmatic teaching of their own creeds, or are complaints made if such teaching is omitted?' The answer is almost invariably in the negative. 'We are,' say the teachers, 'not unfrequently asked that scholars may be excused from certain forms of religious teaching and worship. But of requests for distinctive denominational instruction, or of remonstrances against its omission, we have no experience.'

As to the ideal working man—the good Churchman who is dissatisfied with the religious teaching of the Board School on the ground of its incompleteness, and who claims as a right that the whole theological system of his own Church shall be taught in the elementary

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school at the public expense—he is a wholly imaginary personage, the creation of fervid orators at Church congresses and of writers in religious newspapers, but no schoolmasters or mistresses have ever met with him. If he existed he would be found complaining to the school managers, and claiming under the protection of the Conscience Clause to withdraw his child from the scriptural teaching, because it was not definite enough, and because he detected in it a flavour of nonconformity or of heresy. But experience proves that no such persons are to be found. The strenuous efforts which were made to get together a deputation of representative parents to demand at the Board more of specially doctrinal instruction, resulted, as is well known, in a grotesque and ludicrous failure.

Happily, there are many parents in the lower as well as in the upper ranks of life who care earnestly about the religious discipline and instruction of their children, and who desire to attach them as they grow up to the religious body with which the family is associated. The father will in such a case take his children with him to a place of worship, and will choose for them the Sunday School or Bible class under the care of his own pastor. It may be added, with safety, that such a parent is precisely the man who will value most highly the simple Biblical instruction of the Board School, and will regard it as providing the best possible foundation for the fuller religious teaching which he wishes the children to receive in his own communion.

Among the expedients most frequently suggested by those who are dissatisfied with the present arrangements is one which would provide that at certain hours, set apart for the special purpose, the ministers of the various churches should be asked to form classes, composed of the children of their several flocks, and to give them the distinctive instruction proper to their several creeds. There is at first sight a plausible show of fairness in this suggestion. But in practice it has never succeeded well, and there are excellent reasons why it never could succeed in a community like ours. For, in the first place, the clergy have not always the time or the will to undertake the work. The best of them are preoccupied with other duties. If they are to be paid, the expense will be considerable, and it would not be likely that Parliament would sanction the payment from the rates. If they are to be unpaid, their attendance will be desultory and uncertain, and subject to such frequent interruption as to dislocate seriously the organisation of the school. But even if their attendance could be secured the results would be very unsatisfactory. It is no disparagement to the ministers of religion to say of them that, as a rule, they are ill suited to be the teachers of young children. Their habits of mind and the peculiar nature of their pastoral work unfit them for this duty—a duty requiring special skill and insight, and a kind of tact in the presentation of truth to young minds, which is only to be gained by exceptional training and expe-

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rience. Moreover, the fact that the minister was employed as the representative of a particular Church would lead him to accentuate those points of difference which distinguish that Church from others; and thus there would be introduced among the children visible sectarian divisions, which would have the most unedifying effect on the social and moral character of the school. But the most serious result of such an arrangement would be the degradation of the teacher's office. To supersede him in regard to the one subject of instruction which is presumably of the highest importance would be to deprive him of much of his moral influence, and to lower him in the eyes of the scholars. He is, after all, a qualified teacher; he knows better than anyone else is likely to know what is the nature of childhood, and what are the most approved methods of finding access to the understanding, the conscience, and the sympathies of those whom he teaches. He has no denominational interests to serve, but he is responsible for the general education of his scholars and for their moral training; and his scriptural instruction, therefore, is likely to be more effective and more appropriate than that of a stranger, because it will be part of a rounded and well-ordered scheme of intellectual and religious training, and not a *purpureus pannus*, patched on at an extra time, and having no organic connection with the rest of the school course. Such well-meant efforts as those of the Bishop of Salisbury, in his abortive Bill of last session, proceed on two assumptions: (1) That the parents, as a rule, belong to some religious denomination or other; and (2) that they desire to have denominational instruction imparted in the day school. Both hypotheses will be found on closer inquiry to be untenable.

The teachers of London Board Schools, to the number of upwards of 3,000, have forwarded to the Board a dignified and respectful but earnest protest against the new conditions which it is sought to impose on them. No one who knows the teachers as I do can suppose that this remonstrance implies any indifference to religious teaching, or any unwillingness to make the Biblical instruction effective. The signatures are for the most part those of men and women who know their business, and who dread the intrusion of disputable theology and of religious tests into the schoolroom, because they are assured that their own authority, and the usefulness of the best part of their school work, will be grievously injured by it.

Suppose the present compromise is overthrown, what is to happen? There can be no doubt about the answer. The religious instruction will be abandoned altogether, and a purely secular system for the rate-aided schools will become inevitable. Let the alternative once be presented to the British ratepayer—definite theological dogma in the State schools or no religious instruction at all—and sooner or later, weary of the ignoble strife now raging in the name of religion, he will assuredly choose the latter. This is a result which some of

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the supporters of denominational schools appear willing to accept. 'For then,' say they, 'our own will be the only schools in which religious instruction is to be had, and we shall have a right to appeal to Christian parents to prefer us to the Board.' No doubt this might happen, and for a time the friends of denominational schools would gain some additional influence and support. But if they would look a little further ahead they would see that, in the near future, the logical consequence of making all rate-aided schools purely secular would be the withdrawal of public aid altogether from denominational and other voluntary schools which remained outside of the National system. In that event, it is certain that an immense number of such schools would disappear altogether.

In a Memorandum of mine presented to Parliament in 1891, and reprinted in the Blue Book of the Education Department of that year, some facts were gathered together from three countries—France, Belgium, and the United States. It was shown that in each of these countries there had been an absolutely secular system, but that this system had not proved co-extensive with the national needs. In all of them

there had grown up a rival system outside of the public school organisation, and apart from it, administered by religious bodies, maintained at their own cost and that of the parents, and receiving neither aid nor supervision from public authorities. Experience seems to prove that, in such circumstances, the number of voluntary and denominational schools tends to increase, and the separation in feelings and interests between such schools and the common schools to become more marked, while the area of the State's influence over public education becomes *pro tanto* restricted. A secular system pure and simple, it would appear, is incapable of becoming a purely national system.[3]

These conclusions and the facts on which they were based, obtained chiefly from France and from America, are not seriously disputed. They indicate clearly the prospect which lies before us if the schools aided by the State become completely secularised. The only schools, then, in which any religious instruction will be given at all will be the voluntary schools, sustained by religious people under a strong sense of injustice, and placed out of organic connexion with the system of national education. This is a prospect which cannot be viewed with complacency by any Christian men who care more for the moral and religious advancement of the whole community than for the ascendency of their own creed or Church. Yet it is certain that if we are to retain what we have, and what is indeed very precious, in the provision for religious instruction in our common schools, our object will not be secured by demanding more of theological dogma in them, but rather by adhering resolutely to the existing compromise. That compromise as we now have it is very honourable to all concerned. It leaves large liberty for denominational teaching in

[3] 'Memorandum on the Working of the Free School System in America, France, and Belgium' (Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1890–1, p. 252).

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denominational schools, but encourages the teaching of the rudiments of religion in all other schools. We can escape the dreaded evil of a purely secular system only by maintaining this compromise in a spirit of conciliation, for bearance, and mutual respect. The clergy and others who refuse to make the best use of the Board under the limitations of the present law are no true friends to religious teaching, for, in demanding more, they incur a grave risk of parting with what we have.

To many of us, who have been affectionately attached to the Church of England all our lives, few things have been sadder or more disheartening than to see some of her clergy retreating inch by inch from untenable positions, and at every step losing some influence and some opportunities of usefulness, which with more wisdom and more of sympathy with popular needs and aspirations they might easily have retained. They resisted as long as they could the imposition of the Conscience Clause. They sought to prohibit the use of the churchyards to Nonconformists, and the use of the parochial schoolrooms for the meetings of any party not their own. At this moment they are in hundreds of parishes denouncing the School Board system as if it were a device of Satan, and leading the less instructed and intelligent members of their congregations to believe that there is no religious teaching whatever in the Board Schools. Meanwhile, the proportion of such schools is increasing year by year. And when, owing to the failure of subscriptions or to other causes, a School Board becomes inevitable, the rector or vicar finds that he is precluded by his previous denunciations from taking a share in the work. He has deliberately made himself impossible as a candidate, and must for the future be content to let the elementary education of his parish pass altogether beyond his control.

On the other hand, many a clergyman has taken a more sagacious and statesmanlike view of the position, and has reached a very different practical conclusion. He has striven, and rightly striven, as long as he could, to maintain the parochial school on its old footing. But the time arrives when this is no longer possible, and when it becomes clear that a thoroughly good school, supplied with all modern requirements, cannot be sustained without recourse to a rate. So he looks the facts in the face, accepts the situation, and offers himself as a candidate for the Board. His character and office are generally sure to secure his election, and probably to place him in the position of Chairman of the Board. His position is a little altered, but he has still large opportunities of exercising influence over the moral and religious instruction of his young parishioners. He can no longer, it is true, call the parish school 'my school.' He does not feel at liberty, on entering it, to assume the sole authority, or to treat the schoolmaster as if he were an upper servant at the rectory, and he finds it necessary to accept as his colleagues in the administration some of

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his neighbours, with whom he has not been accustomed to work or to feel much sympathy. But he is not without some compensations. He is freed altogether from pecuniary anxiety which has been a serious burden to him. He sees that the responsibility of maintaining the schools is more equitably distributed among those for whose benefit it is intended. He begins, possibly, to find that some of his parishioners are not so bad as he thought them, and that in the pursuit of an object of common interest there is a new bond of sympathy between him and them. He finds that though not necessarily the dominant member of the Board, he is in a position to exercise great influence, and in particular to take care that the scriptural instruction, within the limits prescribed by law, shall be thorough and effective. For the rest, he determines that by means of his Sunday School, his children's services, and his catechising in church, provision shall be duly made to supplement the religious teaching of the day school, for the benefit of the children of those members of his own communion who desire the more definite teaching of the Church. The churches are quite able to give to their own children whatever of controversial theology they or their parents require. And it is by a fairer division of labour between the churches, on the one hand, and the common schools on the other, and not by asking the State to do the work of the churches, that the problem before us can best be solved, and that what has been won for the recognition of religion in our common schools can best be retained.

A very heavy responsibility rests upon Mr. Athelstan Riley and his friends, who in pursuit of an object which they must know to be unattainable—the acceptance of disputable theological dogmas as the basis of religious and moral instruction in the rate-aided school—have placed in serious peril the simple, reverent, and appropriate scriptural teaching which is being given, with such great advantage and without raising any controversial difficulty, to half a million London children. If anything could add to one's sense of the mischievous character of the polemic which has been carried on in the meeting-room of the Board during the last few months, it would be the manner and spirit of the whole discussion. Christians and non-Christians alike have been scandalised, not only by the waste of time and the neglect of the proper business of the Board, but by the acrimony, the vulgarity, and the essentially unreligious tone in which a question of the most sacred importance has been treated by the disputants. No one who listened in the Board-room to these angry zealots, or who read in the press the report of their speeches, could find it easy to believe that the matter in hand was the spiritual side of the nature of young children, their training in reverence and in goodness, the formation of their character, the regulation of their conduct, or the development and nurture of their higher life.

Those who are seeking to establish new safeguards for doctrinal

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orthodoxy in our common schools are wont to defend their action by giving hypothetical instances of teachers who, under present regulations, might be personally out of sympathy with religion altogether, and might communicate their doubts to their pupils. Undoubtedly the danger exists. Human nature being what it is, there will always be a risk that half-hearted, injudicious, and insincere teachers will find their way into schools as well as into pulpits. But no remedy has ever been devised which has been found effectual, or which, when tried, has not proved worse than the disease. Occasional lapses into heterodoxy, eccentricity, and even foolishness, will of course occur, and when they occur, can be readily dealt with by the tact and judgment of the managing committee. But they are rare—as rare, at least, in schoolrooms as in churches and chapels. They are part of the price we pay—and it is a price worth paying—for having, as a rule, free and intelligent human beings as our instruments, and not machines or pedants. The introduction of new tests, definitions, and creeds will do nothing to protect us from exceptional misconduct or mistakes. But it may do much to make the rank and file of our teachers less free and more timid, and to render the teaching in our schools formal, verbal, and unsympathetic. 'The letter killeth, but the spirit giveth life.'

Surely one may appeal with some confidence to members of the Church of England as well as to others who care about the moral and spiritual culture of the children in our schools. The alternative which is being industriously presented to the public by what is called the denominational party in the Board, in view of the coming election, is, 'Will you have a colourless and unsectarian religious teaching, or a definite creed and doctrinal orthodoxy in your rate-aided schools?' But that is not the true alternative before us. The 'definite creed,' with its endless possibilities of dispute and sectarian conflict, will never be tolerated in our mixed and heterogeneous community as the essential factor in a system of national education. The real issue is, 'Will you hold fast by such security as you now have for teaching the Word of God and helping children to value it, and to take it as the guide of their lives, or will you sacrifice this security and accept in despair a system from which religion shall be excluded altogether?' If the considerations on both sides are duly weighed, and if due account is taken of the enormous mischief which is being done by the prolongation of the Board's sterile discussions, there should be little doubt as to the ultimate decision of the question by the London electors.

J. G. Fitch.

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A NIGHT IN INDIA

In spite of the almost innumerable books on life and travel in India, in spite of the constant stream of Globe Trotters who infest that great empire, in spite of its being almost the fashion to spend a few winter months wandering in a desultory way from Bombay to Jeypur, Agra, Delhi, Cawnpore, and then to return by way of Calcutta, Madras, and Ceylon, having now triumphantly 'done' India, in spite of all this —indeed, I am much tempted to say *because* of all this—there still remains in England the most astonishing quantity of ignorance as to the way in which Europeans live in that vast and still almost unknown land. Far be it from me to disparage the average Globe Trotter; in the main he is a good fellow. If he bores us a good deal with his wonderful ready-made theories as to the government of the country, the way we should deal with the natives, the best method of treating cholera, or the most *fin-de-siècle* notions on sanitation, still he often also affords us some honest and by no means malicious amusement with his raptures over our picturesque servants, our dusty hedges of prickly pear, our endless tanks and tombs and ruined palaces. Again, he is in himself a delightful object to contemplate, and has often brought a smile to faces usually set fast in the grim patience that passes for content in India. Often have I observed him driving with wide-open eyes on the Red Road in Calcutta. There he may be beheld under the brilliant stars, arrayed in immaculate flannels, a huge sola topee gracefully wreathed with blue gauze on his head, a white umbrella in his hand, blue spectacles on his nose. In this costume he may be seen walking in the Eden Gardens amongst the beauty and fashion of Calcutta; the electric light shows him off to great advantage. We who have struggled through another hot weather and monsoon, and who feel like the panting, wounded but triumphant victors of a long and deadly fight, are all dressed in broadcloth, silk hats, and kid gloves, while the ladies are wearing all manner of Parisian finery. Grave old judges peer at him as he passes and re-passes, and rub up some old cynicism to amuse the lady whose trailing skirts are beyond criticism, but whose hollow cheeks and weary eyes tell of sleepless nights and much fever. Smart young officers barely out of their own griffinage look round

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after him with thinly disguised contempt. Everyone has a sneer or a laugh at him, and yet deep down in our heart rankles bitter envy of the man who will be strolling along Piccadilly when *we*, with sick disgust, are nerving ourselves for another desperate battle with the heat, the work, disease, worry, anxiety, sleeplessness, mosquitoes, and all the major and minor evils that make up the sum total of life during nine months of the year. Often have I looked at him, happy in his flannels and his ignorance, and wondered what was my own chance of seeing him again. November will bring him back to a certainty, but shall I still be treading the damp grass and watching the deathly white fog rise off the Hooghly? Enough of the Globe Trotter. I could easily enlarge on that theme, for often have I laughed and wept over him; but with Indian life he has really nothing to do, no more than the travelling lecturer, the newly-made M.P., or the third-rate company of comedians trying to gather figs off our thistles. These come and go, and move us no more than the fly moved the cartwheel. I only mentioned the travelling gentleman because I find that he is one potent cause of the ignorance that prevails in England as to our manners and customs, modes of thought, and reasons for so thinking.

Perhaps the best way to throw light on this subject will be to set before you one or two of the numberless episodes of Anglo-Indian life which are to us familiar to weariness, but which are never likely to come under the notice of the passing traveller.

Buried in the very centre and heart of India there is a little station called Narsinghpur. It is little because no European lives there, except the officials who are obliged to do so and three or four missionaries. But the native town is of some size, and the district is fertile and populous. It is as typical as anything can be, for there are hundreds and hundreds just like it all over India. Life in these stations is really Anglo-Indian life. Here we do really live amongst the natives, the officials carry on their business entirely in Hindustani, we soak in their manners and customs without knowing it, and we see a side of life wholly unknown to the visitors who spend four months in the large cities, where every native strives to be more English than his rulers. Narsinghpur happened to be on one of the great railway lines, and to show how utterly isolated we felt, I need only mention that we constantly drove to the railway station on the day the English mail passed solely to look into the carriages and see perhaps two or three white faces. The train stopped ten minutes, and we might have the rare treat of seeing an acquaintance; but any English folks were a welcome sight, and satisfied for a moment our hungry longing for intercourse with our fellows. Now that I rub against hundreds daily in the streets, and am even beginning to think there are sometimes too many of them, I often remember with deep pity those who are living now in Narsinghpur, and who very likely

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are taking the same weekly drive to get that poor ten minutes' consolation for their starved brains.

But this is not what I intended to describe, only there is so much to tell of every aspect of Indian life that I see, unless I take some short cut I shall tire your patience before I even begin. So I will plunge into it without delay.

Through the Narsinghpur district runs a river called the Nerbudda. This is held to be a sacred stream—not, of course, to such an extent as the holy Ganges, but still sufficiently so to attract pilgrims to a certain convenient spot known as Birman. Now when pilgrims journey to a river they naturally want to bathe in it; that, indeed, is their object, and how they can bathe so often and yet remain so dirty is a problem I have often pondered over. But I cannot go into that question now, it is too vast. These pilgrimages are mostly undertaken in the cold weather, because the river is then shallow and slow, and nobody gets drowned unless they are more than usually perverse. Also when the river is low, great tracts of sand are dry on either side of the water, and on these the pilgrims can conveniently camp. Accordingly, each year, about the middle of December, there flock to Birman fully 200,000 people. These are not all pilgrims pure and simple, because even the most religious pilgrim requires to be fed and clothed, he needs all manner of tinsel trumperies to deck his children, his wife, and his gods. Besides, he must have plenty of sweetmeats, dreadful mawkish compounds of butter and milk and sugar, flavoured with spice—he needs these to make merry with, when all the ablutions are happily over for the year, and every god has been properly propitiated. Further, he wants no end of oil to keep all his little lamps (religious and domestic) going. It is curious to note how kerosine and matches are used in the remotest Indian village. In order to provide him with these, and several hundred other things which I cannot now remember, a perfect army of grain-sellers, leather-workers, water-carriers, jewellers, and, in short, men of every trade that has the remotest hope of making anything out of the pilgrims, all crowd to the spot. Round the edge of this vast heterogeneous mass there hangs a long fringe of beggars. At the head of this fringe are the Brahmins; these boldly claim and obtain charity as a right. Next come those who beg merely because that is easier than working, and less dangerous than stealing. After them come a host of decrepit, blind, diseased and deformed folk, whose dreadful sores and pitiable malformations earn them as good or a better living than the able-bodied and industrious are often able to obtain. Last of all come the lepers, and these indeed are miserable objects. Often have I dropped a coin into a hand that was a mere stump, all the fingers having decayed away. All these are willingly fed and supported by the pilgrims and the traders. For India is a country where charity is carried far over the verge of imbecility; to give to

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the lazy loafer or the fat Brahmin is quite as meritorious as to help the sick but industrious artisan, or to add a trifling comfort to cheer the wretched leper or helpless cripple. No questions are asked; you need but squat by the roadside in some frequented place, spread a filthy cloth in front of you, and hold out a hand to passers by, to insure a maintenance for life. Charity is not given to relieve distress in others, but to smooth the donor's path to heaven.

Our two hundred thousand people are now collected in the bed of the Nerbudda. The district officials have done what they can to preserve order, ensure sanitation, and keep up necessary supplies. For the first, the people themselves are so orderly and peaceable that little requires to be done. The second is so utterly hopeless that little *can* be done. The third is done by the immemorial custom of local traders.

Each family brings with it a minute tent about the size of a table-cloth, a few minutes' search in the jungle near by will produce a suitable stick to support it, and a Hindu family is now comfortably housed for the next ten days. Is he a pilgrim, then no more is needed. The tent gives the seclusion so dear to his wife, and so necessary for her comfort and well-being. For himself the cloudless sky and clear sunshine are enough; the river supplies his bath and drink, from the nearest grain-seller he buys a handful of food when he is hungry, a stroll through the fair is all the diversion he requires, and the temple and plenty of priests are at hand to assist his devotions. He is disposed of, and need not be again considered. If, however, he is not a pilgrim, but a trader, the case is different. A larger tent must be erected in order to keep his bales of goods under cover; of this, a small corner must be partitioned off for his wife. At the door a little awning supported on two sticks is set up, and beneath this samples of his goods are displayed. Each night he buries his money in the earth and sleeps on it, thus taking advantage of Nature's own strong room, where she also keeps her valuables.

When most of the people were assembled it became my husband's duty to go to Birman and stay there during the fair time, to keep order and see that all things were properly carried on. Accordingly, one morning we sent on some of our camels with the tents, furniture, and bedding; it was but a day's march on a rather bad road. In the afternoon I started the rest of our camels, with our table appointments, dinner, and servants. Then we rode out ourselves. Of course we easily passed our second set of slow laborious camels, and we noticed with some dismay that the road, owing to late rains, was very heavy, and almost impassable for the laden clumsy camels, and we wondered when they would arrive. We exhorted the servants to get on as fast as they could, and they of course assured us that dinner would be ready at the exact minute at which I had ordered it. I felt very doubtful of this, but we ourselves could do

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nothing to help, so we cantered on and left the struggling camels slipping about in the thick mud, and hoped for the best. Presently we arrived hot and tired at our camp, and were thankful to find our tents ready and that the bedding was dry. The tents had been pitched under a group of trees on the top of the high bank overlooking the river. We could look down on the fair in full swing just beneath us. It was a picturesque sight. The great stretches of barren sand were covered with long lines of the tiniest tents from the water's edge to where the banks rose steeply on either side. The river flowed placidly amongst them, and a temporary bridge had been constructed; the evening meal was being cooked, and a thin thread of blue smoke rose slowly from each little doll's tent and formed itself into a cloud overhead; the acrid smell of the burning cowdung with which these unfastidious people cook their rice and ghee penetrated even as high as where we stood. Streams of men and women passed to and fro, bringing water from the river and wood from the jungle. Vendors of sweetmeats shouted out the excellent qualities of their wares, water-carriers pushed their bullocks through the crowd, those who had arrived last were wrangling for places, indignant because the best were already taken and their occupiers had no intention of moving. In one place a group of camels was looking on with supercilious disgust, their vicious, dissipated countenances and ragged out-at-elbows coats reminding one strongly of the loafers to be seen outside every public-house, while their strong yellow teeth were ready for any unsuspecting person who came within reach. In another corner a philosophic elephant could be seen contentedly swinging his hind leg, and keeping a watchful eye on the mahout cooking a huge pile of chupatties for his lordship's supper. If the mahout steals one for his own meal, or takes a little of the ghee or sugar, the elephant is fully aware of it, and is sure to pay him out sooner or later. Every now and then a howl like some wild beast rises from the thickest of the throng, and presently the producer of this cry comes into view. It is a jogi, and a more loathsome and disgusting object it would be hard to conceive, naked from head to foot, unless the ashes with which he is smeared all over can be considered as a covering—filthy to the last degree. With matted hair hanging down his back, in his hand he carries a stick with a bell attached, and this he strikes to attract attention as again and again he gives the wild howl that first caught our ear. It is the name of some god to whom his life is devoted, and his self-imposed duty is to utter this name so many thousand times daily. The women crowd round him and touch his feet reverently, any grain-seller will be proud to give him as much food as he will take, but to the end of his life this miserable wretch will live shelterless under the burning sun and through bitter freezing nights, unclothed, starving, scorning even the commonest comforts, without intercourse with his kind, and all that the name of Shiva may be

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heard in the land and due glory given to him. In the next world will there be any reward for such complete abnegation, the more pitiful, surely, that to us it seems so entirely thrown away? Many others of that fraternity are in the fair. They lie on spike beds, they swing head downwards over fires, they stand all night in the river. All these I have seen, and deeply pondered over. These men are not fools or imbeciles, they do it of set purpose to glorify God and win heaven, and how strong must that purpose and their wills be who can endure such things for all the years of a long life!

Now the darkness is closing down, and ominous black clouds are gathering on all sides. We are going to have a storm—oh! may it be no more than that for the sake of these many thousands with nothing but a cotton cloth between them and the weather. We begin to feel considerable anxiety about that faithfully promised dinner. We send a man to reconnoitre. He reports that the camels are invisible. This is bad news, for we are hungry and tired, and to go to bed dinnerless is a gloomy prospect. We wait another hour, but the situation remains the same. At last we determine to turn in, and hope that sleep will stand in the place of food. At this juncture, however, a polite native official arrives in the camp, and says he has heard of our difficulty and would have come earlier but he thought our own things might arrive; as this is now hopeless will we honour him by accepting some food that his wife has prepared expressly for us? It is of the simplest kind, he urges, otherwise he knows we would not take it. We graciously accept, and indeed are glad to get food of any sort. It consists of chupatties, quite hot, and nice enough if you can forget the amount of handling required in their making; then there is boiled milk in a brass lotah. It is very difficult for English lips to drink out of a lotah; the fluid either comes out in one flood or else dribbles down the sides of the vessel. In either case it goes everywhere except into your mouth; and when this difficulty had been partially overcome, I found the smoke of the fuel I mentioned before had flavoured the milk so strongly that a very little was enough for me. Also I felt rather foolishly resentful of the fact that that polite official would the next morning give away that lotah to some man of the lowest caste. He would never use it again now that it had been polluted by our touch.

Having satisfied our hunger, we went to bed. By this time it was pouring in torrents, and the wind was rising and tossing wildly the great trees beneath which we were camped. I felt deeply sorry for the poor folk down in the bed of the river. In ten minutes there could not have been a dry thread among them, and fires would be out of the question. But to help them was impossible, and we felt doubtful as to the security of our own tents. We slept, perhaps, three hours, and the rain came down steadily in sheets. Then we were awakened by a loud crash, followed by a wild jabbering from the servants and

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sentries. We jumped out of bed into two inches of water; this I found very cooling, and promptly got in again, felt for the matches and struck a light. A stream of water was running through the tent, and my husband was paddling about in it trying to rescue his boots. Having placed these in comparative safety, he went outside to see what all the row was about. It was the other tent falling that caused the crash, and it lay in ruins, with all the furniture buried under it. Nothing could be done in the way of restoration in the darkness, rain, and wind, so he told the natives to leave off chattering and came back to bed. Further sleep was impossible, and we lay listening to the howling wind and the swish of the rain against our canvas roof, and wondered how long this tent would hold up, and which way the pole would fall when it came down. That we felt to be a rather important point, as it is undesirable to be beneath a tent-pole when it comes down. Presently it becomes apparent that some excitement is going on in the fair. A deep hum rises up where an hour ago was dead silence, excited voices can be heard above the din, and now and then a woman's shriek or the cry of a frightened child. What can be happening? My husband says he must go and see, and I try to dissuade him from venturing again into the wet and cold. 'You will get wet through for nothing,' I urge. At this moment a terrified voice outside is heard calling these ominous words, 'Sahib, sahib, *the river is rising.*'

My husband is out of bed and out of the tent before I can speak a word. The next instant I huddle on some clothes and rush out too, and peer over the bank at the wild scene below. The wind is dropping, the moon is struggling through ragged clouds; below all is ripe for a panic rush, and if that takes place God help the women and children, the sick and the old. Anxiously I question the trembling servants. 'Memsahib, it is true,' they say; 'many tents are already flooded.' I am seized with despair. In India vast tracts of country may be flooded in a few hours, and the people below are doing nothing but shriek and sob and embrace each other. To get all of them up the banks in time is hopeless. Women are there with babies a few hours old; many are sick and helpless, and their vast number makes it impossible to deal with them in the darkness. Dogs bark, camels groan, the elephant sends out his shrill trumpet, everybody talks at once, and the thunder of voices from that huge terrified crowd as they sway and surge about drowns even the voice of the angry river. Trembling with fright and pity, I stand and watch them and long for the dawn. Will it never come? When I can no longer bear the suspense, I send down a man for news, and he brings back the comforting assurance that the river is rising no longer, and now that the Sahib is there the people are less frightened. This is good hearing, as panic is even a greater source of danger than the river itself. As the man is telling me this I feel a new flavour in the air, and in-

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stinctively turn to the east. With a joy as great as that of the most ardent fire-worshipper, I see a pale grey light there. Thank heaven! this dreadful night is over. Instantly the teeming jungle life responds to the sun's message. The tiger, with blood still dropping from his jaws, is now skulking home; the jackal and hyena are already wrangling over the remains of his victim. From the ruined well the dove sends forth her endless crooning lament, an impudent hoopoe runs across the camp in search of the earliest and most imprudent worm, mynas resume their gossip, and overhead in the pepal tree the parrots are bestirring themselves and croaking gently to their wives that it is time to see to the breakfast. The shrill scream of the peafowl comes clearly from the opposite bank. A monkey with a baby firmly clutching her drops almost at my feet, and, seizing a forgotten banana, is up again in the topmost branch before one can exclaim at her audacity. By now a long finger of light has pierced the heavens, and almost immediately the great red rim heaves up, and I stand facing that alternate curse and blessing, the sun of India. I see my husband toiling up the little zigzag path, and so I feel sure that the danger is now over. I am returning to the tent, wet and weary, but so thankful that matters are no worse. Before I reach it, I hear a well-known sound, or rather combinations of sounds; the whack of a stick, the groan of a camel, and the curse of its driver. These must mean that our long-delayed servants are at hand, and, as I turn to look, the first of the long string of ungainly beasts comes slouching into the camp, and with groanings that cannot be uttered flops down on its knees to have its load removed. The servants begin voluble apologies and explanations, but I am too tired to listen, and leave them there chattering, merely remarking that somebody had better be quick with some tea, as the Sahib will be back in a minute and then there will be a row. They depart, and we throw ourselves down for an hour's rest, if possible, before the duties of the day begin.

By the evening everything is in order again, everybody has got dry, the tents are standing once more. The fair is in full swing, laughter is heard instead of shrieks, and the careless people have forgotten their fright already. The episode is over, no one is the worse, and we are hoping never again to pass another night in such circumstances.

S. C. Logan.

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THE 'VIRGIN OF THE ROCKS'

A DOCUMENT of remarkable importance in the annals of painting has recently been unearthed in the State Archives of Milan. As it directly bears upon and tends to elucidate the history of a well-known picture in the National Gallery it is of especial interest to us here. This document, published by its discoverer, Sig. Emilio Motta, librarian to Prince Trivulzi, in the *Archivio Storico Lombardo* (anno xx. fasc. iv. 1893), is nothing less than a letter or memorial from Giovanni Ambrogio de Predis and Leonardo da Vinci to the Duke of Milan, praying of him to intervene in a dispute which had arisen between the petitioners and the brotherhood 'della Concezione' touching the valuation of certain works of art furnished by the former for the chapel of the brotherhood in S. Francesco at Milan. This letter is undated, but is assigned by Sig. Motta, on palæographical grounds, to the period 1484–1494; certainly not earlier, and probably not later. It is desirable to insert it here at length.

Illmo et Exmo Signore,

Alias li vostri fidelissimi servitori Johanne Ambrosio Preda et leonardo de vinci florentino se convenetono cum li scolari de la conceptione de sancto francesco de Milano, de farli una ancona de figure de relevo misa tuta de oro fino et uno quadro de una nostra dona depinto a olio et dui quadri cum dui angeli grandi depinti similiter a olio, cum hoc che dovesero eligere ala extimatione de dicte opere dui de dicti scolari et lo patre frate Augustino per lo tertio, et facta dicta extimatione, et montando dicte opere più de octocento libre de imperiali quale sono anduta in spexe che dicti scolari fusseno obligati satisfare ali dicti supplicanti del soprapiù de dicte libre octocento supra secondo sarebe declarato per dicti tri. Et non obstante che dicte due opere siano de valore de ducati CCC como apare per una lista di dicti supplicanti data a dicti scolari et che dicti suplicanti habiano instato cum li dicti commissarj vogliano fare la dicta extimatione cum lo suo sacramento, attamen non la voleno fare nisi de equitate volendo loro extimare la dicta nostra dona facta a olio per lo dicto florentino solum ducati XXV licet sia de valore de ducati cento como apare per una lista de essi supplicanti et lo quale pretio de ducati cento hano trovato da persone quale hano voluto comprare dicta nostra dona: ex quo sono astricti havere recorso da V. S.

Supplicando humelmente a la prelibata V. S. che permissis attentis, et che dicti scolari non sono in talibus experti, et quod cechus non judicat de colore, se dignia provedere senza più dilatione de tempo aut che dicti tri commisarj fazano secundo lo suo sacramento la extimatione de dicte due opere, aut che siano electi due extimatori in talibus experti, videlicet uno per parte, quali habiano a extimare

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dicte due opere, et che secundo la dicta extimatione sia statim per dicti scolari satisfacto ali dicti supplicanti aut che essi scolari lasano ali dicti exponenti dicta nostra dona facta a olio, consciderato che solum la dicta ancona de relevo monta le dicte libre octocento imperiali quale hano hauto dicti supplicanti, le quale sono anduta in spexe ut supra, como è justo et conveniente et credeno sia mente de V. Signoria alla quale se recomandano.

A tergo:

Supplicatio Johannis Ambrosij de predis et Leonardi de vincijs florentini.

The odd grammar and the notarial style of this memorial present some difficulties at first sight, but the sense of it is quite clear. The petitioners had agreed to execute for the chapel of the brotherhood an *ancona* (or stately carved and gilt framework in relief for the altar), together with an oil painting of Our Lady and two oil paintings of angels of large size. These works were to be estimated by two of the confraternity and a monk, Father Agostino, who had fixed the value at 800 imperial lire, a sum which no more than covered the expenses of the artists. Although the works were worth 300 ducats, as was shown in a specified account furnished by the petitioners, who had urged that the valuation should be made on oath, yet the valuators refused to be bound but by their own notions of what was right, and had priced the oil painting of Our Lady, executed by the said Florentine (Leonardo da Vinci), at only twenty-five ducats, whereas it was worth 100 ducats, as shown by the account, and proved by the fact that certain persons were found willing to purchase it at that price. The Duke is, therefore, supplicated graciously to ordain without delay either that the three valuators shall make their own estimate on oath, or that two arbitrators shall be appointed, one by each party, according to whose judgment the brotherhood shall at once either satisfy the demand of the petitioners or else restore to them the said painting of Our Lady, seeing that the 800 lire paid to the petitioners, and already consumed in their expenses on the works, amounted to no more than the value of the *ancona* alone.

Through this memorial we have for the first time documentary proof of what had hitherto been only taken for granted—namely, that Leonardo did execute the central composition of the altar-piece for the Cappella della Concezione in S. Francesco at Milan. (Further, the context leads to the inference that the two side paintings of angels were by the hand of Ambrogio de Predis.)

Now from other evidence, the facts of which have been disputed by none, we know that such a picture, at all events generally considered to be by Leonardo, was to be found in that chapel from his days until some time between 1751 and towards 1787, by which latter date it had disappeared from the chapel. Strong presumptive evidence, equally unimpugned, identifies this picture with one brought to England by Gavin Hamilton, apparently about 1779, and sold by him to the Earl (afterwards Marquis)

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of Lansdowne, in whose family it remained until it was purchased by the Earl of Suffolk and Berkshire early in the present century, and taken to Charlton Park. This is the work now in the National Gallery under the title of 'The Virgin of the Rocks,' and numbered 1093. For brevity's sake we shall call it the 'Charlton picture.' Of course it may be said to have remained an open question whether this picture, which all allow to have been in the Cappella della Concezione shortly after Leonardo's death, was the veritable work painted by the master for that chapel. A modern school of critics had decided this question to their own satisfaction in the negative, though only on what they considered internal evidence. Far be it from me to attempt the useless task of dispelling this pleasing illusion of their competency to deal with so delicate a subject. For internal testimony, inasmuch as it depends upon certain subtle elements, æsthetical and technical, addresses itself to the eye and the artistic sense alone, and cannot be adequately defined in words. Discussion thereon, where language fails to convey any clear conceptions, is apt to degenerate into mere assertion and counter-assertion. I shall therefore confine myself here to the more tangible subject of external evidence.

Any one acquainted with the contradictory opinions hitherto advanced as to the validity of the claims of the Charlton picture to be a genuine work of Leonardo, but unbiassed on either or any side of the question, would, I think, on reading the document above transcribed, regard it as supplying the last link in the chain of external evidence which tended to identify that picture with the work actually furnished by Leonardo for the Cappella. Not so those who had loudly pledged themselves to the doctrine that the true and only original was to be recognised in the 'Vierge aux Rochers' of the Louvre, of which they affirmed the Charlton picture to be but a copy. Nevertheless the publication of the newly found document seems to have sorely disturbed the self-complacency of these critics. If compelled to admit (and one of them does admit) that the memorial affords at least *primâ facie* evidence against their view, they are by no means disposed to yield. They consider it indispensable to defend their position at all hazards; and this task they have undertaken to achieve by the very simplest, if not exactly the newest, of expedients. They merely beg the whole question. They read into the document what no eyes but their own can find there. They airily set up a series of conjectures—and I was going to say, argue from these as established facts, but the conjectures stand for both facts and arguments! Such is the course adopted, though with some modesty and much Italian grace, by an estimable gentleman and esteemed acquaintance of mine at Milan, in the *Archivio storico dell' Arte* (anno vii. fasc. i.), and faithfully followed up (minus the modesty and Italian grace) by Dr. J. P. Richter in the June number

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of the *Art Journal.* I shall confine my remarks to the second of these articles, as it is immediately before the British public, and as it substantially repeats the terms of its forerunner. The writer, having given an adequate *précis* of the memorial to the Duke of Milan, introduces his own deductions therefrom in a paragraph which it would be a pity not to quote here *verbatim;* for only by so doing could any notion be conveyed of the charming frankness with which baseless assumptions are put forward as certainties. In quoting the passage I shall take the liberty of putting its more amazing clauses in italics, in order to save the space of detailed comment hereafter.

> We are not told how this dispute was settled by the Duke; but the nature of the decision is not difficult to guess, *if we bear in mind that by the side of the one Madonna picture a replica soon makes its appearance.* The brotherhood had settled upon a fixed price for the works of art which they had ordered, and they were by no means disposed to go beyond this sum for the decoration of their chapel. Moreover the Duke will have had neither the means nor the inclination to compel them to do so. On the other hand, Leonardo was in a position to sell his Madonna for four times the price that the brotherhood were willing to give for it, nor could any one have prevented him from doing this, as soon as he undertook to supply in its place a picture of the value of 25 ducats. *The original was acquired by an agent of King Louis the Twelfth of France,* with whom Leonardo is known to have had personal relations; *but before the despatch of the picture a copy, with slight variations, was prepared by an assistant in the master's 'atelier,' and for this, on its delivery, the stipulated price of* 25 *ducats was paid.*

This paragraph begins by confessing ignorance of how the dispute ended, and then proceeds to tell us all about it, with circumstance and detail! Not a scintilla of evidence is produced, or is producible, in support of any one of the statements which are here underlined. Such a mode of conducting an argument is an insult to common-sense. It is clear that the critic looks upon the intelligence of his English readers as *peu de chose.*

But one may, perhaps, pause to inquire, with all proper deference, why variations were introduced in the (imaginary) copy. Was this done at the desire of the brotherhood? Or was it, rather, due to magnanimity on the part of the ill-used painter who, instead of getting the 'assistant in his atelier' to simply trace the outlines of the original, and to fill them in as best he could, preferred to be at the trouble of making fresh studies for a substantially new work? Why alter the posture of the Bambino, and, above all, why entirely recast the original scheme by introducing a new *motif* in the angel? For this innovation is no slight one. It involves a profound change in the meaning of the whole. Thus, in the Louvre picture, which we are informed is the original, the angel, looking towards us, and pointing to St. John, *connects the spectator with what is taking place.* In the Charlton picture, on the contrary, is no such connect-

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ing link. *Here the action is complete within itself. The spectator is not invited to participate in what is, to him, a divine Vision.* Lomazzo accurately describes the scene, and interprets its meaning in his own way. After having indicated certain qualities exemplified in Leonardo's works, he says: 'And again, in the picture which is in the chapel of the Conception in San Francisco in Milan . . . where we may see, in St. John the Baptist, the motive of obedience and childlike veneration, as he kneels with joined hands and bends towards Christ; in the Virgin, the feeling of happy meditation as she beholds this act; in the angel, the idea of angelic gladness, as he ponders the joy that shall come to the world from this mystery; and in the Infant Christ [we behold] divinity and wisdom. And therefore the Virgin kneels, holding St. John with her right hand and extending her left, and the angel likewise supports Christ, who, seated, regards St. John, and blesses him.' (*Trattato dell' Arte de la Pittura*, Milano, 1584, Lib. II. cap. XVII.) This is something more than 'variation.'

The candid interpreter of the newly discovered document takes occasion to warn his readers against putting trust in the evidence brought forward in the official catalogue of the National Gallery bearing on the history of the Charlton picture. Now this historical exposition (to borrow the writer's term) is a simple list of facts placed in chronological order, impeached by none, not even by himself, save in the gratuitous insinuation here referred to. Upon Lomazzo it suits Dr. Richter's purpose to heap obloquy, to class him amongst 'bombastic writers,' and therefore no critic, and to remind us, with an air of superior knowledge, that the author of the *Trattato* became blind at the age of thirty-three, as if a man before that age, a studious artist too, and born, so to say, in the very school of Leonardo, were incapable of forming a judgment on that master's works. But this onslaught on Lomazzo is altogether irrelevant and misleading. That writer was cited by me very palpably not as a critic, but as a quite unintending witness to two facts, viz. (1) that the picture in the Cappella *passed in his time, without cavil*, as the genuine work of Leonardo; for he merely refers to it, incidentally, as an illustration, well known and close at hand, of the great master's aims in art; (2) that his description of the picture in the Cappella applies exactly to the Charlton example, and not at all to that in the Louvre. I admit, indeed, that Lomazzo was open to the charge of having poetic feeling, an infirmity from which your 'scientific' art critic is entirely exempt.

With still more inexcusable sophistication of the truth Dr. Richter states that Bianconi, in his *Nuova Guida di Milano* (1787), describes the Cappella picture as a *school piece*. I quote here the sole passage (p. 279) in which Bianconi mentions the picture, using italics where desirable:

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In certi comparti dell' Ancona della Cappella in cornu Epistolae . . . si vedono due begli Angioli in piedi con Instrumenti da suono sull' asse, *della scuola di Lionardo*, che molto sentendo del di lui stile *sono stati creduti* di sua mano. *Eravi* bene una pittura parimenti in asse [on panel] con la Vergine, S. Giovanni putto, ed un Angiolo adoranti il S. Bambino sopra fiorito praticello contornato da Sassi ruvidissimi, *di mano di Lionardo*, ma passata ad un Luogo Pio, è partita da noi.[1]

Thus what Bianconi states is that the two side panels of angels, reflecting much the style of Leonardo, *had been attributed* to him; while of the central panel he says, without any qualification, *that it was by the master's hand.* Dr. Richter, satisfied that an infinitesimal minority of his readers would have either the power or the inclination to consult an old Milan guide-book published over a century ago, and very scarce, coolly applies what is said of the side panels to the central one. The reader may draw his own conclusions.

Our critic seeks to make much capital out of the report that Gavin Hamilton gave but thirty ducats for the Charlton picture. The price paid for this work at a time when the works of Guido Reni, Domenichino, and the Carracci ranked among *connoisseurs* as the highest creations of art is a matter of small consequence. But it would be interesting to know on what authority he depended for this 'fact.' Was it on that of Dr. Waagen, in his *Art Treasures of Great Britain*? Truly a veracious source; from which, however, Dr. Richter would be otherwise the last to drink inspiration. As I have long since ascertained, there is no tradition of the tale at Charlton Park, nor any hint of it amongst the careful notes which the late Lord Suffolk made of the pictures in his possession. Neither does the voluminous Hamilton-Lansdowne correspondence yield, in the one short letter which mentions the picture in question, any indication of the price at which Hamilton either bought or sold it. Evidently Waagen, who is always quoted as the authority for the story, merely retailed, having, perhaps, first confused, some vague gossip gathered from the 'man in the street.'

The question, often agitated and now revived, Which of the two pictures, that in Paris and that in London, is the 'unique original'? is one which I have never discussed. I have nothing but admiration for what remains intact of the work in the Louvre.[2]

[1] The *Luogo Pio* is a religious and charitable institution common to Italian towns. There are deposited, on various occasions and under varying conditions, valuable church furniture and other movables, either the property of the churches of the various religious confraternities, or of private persons. These objects are sometimes given or bequeathed to the institution, in either of which cases they may at any time be sold by the governors with a charitable object. It seems highly probable that the picture removed from the Cappella della Concezione to the Luogo Pio was there purchased by Gavin Hamilton, either directly or through some intermediary.

[2] The 'Vierge aux Rochers' of the Louvre was, says Gault de Saint-Germain (in 1803), in a bad condition when it was removed to the Louvre not many years earlier. It had then to be transferred from the original panel to canvas. From my careful examination of it in 1880 I was satisfied that it has been extensively restored. The Virgin's head is so much repainted as to have lost in great part its Leonardesque

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But as our critic assigns to this picture an indubitable pedigree, I may remark, in passing, that this pedigree cannot, I believe, be traced further back than the year 1642. I speak with reserve, because I have never had time to thresh out the subject thoroughly. But so far as I am aware the 'Vierge aux Rochers' of the Louvre is first distinctly mentioned (though as yet by no title) in Pierre Dan's *Trésor des Merveilles de la Maison Royale de Fontainebleau*, etc., published in that year. The picture was then at Fontainebleau; fair presumptive evidence, no doubt, though not amounting to positive proof, that it had belonged to Francis the First, and no proof at all that it had been acquired by Louis the Twelfth. But, in fact, amongst French writers themselves there are curious discrepancies of statement as to the *provenance* of this picture. Gault de Saint-Germain, in the list of works ascribed to Leonardo appended to his Life of the master, published in 1803, *shortly after the picture had been incorporated in the then newly formed Louvre Collection*, says of it: 'Il vient de Versailles. Il a anciennement appartenu au Marquis de Sourdis.' Villot, in his Catalogue of the Louvre Collection, 1869, while deriving the picture from the collection of Francis the First, nevertheless quotes the account given by Gault de Saint-Germain, and without comment. De Tanzia's Catalogue (1881) omits this reference. But how arose the story that the picture had once belonged to a Marquis de Sourdis? The last of that name, François, who was Governor of Bordeaux, died in 1707. His father, Charles, a General, was Governor of the Orléanais. The harmonisation of these distressingly various accounts of the *provenance* of the Louvre picture may be within the powers, and not beyond the pious scope, of the 'scientific' critic, who is above all things bound to give chapter and verse for his 'pronouncements.' At the same time, it is no part of my design to insinuate any doubt of the authorship of the 'Vierge aux Rochers.' Even if I should live to learn that some other school of infallible critics, yet to come, had demolished, on irrefragable evidence, the pretensions of that picture to authenticity, my opinion of its intrinsic beauty and worth would remain unaltered. The crowd, indeed, is swayed by names. Take away the name dear to it, and it burns what it has adored. What it *thinks* it thought, it thinks no more. The glamour has vanished, and the beauty once enthusiastically babbled about becomes a laughing-stock.

Nor have I ever entered on another equally useless and illogical question—viz. which of these pictures is a copy of the other—for the simple reason that, as I have shown above, the two differ not only

character. The whole body, the right shoulder and upper arm, and in part the head, of St. John are repainted. The head of the angel is blotted over with retouches, which have turned to a livid colour. The Bambino's head has escaped somewhat better, but is not intact.

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superficially, but *essentially*; not only in certain variations in composition, but *in the fundamental idea* which underlies each.

I should have liked to enlarge here upon certain resemblances and differences observable in the two pictures which have been so idly and delusively set up as rivals. The differences clearly prove to the mind of the practical painter, versed, as no outsider can be, in the methods of his craft, that the respective compositions, in several of their important parts and minor details, are based upon different studies—that is, distinct sets of drawings. This is manifest in at least two of the heads in each picture, and no less so in the draperies. But I must not intrude further on the generous hospitality of this Review; and shall content myself with having exposed the fallacy and deceptiveness of the *quasi*-historical proof now for the first time excogitated in support of a preconceived theory; as well as the failure of the attempt to weaken the circumstantial evidence which tends to establish the claims of the Charlton picture to be, in all its essential parts, a veritable work by the hand of Leonardo da Vinci.

FREDERIC W. BURTON.

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COMPETITIVE EXAMINATIONS IN CHINA

As most persons are aware, China was the first country in which appointments in the government service were thrown open to public competition. The system has been tried there now for many hundreds of years; and if there be one thing on which the Chinese universally agree, it is the excellence of this method of selecting their rulers. One must not think that this unanimity on their part results merely from unreasoning conservatism; for, in other respects, they are quite capable of seeing defects in their public service. Moreover, they have constant opportunities for comparing the men so chosen with those who have entered into the public service by other doors. For instance, a good many men begin their official life by holding irregular appointments, from which they are transferred or promoted into the regular service as a reward for the capacity that they have displayed, or for their usefulness to their superiors. Besides these, there are the purchasers, always a numerous band, who have been more than ordinarily plentiful during the last forty years. The opportunity for these gentlemen comes whenever the Treasury is in want of money for any special matter; for instance, to relieve sufferers in a time of severe famine, to defray the expenses of a war, or to close some extraordinary breach in the embankment of the Yellow River. At such times subscription lists are opened, and the public all notified that contributors will be recommended for official rewards. These rewards, for the most part, take the form of honorary titles, higher or lower according to the size of the donations; but a certain number of the most liberal payers can, if they wish it, secure their actual entry into the regular service.

Any Chinaman will tell one that, as a rule, the nominees for merit make better public servants than the purchasers, and that the open competition men are the best of all. The latter, while less greedy for money, display more intelligence and administrative power; and, strange to say, these latter qualities in a mandarin exercise a greater influence than personal honesty upon the well-being of the people under him. For, in ordinary times, the most important and the most difficult of all his tasks is that of keeping a check upon the intrigues and the rapacity of the permanent clerks and servants attached to his

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office. If he be not a man of power and capacity, while nominally their master he will become their tool, and under the shadow of his power they will prey upon the people like wolves upon sheep.

The great Taiping Rebellion, which broke out in China forty years ago, showed in a very marked way the value of the bookmen as public servants. During that perilous period the throne tottered almost to its fall, the richest provinces were entirely lost for several years, and the machinery of Government was thrown out of gear. Here was a time when system and precedent were cast to the winds, and when men of ability of any kind had an unexampled opportunity of securing recognition of their worth. Even then, the small band of distinguished men who came to the front in an extraordinary manner, and who may fairly be said to have saved the Empire, were without exception scholars of the highest literary powers.

The chief of them was the great Tseng Kuo-fan, father of the late Minister to England, who was already an old man at the conclusion of the rebellion and died shortly afterwards. Among his lieutenants, as one may call them, was Tso Tsung-tang, who afterwards crushed the rebellion of the Mahommedans in North-West China and reconquered Chinese Turkestan. Another of them was Peng Yu-lin, the eccentric hero, whom no man ever accused of desiring money, who would not accept a regular governorship, but who as Naval Commissioner used to roam up and down the River Yangtse, visiting in disguise the towns on its banks, hearing the talk in the tea-houses, redressing wrongs, and occasionally visiting offenders with summary death. Lastly, there is Li Hung-chang, still alive and in active work, who may claim beyond question to be, in practical ability, the greatest man of them all, as has been shown by the skill and success with which during the last twenty years he has guided the fortunes both of the State and of himself.

In no country is education more highly esteemed than in China. The child of the working-man as a rule cannot hope to get more than a mere smattering. But scattered through the country are numberless families, the members of which for generation after generation are always students, and from whom as a rule the officials come. They have no knowledge of any business or trade. They correspond very closely to what are, or used to be, called gentlemen in England, and preserve their position with great tenacity, even when hard pressed by poverty. Rich *parvenus* as a matter of course engage tutors for their children; and in the humblest ranks of life occasionally parents will stint themselves to give an opportunity to some son who has shown marked intelligence at the village school. But neither of these classes compete on an equality with those to whom learning is an hereditary profession. The cultivation and intellectual discipline prevailing in such families give their members a marked advantage over those who get no help of the kind at home, and who

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must therefore depend entirely on what they learn from their paid teachers.

The orthodox scheme of education is entirely concerned with the ancient literature of China. The original works which occupy the student's attention were for the most part written before the literature of either Greece or Rome had reached its prime. But there are commentators belonging to later periods who must also be perused with diligence. China has not seen an influx of new races such as have overrun Europe since the days of our classical authors; but still, from mere lapse of time, the language of the country has greatly changed; and the child beginning his studies cannot without explanation understand a single sentence, even if he has learnt to read the words of the lesson which he has before him. The student makes himself acquainted as thoroughly as possible with these classical works. The more he can quote of them the better; but he must master the matter contained in them as well. He must get to know the different readings and different interpretations of disputed passages: and finally he practises himself in prose and verse composition. In prose he carefully preserves the ancient phraseology, never admitting modern words; though there are certain technicalities of style which will prevent his productions from being an exact imitation of the ancient literature. His verses must be in close imitation of the old-time poets. They must follow elaborate rules as to rhythm, and the words must rhyme according to the classical sounds, which are very different from those of to-day.

One cannot but be struck with the close parallel which these studies present to what is called classical education in modern Europe. No unbiassed judge could fail to place the literature of Greece and Rome far above that of ancient China. But, this being granted, it should be plain to any one, after the description given above, that in either case the course of study requires the same sort of ability to achieve success, and develops and sharpens the same mental faculties. Seeing, then, that common opinion, whether rightly or wrongly, has proclaimed the study of Greek and Latin as an unequalled instrument for the training of the mind in Europe, does it not seem absurd to say, as many people do, that a Chinese education merely warps and deforms the understanding, and cultivates the memory at the expense of other mental powers? No one who has had much conversation with well-educated Chinamen can have failed to recognise that their intellectual acuteness is well developed. They are logical, quick to see a point, and capable of carrying on a long train of argument. Where they fall short in comparison with Europeans is in their stock of general information. They are indeed wofully ignorant of many things, but the knowledge which they lack is exactly that which we gather from modern books, newspapers, or accomplished friends, and which does not come at all into a course of classical study either at

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schools or at universities. The Chinese themselves do not by any means hold that quickness in learning by heart and strong capability of remembering are all-important for their course of study. Quite recently one of them remarked to me that an ordinary scholar would owe nine-tenths of his success to intelligence and one-tenth to powers of memory. This was an incidental remark, not in any way made with a view to defend the course of education adopted in China.

In order to understand the system of examinations in China, it is necessary to be in some slight degree acquainted with the political divisions of the country. China proper, exclusive of its dependencies, is made up of twenty provinces, each under its Governor or Governor-General. A province is divided into about a dozen prefectures, which may be compared to French Departments, and which, except in a few sparsely peopled regions, will contain a population of from one to two millions. A prefecture is sub-divided into six or eight sections, generally known as 'districts,' of which the area is ordinarily something like thirty miles square. Each district has its own chief town, and is governed by an officer, whose title foreigners are accustomed to translate as 'magistrate.' The population of some few districts must approach a million; while in others it is below fifty thousand. Two hundred thousand may be taken as the average.

Suppose a student wishes to get a degree, as is the case with pretty nearly every one who has given himself up seriously to learning. He must first provide himself with a certificate, signed by respectable neighbours, showing that he is of good character, that he has not been convicted of any offence, and that his forefathers for three generations have not been barbers, play-actors, domestic servants, or employed in one or two other despised capacities. He may now present himself at one of the periodical examinations held in the district to which his family belongs, not in the one where he or or his father may chance to be living at the moment. At this examination there is no limit to the number of those who can pass, and the candidate therefore should have no difficulty in succeeding. But no degree is conferred on him, and he is merely entitled to appear at the lowest of the great national competitions. It is now that the real struggle begins. Twice in every three years an examination is held in every prefecture for the students who have passed their 'preliminary' as above described. Those who are successful in it win their first degree, and become Bachelors of Arts, as it is the custom for us foreigners to call them. This examination is competitive, since only a fixed number of degrees may be granted, so many for each district in the prefecture. A very large and populous district may have twenty-five places allotted to it, a very small and backward one not more than seven or eight. The contest is thus a pretty severe one; but still it is considered that any intelligent and

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industrious student should succeed after one or two trials. Many do so at the first attempt.

Every third year, in the autumn, comes the next higher examination, that for the degree of Master of Arts. It is held simultaneously in every provincial capital, and all Bachelors of Arts belonging to the province are qualified to compete in it, no matter of how many years' standing they may be, or how many times they have already made the attempt. There will be perhaps seven or eight thousand candidates, and seventy or eighty degrees to be conferred. Under such conditions failure can be a disgrace to no one; and many men, who feel themselves competent, will continue to enter the lists regularly as each third year comes round, without ever attaining the desired goal. Indeed, after this examination it appears to be the custom for the Emperor, as an act of grace, to grant degrees to the candidates over eighty years of age, who will perhaps be three or four in number, the Governor of the province having made application on their behalf and having certified that their papers were of respectable quality, though not good enough to succeed in open competition. There could not well be stronger evidence of the high esteem in which literary honours are held in China than the fact that they are sought by men of such an age, who certainly can hope for no practical benefit from them. In the following spring the contest is renewed at Peking, where once in three years there is an examination for the degree of Doctor, open to all Masters of Arts from any part of the Empire. Some will compete over and over again, especially those whose homes are not at a great distance from the capital; but some never present themselves at Peking at all, being kept away by the great expense of the journey and of a temporary sojourn in a strange place. It is on this account not uncommon that a wealthy man should endow a fund for the purpose of defraying the travelling expenses of poor scholars belonging to his neighbourhood. The number of men who muster triennially for this examination is generally about eight thousand. Each province has allotted to it a certain number of degrees, approximately one for every twenty candidates that it sends up. This separation of the provinces is an innovation of the present dynasty. Formerly the scholars from all parts competed against each other. But it was found that the men of one or two provinces, where culture had reached its highest pitch, carried off a very large proportion of the total number of degrees. It was therefore thought advisable to make a change, both for the sake of encouraging study in the more backward regions, and in order that the men destined to govern the country might be selected from all parts of it.

It will be plain from the description given above that, in China, literary honours are not easily acquired, and that, for each scholar who reaches the goal, there are very many who fall by the way. But

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what are the rewards for him who does achieve success? What is there to repay him for his years of arduous toil, for the expense which he has incurred, and, often, for the privations which he has undergone? For the Doctor there is secured an immediate entry into the service of the State. This means a great deal more in China than it does in England. The parallel would be nearer if Great Britain were governed by a body of officials such as the Covenanted Civil Service of India. After the doctoral examination at Peking there is a final competition for the successful graduates, held within the walls of the Palace itself. Those who do best in it are made members of the Han Lin, or College of Literature, from which department they should later have no difficulty in mounting to high positions in other branches of the service. The doctor who fails to secure this crowning honour is consoled by a post in one of the great government offices at Peking, or is sent to one of the provinces with the rank of magistrate, *i.e.* the ruler of a district as above described. He will be retained for a period of probation at the provincial capital, after which he will be eligible for an appointment as soon as a vacancy occurs. This may be in a few months, or in certain provinces not till after some years of waiting. The duties which he will be called upon to perform are serious, combining those of general administrator, judge, and collector of revenue. If he be a mere bookworm—a 'book-fool' is the Chinese expression for such a character—he cannot expect to rise far; but if he have practical as well as literary ability, he may fairly hope to win wealth and distinction, and perhaps may attain to some of the highest posts in the Empire.

Unlike the Doctor, the Master of Arts has no claim upon the government for employment. Once, indeed, in every nine years, if he has tried unsuccessfully at the last three doctoral examinations, he may appear before a Government Commission, which selects a limited number of those present and nominates them for official appointments.

But this privilege cannot reach a very large number. His degree, however, makes it very much easier for him to obtain an official appointment by one of the irregular methods mentioned on the first page of this article; and his subsequent promotion to higher places will be facilitated in a similar way. For he will be recognised as a man of education and intellectual power, qualities which are generally wanting in those who are received into the public service by a side door. Should he not aspire to an official career, he ought to have no difficulty in getting a well-paid tutorship or a private secretaryship to some official. But employments such as these, though affording him a living, will seem very humble after the ambitious dreams in which he has probably indulged. For the rest, he must be content with the influence and consideration which he will enjoy. These indeed will be very marked, if he happens to live in a country district, where men of similar distinction are sure to be rare.

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He will always have one practical benefit from his degree—as long as he holds it he cannot be subjected to corporal punishment. This is an important privilege in a country where flogging is the penalty generally applied for petty offences, and where a prisoner, or even a witness, may be summarily beaten, if the judge think him to be prevaricating or refusing to tell all that he knows. The Master of Arts possesses this immunity as long as he holds his degree, of which he can only be deprived by the special mandate of the Emperor. If, however, there be *primâ facie* evidence of his having committed any serious offence, the Provincial Governor will make a representation to the Emperor, who will then issue the required decree. The Bachelor of Arts enjoys somewhat similar advantages; but, as he is one of a larger and a lower class, they naturally are not so strongly marked. His degree gives him the same protection from corporal punishment, but, if he misconduct himself, he can be deprived of it by the provincial authorities without the intervention of the Emperor.

The manner in which an examination is conducted in China differs so much from our way of doing things in Europe that a short description of one will probably be of interest to the reader. Let us take for the purpose a provincial, or Mastership of Arts, examination, the procedure for which is very similar to that held at Peking for the Doctor's degree.

The candidate must arrive in the provincial capital at the very latest a week before the commencement of the examination. Otherwise he will be too late to give notice that he intends to compete, and to present at the proper office the necessary statement of his name, address, and antecedents, accompanied by a short description of his personal appearance. These are endorsed on the outside of three very large but neatly folded sheets of paper, which will afterwards be returned to him in the examination hall, and will there be used by him to write the fair copies of his essays upon. He has now nothing to do till the day arrives, except to prepare the 'kit' which he must take with him into the hall. Here we come upon the great difference between an examination in England and one in far Cathay. The Chinaman does not sit at a desk for three hours and then go out again. Once he is in, whether he like it or not, he must stay there for three days. And, as he has to provide for his own wants during that time, he requires a great deal besides his writing materials. Some rice will be issued by the Government on the second day, but probably not on the first and third; and in any case it will very possibly be of doubtful quality, so that he will do well not to trust to it. He therefore lays in a substantial stock of provisions, cooked rice, biscuits, ham, hard-boiled eggs, anything that will keep and will not give trouble in preparing. Still, he generally takes a tiny stove and some charcoal, so that he can warm up anything if he desires to do so. His teapot and teacup and a stock of tea he will be quite certain to remember. The

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attendants will bring him hot water when wanted. Matches and candles should not be forgotten, nor his pipe and tobacco, if he be a smoker. Then, though the days may be hot, the nights will be cold. He must have extra clothing to put on in the evening, and a large, thickly wadded quilt, which, wrapped round him, will serve at once as a blanket and a quilt when he goes to sleep at night. Lastly, his cell is exposed to the rays of the sun, if the sky be clear, or the rain may beat in, if the weather be wet. He should therefore have a light screen and an oilskin sheet, which he can hang up, if required. All these things together form a load which will tax his strength pretty severely when he comes to carry them into the place. This probably he will have to do himself; as, wherever the rules are strictly observed, no servant or porter is allowed to pass through the portals.

The examination hall, as we have called it for want of a better word, consists of a vast enclosure, surrounded by a wall too high to be scaled. It is traversed by a number of main roads communicating with the gates of entry. On either side of every main road, running out of it at right angles, is a succession of long, narrow alleys, each forming a *cul-de-sac*. Let us step into one of these alleys. On one hand, all the way along, stretches a low, tiled roof, covering a row of tiny rooms, something less than six feet square, all of the same size and pattern, having on three sides blank walls and on the fourth, opening on to the alley, a door and a window, or rather two doorless and windowless apertures. Inside, opposite the door, is a plank supported at the ends on brickwork, which serves for a seat, and opposite the window another plank, similarly fixed but at a higher elevation, does duty for a table. Both the boards are movable, and so can be taken down and used to lie upon when the occupant wishes to stretch himself out for the night. On the opposite side of the alley there is a long dead wall forming the back of the next row of cells. All through the enclosure, right and left, in front and behind, everywhere run the rows of tiny rooms. Nothing else is seen, excepting two or three open spaces, where the students appear to answer to their names, and a single pavilion raised high above the ground. This latter is used by the proctors and their staffs as a post of observation, where they can keep a watch over all that is going on. At the back of the main enclosure is an inner courtyard containing several buildings. Here the examiners and their assistants are shut up during the whole progress of the examination. They must not go out themselves, and no visitors may be admitted, till the papers have been all looked through and the class list is ready for publication.

At last the day arrives for the commencement of the examination. The calling of the roll and the settling of the candidates in their cells take a very long time, perhaps the whole of the day. To lessen the confusion, the men of each prefecture are received at a particular hour and in a particular spot, notice of which has been previously

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given. As the candidate enters the gate of the enclosure his person and baggage should be searched, to see that he is not carrying any pocket edition of the classics or other illicit article. But ordinarily this investigation is conducted in a very perfunctory manner. It is considered that any one who is not good enough to win without adventitious aids will not do so with them. The candidate then proceeds to the place where the roll is called; and, as he answers to his name, he receives from a clerk one of the folded sheets bearing his name and description, which he handed in a week previously, and on which he will proceed to write his essays. It now bears an official stamp, and on it has been marked the name of the alley and the number of the cell which he will occupy. Nothing remains to be done but to take his baggage to the place indicated and wait, it may be for many hours, till he can commence his work. Some time late in the day the printed slips of paper are distributed, showing the themes upon which he must write. They are short passages from the classics, and form the subjects for three prose essays and one piece of verse. The candidate is free to occupy himself with them as he likes. He may work, sleep, or eat at whatever hours he pleases. He may chat with his neighbours if he finds any inclined for relaxation. But he has to make a home of his cell for two nights. On the third day he must deliver up his paper and depart before dark, and he may do so as early as he pleases. If the stamped sheet has been destroyed or damaged by some accident so that he cannot hand it in, or if he has failed to accomplish the task of producing four compositions of the requisite length, his name will immediately be posted on the defaulters' list, and he cannot return to continue the competition.

After one night's rest at home, the candidates re-appear for the second set of papers. The roll is called again, a second stamped sheet is issued, fresh seats are allotted, and the procedure is the same as before. Only, this time there are five essays to be written, on fresh classical subjects. After three days again comes a night's rest, and then the hall is entered for the last time. The length of stay is the same; but on this occasion formal essays are not demanded. The examiners give five sets of questions on any subjects that they please; for example, History, Geography, Scholarship, Moral Philosophy, Political Economy, and even Natural Science. When these have been answered the contest is finished; but there are three or four weeks to wait before the issuing of the class list. The examination is a pretty severe trial to any one of a weak constitution. A death in the enclosure is not a very rare thing, and sicknesses are often caused, either by the heat, if the weather be particularly fine and clear, or by the cold and damp, if it be wet and windy. Still, the delicate-looking Chinese scholars, men utterly unused to active exercise, support the

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inevitable hardship and discomfort better than the infinitely more vigorous and athletic young gentlemen of England could do.

Most elaborate measures are taken to prevent the possibility of partiality being shown by the examiners. As soon as the essays have been collected by the attendants, they are handed to a first official, under whose supervision a slip of paper is pasted over the writer's name, and they are marked with a number which they retain throughout the examination. They are then passed on to the transcribing department, where copies of them are made in red ink. A third department compares the originals with the copies; after which the former are carefully stowed away, while the latter are delivered to the sub-examiners, among whom they are distributed by hazard. These gentlemen are ten or more in number, perhaps one to every seven or eight hundred candidates. Each of them looks through the pile allotted to him, rejects the major part, and reserves a tenth or so for the consideration of the higher examiners. These latter are two in number, one chief and one assistant. They are always Peking officials of distinguished literary attainments, and are specially appointed by the Emperor for the occasion. The papers of nearly a thousand candidates reach them, but they can only graduate the exact number allowed to the province, which will always be about seventy or eighty. They have also to determine an order of merit.

Even when the names of the graduates have been published, the checks against corruption are not yet exhausted. For each province there is appointed a censor, whose task it is to inspect the successful essays and see that there are no signs of anything wrong. This is not a mere form; as, a few years ago, in consequence of a report made by the censor, an examiner was degraded for some very trifling carelessness or other. Also, on application to the proper office, the unsuccessful candidates can get back their papers, that is to say, the red copies of them; and although they have practically no redress for unfair treatment, still, the publicity thus insured tends to make the examiners careful as to what they select and what they reject.

Among Chinese scholars it is very generally held that there is a great deal of luck in getting a degree. No doubt this belief is partly born of disappointment and of the natural attempt to console oneself for one's want of success. And, where there are something like a hundred who fail for every one that wins a prize, the opinions of the beaten ones will be heard most loudly and most widely. Still, there is a good deal of truth in what is commonly urged. Many candidates, it is said, are hopelessly below the average level needed for success, and they are speedily struck out of the running, while there are a few men of eminent ability or literary power whose talents win immediate recognition from the examiners. But between these two classes there remain a very large number whose capacity is pretty nearly equal. Nevertheless, as the number of degrees is fixed, only a few

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of them can be accepted, and many more must be rejected. For these men it is said to be almost a toss-up whether their papers survive the first scrutiny, so as to be sent in to the higher examiners, and, if they are, it is still a chance what becomes of them then. The difficulty of rapidly deciding between nearly equal candidates is much increased by the fact that the papers are principally essays, which cannot be accurately valued in marks in the way that answers to questions can be in England.

With all the pains taken to secure purity, is it possible that fraud should exist? Yes, say the Chinese, perhaps as many as three or four per cent. of the degrees are gained unfairly. There are two means of cheating which are commoner than any other. One of them is to use essays written by some person outside the enclosure. This is managed through the agency of one of the guards, who makes known the subjects to the writer outside, and brings back the drafts when he has composed them. The second method is to utilise the productions of a fellow candidate, with whom it is easy to communicate through the medium of the attendants. Sometimes a poor student, to whom a certain sum of ready money is worth more than the chance of a degree, will deliberately sacrifice his own chance by devoting his time to working for a neighbour; or sometimes he may be clever enough and quick enough at composing to write two good sets of papers in the allotted time. A third method is personation. A practised writer will take the name and place of a candidate who stays away altogether. But this plan is dangerous and less often resorted to. Not only must the officials be hoodwinked, but some of the candidates may know that the personator is not the man whom he represents himself to be; and if so, they will denounce him in their own interests. Besides, in case of detection, the punishment is very severe. It will be noticed that none of these plans can positively ensure the graduation of a candidate. As was said above, only a few men of really marked ability can compose papers which will command certain success; and such men will not lend themselves to tricks of the kind. Still, as the cost is not high, a good many young men with more money than brains will resort to one of the schemes, and take their chance of being among the fortunate ones.

To be certain of buying a degree there is only one way, and that is to corrupt the chief examiner. This is not an easy matter. He is often not approachable with money; and should he be so, the expense will be very great. If he yields to the temptation, the usual plan is to arrange a private sign by which he may recognise the papers which he is to favour. That is to say, the candidate introduces a certain phrase, which has been agreed upon, into the first paragraph of his first essay, or something else of the kind. But, as we have seen above, the great man can only judge such papers as are sent up to him after a preliminary inspection by the

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inferior examiners. It is therefore necessary to make arrangements for them to pass successfully through the earlier ordeal. This is managed by the clerks, a body of men who, I may remark, are at the bottom of nineteen twentieths of all the official corruption in China. One of these fellows, having been sufficiently paid, contrives first to watch the papers through the sealing up and the transcribing departments, and then to hand them to some particular sub-examiner who has previously been 'squared.' Again, as the productions of the successful candidates will be finally scrutinised by a special inspector, they must be of such a quality that the examiner can accept them without being manifestly open to the charge of favouritism. It is a hundred to one that the briber is incapable of himself composing anything good enough, and therefore he must in the first place resort to one of the tricks detailed above in order to get his papers written for him.

If an examiner be convicted of corruption, the consequences are very serious for him. In the year 1858 an instance of this occurred at Peking. The chief examiner was a Grand Secretary—that is to say, an officer of the very highest rank. Among the candidates was a nephew of his by marriage, a bright and intelligent young fellow. The Grand Secretary was besought by his wife to take care of her nephew's interests; and, yielding to her solicitations, he gave him a high place upon the class list. By a curious accident the affair came to light. The young man was an extremely good amateur actor; and a month after he had obtained his degree he was invited to take part in some private theatricals at the house of a certain Peking magnate. Now, the theatrical profession is regarded in China something in the way that it was in France a couple of hundred years ago. As we have seen above, not even the grandson of an actor is permitted to present himself at the public examinations. It will easily be understood that under such circumstances, though there is nothing criminal in amateur acting, still, to take part in a performance would be looked upon as something extremely undignified for a man of distinguished reputation or high social position. Foolishly, the young man accepted the invitation. He played the part of the heroine (as of old in Europe, in China there are no actresses, female characters being always taken by young men or boys), and he was vociferously applauded for the excellence of his acting. One of the audience who knew him, observed to a neighbour that the young man was not only great as an actor, but had recently taken a high place in the examination for the Master of Arts degree. A censor, who was also among the guests, overheard the remark, and was filled with indignation at what he considered the disgraceful levity of one who had gained high literary honours. He lost no time in denouncing to the Emperor the young man's misbehaviour. An inquiry was instituted, in the course of which it was discovered how his degree

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had been obtained. This led to fresh denunciations and the bringing to light of other irregularities. In the end the Grand Secretary was condemned to death for misconduct in the performance of his duty as chief examiner. He was a valued servant, and the Emperor wished to spare his life. But it was represented by another official that this was a case where it was absolutely necessary to make a striking example. The unfortunate man was therefore publicly beheaded on the common execution ground at Peking.

Nor is the punishment light for him who attempts to bribe. Within the last few months, in the neighbourhood of Shanghai, a gentleman of good position sent to a chief examiner a cheque for a thousand pounds with a request that he would favour certain candidates whose names were given on an accompanying list. The writer of the letter was denounced by the examiner; and, after being arrested and tried, he has been condemned to death. But as the sentence is not to be carried out immediately, it will probably be commuted in pursuance of an Act of Grace, which is sure to be proclaimed this year on the occasion of the Empress Dowager's Jubilee.

In concluding this article I should note that there is a great deal which it has left unsaid. It is not intended as an exhaustive description, but merely as a sketch of such prominent points as seemed likely to interest an English reader.

T. L. Bullock.

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PROPOSED OVERTHROW OF THE CHURCH IN WALES

A BILL is a much more satisfactory thing to consider than an abstract proposition. By condescending to details the advocates of great changes bring their ideas to a practical test. We have before now had 'suggestions' for Welsh Disestablishment in plenty, but they have been schemes *pour rire*, eloquent indications of Liberationist malignity, but unpractical and void of common-sense. Mr. Asquith's Bill is a different affair. It at least helps us to realise what disestablishment and disendowment would mean in fact. After New Year's Day 1896, as each existing incumbent dies, or accepts an annuity and departs, his parish will be left with a church and a parsonage, but without a single penny to maintain the fabrics, or to support a clergyman, or to keep up parochial machinery. This is a fact which all the details of personal compensation should not be allowed to conceal. Endowments given since 1703 are to be retained, but they are too minute to appreciably affect the matter. Suppose the Bill passed, then long before the 1st of January 1896 there would be many parishes which on that day would be left absolutely penniless, with an ancient church, a more or less dilapidated dwelling, and nothing else. Year by year the number would increase, until it included the great mass of the rural, and most of the older town parishes in the Principality.

I desire at the outset to emphasise this sudden and absolute withdrawal of the means of carrying on a great institution. It will perhaps be answered, 'This is religious equality: the Church will be no worse off than the sects which have no endowments.' But it is just this difference in their condition which, instead of making the Bill produce equality, makes it work gross injustice. The Church was organised on the principle of endowment; Dissent, on the voluntary principle. Is it practical, unless you intend to crush the Church altogether, to take away suddenly what have been the means of its subsistence? Is it sensible to expect the Church, thus paralysed, to go on working as before, because Dissenting bodies, having been so formed, exist, more or less successfully, without endowment? You

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might as well expect a horse to live without food because a bicycle does not require any.

The lack of any provision whatever for carrying on the Church, as the religious body to which, without controversy, a large fraction of the population of Wales adheres, becomes more significant as the Bill is examined. It is astutely contrived to give a superficial appearance of moderation and fairness, while with calculated deliberation it in fact makes a deadly attack on the Church's life. The scheme is that of the Irish Act, with large modifications, almost all of them to the disadvantage of the Church. Both begin with a solemn declaration that the Church shall cease to be established by law. Thus, in a single sentence the relation between Church and State in Wales, which has existed ever since the latter had coherent form, is dissolved. Disestablishment is a far more serious thing in Wales than in Ireland, where the Church was comparatively modern, and was really a mission in a hostile country, rather than a national Church.

But I put disestablishment aside, in order that I may deal with disendowment, which necessarily occupies most of the clauses of the Bill. There are, I need not say, a vast number of points of detail arising on the Bill which will have to receive attention, but which it would be unsuitable, and, indeed, impossible to deal with in this article. The Bill is much more concisely worded than the Irish Act. It would be unfair to depreciate the neatness of the draftsman's work; but it is open to doubt whether, in regard to a measure which a very large class of non-professional persons will read, endeavour to digest, and in any event will criticise, condensation is a real advantage. It is apt to mislead. Already people are studying this Bill and the Irish Act side by side, and when they compare the rotund sentences of the latter (*e.g.* as to compensation) with Mr. Asquith's laconic clauses, they are prepared to draw the most terrifying conclusions. If I may venture on one criticism, I think it will be found that the draftsman has got into some confusion with regard to the application of existing ecclesiastical statutes (*e.g.* the Dilapidations Act, 1871) to the disestablished Church. It seems to have been overlooked that they will cease to be effectual in Wales unless specially made so by the Bill. It would seem also that some general clause as to the meaning henceforth to be attached to the expression 'Church of England' will be required.

The disendowment scheme is, briefly, this. On the 1st of January 1896, the Church in Wales will cease to be 'established.' Every corporation, *e.g.* bishops, deans and chapters, and incumbents, will cease to exist as such. The Queen, just as in the Irish case, is empowered to create a new corporation or 'Representative Body,' capable of holding land, and of acting as the Church in a legal capacity. Then Church Commissioners are to be appointed: two of them are to be paid, but the third, it is hoped, will find virtue a sufficient reward.

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Very much will depend on the individuals chosen. The Irish Commissioners were required to be Churchmen. The Welsh Bill makes no such restriction, but justice certainly demands that at any rate they should be men whom Churchmen can trust. They will have large powers. All Church property is, in the first instance, to be vested in these Commissioners. This may be divided into three classes—(*a*) churches, cathedrals, and churchyards; (*b*) parsonages, bishops' palaces, deaneries; (*c*) tithe, glebes, and other endowments, including the whole Welsh property (after adjustment) of the Ecclesiastical Commission and Queen Anne's Bounty. Mr. Asquith estimated the gross annual income under the heading (*c*) at 233,000*l.* from benefices and 45,660*l.* from bishops and chapters.

The Church is left nothing but buildings. In the case of the cathedrals, the Church is to be permitted their use only. Their ownership, custody, and repair as 'national monuments' are confided to the Welsh Commissioners. This imitation of the Continental plan, which tolerates the clergy and their services as a picturesque assistance to architectural effect, but allows them no authority, is flagrantly unjust in Wales. Not less than 118,000*l.* have been spent by Churchmen on these cathedrals during the last fifty years. Well within living memory the nave of Llandaff Cathedral only existed as a ruined fragment of wall and arch, rising out of the lawn of a flower-garden.

The compensation of vested interests follows next. The bishops, the dignified clergy and incumbents, will be fairly treated if the Act (should it become one) is fairly worked, and that will depend upon the *personnel* of the Commissioners. All retain their present emoluments so long as they hold their present offices. The Irish Act allowed a transfer from one office to another with proper consents. The omission of this option is one of the paralysing provisions of the Bill which, if not intentional, is unaccountable. If any incumbent (or bishop, &c.) prefer a life annuity independent of the performance of duty, and the Representative Body consent, it may be arranged with the Welsh Commissioners according to a scale given in a schedule to the Bill. An incumbent of fifty may get an annuity equal to three-fourths of the net emoluments of his benefice, without including, as I read the Bill, the parsonage.

Mr. Asquith took some credit to himself for the liberality of his scheme with reference to the parsonages. The Irish Act nominally took them away, but gave the Church power of repurchase on very advantageous terms. On the other hand, the compensation paid to an Irish incumbent, whether in the form of an annuity or of a capital sum, included the parsonage as part of the subject of compensation. Having regard to the extremely unmarketable character of most vicarage-houses in rural parishes, and to the advantage the State

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gains in not having to include them in assessing compensation annuities, I think it will be admitted that there is as much prudence as generosity in Mr. Asquith's concession.

The method of commutation adopted in this Bill, as contrasted with that of the Irish Act, is, I think, the most remarkable variation between the two schemes, and certainly suggests a sinister difference of intention. It is well known that what saved the Irish Church from financial ruin in 1871 was the provision made for commutation. An incumbent was empowered to exchange his life interest in the emoluments of his benefice for a capital sum paid, not to himself, but to the Representative Body of the Church, on whom devolved thenceforward the obligation of paying an annuity to the incumbent, or of making some other arrangement with him. As an inducement to the clergy to adopt this plan, it was enacted that if three-fourths of the clergy of any diocese agreed to commute, the State should add a bonus of 12 per cent. to the commutation money. All the Irish dioceses came into the arrangement, with the result that the Irish Church was re-endowed with 7,550,000*l.* charged with life annuities which are gradually wearing out. It is plain that the architect of that plan was not anxious to prejudice the future of the Church he was disendowing, and, accordingly, Liberationists have never tired of lamenting over this opportunity given to the Irish Church to recover itself. Mr. Asquith has listened to those complaints, and the Irish commutation scheme has no counterpart in his Bill. The reasons given for its exclusion are—first, that the bonus of 12 per cent made the plan expensive; and, secondly, that it would necessitate the formation of a large central fund, out of which the commutation moneys might be paid. This, it is said, would be inconsistent with the retention by each parish of its own share of the endowments taken from the Church. It is hard to see why there should be either 'inextricable confusion' or 'insuperable difficulty' in overcoming, if it were desired to overcome, these obstacles, particularly as the Welsh Commissioners are under the Bill to receive the whole tithe rent-charge, and have ample power to borrow on its security.

The drawback to the Irish plan was that it permitted young clergymen to pocket their life annuities, and, without giving anything in return, to leave Ireland and accept cures elsewhere. But that defect, which might be easily remedied, is as much present in the Welsh Bill as in the Irish Act. The consent of the Church body is necessary under both, before an annuity can be awarded. But when awarded, it may be abused in precisely the same way under both schemes. I cannot help suspecting that the real objection to commutation is, that it would prevent the disintegration of the Church, and therefore, although it would neither injure the State nor sacrifice the personal interests of the clergy, it is to be prevented at

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all hazards. The Liberation Society in, I suppose, a too candid appendix to the 'Case for Disestablishment'—I observe the last edition omits it—says, with regard to the Irish commutation clauses, that they 'have created in many minds the feeling that it would be better not to disestablish the Church of England at all than to do so on terms resembling those of the Irish Act'; and again, speaking of the clergy, 'they should be dealt with in the same way as other public officials whose services are no longer required by the State. . . . But they will be free to contract any obligations in connection with an episcopal or *any other*[1] Church organised by voluntary arrangements.' I quote these words to show that the injury which will accrue to the Church by depriving it of this chance of resuscitation is no fancy of mine, but has been clearly perceived by the Church's enemies all along, and we may be sure that the Liberation Society has not left Mr. Asquith unilluminated by its counsel.

Before I pass from the subject of compensation of vested interests it is necessary to point out that curates are to get no compensation at all. This most harsh omission has already aroused much criticism. It was defended by Mr. Asquith, first, on the technical ground that a curate's is not a freehold office, and secondly, because the Irish clauses for curates' compensation were abused. His attempt to show that curates will not be injured by disestablishment is, if I may be excused for saying so, trivial. No one who is acquainted with the present circumstances of the Church of England needs to be told that the average Welsh curate finds it difficult to obtain a curacy with proper stipend in an English diocese. His knowledge of Welsh is thrown away, and his special training often proves a hindrance in England. On the other hand, Welsh disendowment must, even on the most hopeful view, lead to a great reduction in the number of working clergy, beneficed and unbeneficed. It is, therefore, as certain as anything can be that numbers of men who by age and education, no less than by the vows they have taken, are unfitted for secular employment, will be thrown on the world to struggle or starve as best they can.

I come now to the all-important question of the division of the spoil. The glebe, the tithe, and any other parochial endowments are to be applied, according to schemes made by the County Councils and approved by the Welsh Commissioners, to public purposes of local or general utility for which provision is not made out of public rates. Due regard is to be had to the interests of the particular parish. Endowments which are not parochial, *e.g.* episcopal and capitular funds, are to bear the expenses of carrying the Act into operation, and, subject to this charge, are to be applied by schemes of the Welsh Commissioners to the purposes already indicated, but subject to the condition that at least two-thirds are to be devoted to the promotion

[1] The italics are mine.

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of technical and higher education, including the establishment and maintenance of a library, museum, or academy of arts for Wales. Mr. Asquith deserves full credit for his efforts to give every Welshman a share in the Church property, and to bring home to every parish the practical blessings of disendowment. Whether the Welsh people will appreciate the eccentricities of distribution which must ensue is not so certain. A minute rural parish may, unless the authorities show extraordinary firmness, get more than it can by any possibility usefully spend, while a great town may get next to nothing at all. But this is a side of the subject on which I cannot enter. Among large towns and small villages, somehow or other, the property consecrated to the service of God centuries ago, and still faithfully used in that service, is to be scattered hither and thither among the medley of secular objects, possible and impossible, 'mentioned in the said schedule.'

The alienation of the churchyards is another variation from the Irish scheme which is not only unjust, but will be viewed by most Churchmen with intense repugnance. I regret that I have no space to do more than mention this point.

We cannot pretend to be horrified at the idea of the disendowment of religious bodies, as if it were something new and unheard of. But for all that, accustomed as Europe has become, especially in this century, to the idea and to the fact of disendowment, we may search far for a precedent to Mr. Asquith's Bill without finding one. Hitherto disendowment has proceeded on one of two grounds. There have been disendowments on the business principle. Institutions which absorbed property but gave no return for it, and were useless, or politically hostile, have been treated as investments from which, as they yielded no dividend to the nation, it was right that the State should withdraw its capital. I am, of course, assuming for my present purpose that the capital really belongs to the State. The secularisation of monastic corporations on the Continent, as, *e.g.* in Italy, has proceeded on this utilitarian principle. They were 'rendering almost no service to the country,' and therefore it was deemed right to abolish them. Henry the Eighth's suppression of the abbeys was a disendowment of this sort. The religious houses were half-empty and half-bankrupt; the monks, whether wicked or not, were deemed useless; and hence the pretext for interference. Ireland was professedly a case of the same kind. Mr. Gladstone and the country thought the investment unproductive.

There is a second and very different ground for disendowment, of which history provides many examples. These are disendowments created by the spirit of persecution. The State has snatched away the property of religious bodies, not because they were effete, but because either they professed what the State considered a false religion, or they offended the State by being religious at all. Cromwell

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disendowed the bishops and deans and chapters. There was no mistake about his Disestablishment Act. It was headed, 'for the abolishing of archbishops and bishops,'[2] and its aim was, as Prynne pleasantly put it, to destroy 'pestiferous prelacy and Luciferian episcopacy.' The French Revolution produced a wholesale sack of churches and seizure of Church property in the interest of atheism. So now, there is Mr. Lloyd George and the Liberation Society (when off its guard) claiming that the Church in Wales should be so disendowed as to make its continuance as an organised body impossible. But the Government does not share these unchristian feelings. Mr. Asquith told us in his introductory speech[3] that he is yearning, 'not to hinder, but to help, the work of the Church in Wales.' His only trouble is that 'honourable gentlemen opposite will not give him credit' for this saintly benevolence. It is clear, therefore, that he does not wish to be understood to propose disendowment because the Christian religion, as taught by the Church in Wales, is a bad thing, which ought not to be tolerated. The Bill, then, does not belong to the second class which I have tried to describe. But neither does it belong to the first class. The Church in Wales is as far as possible from being effete or worn out. It is common ground that the 'Old Mother' has revived in a wonderful way in the last generation, and is now rapidly developing. No one has stated this more eloquently than Mr. Gladstone. 'The Established Church in Wales is an advancing Church, an active Church, a living Church, and, I hope, very distinctly a rising Church from elevation to elevation.'[4] Mr. Asquith is scarcely less emphatic in describing 'the increased zeal and devotion of her clergy and lay members.'[5] But, in truth, there is no doubt about the fact. The sums devoted to church-building and restoration in the last half-century have been enormous. Confirmation statistics show an increase of candidates during the decade 1879–89 in Wales of 22 per cent., while the average increase in the English dioceses is only 8 per cent. The number of Sunday-scholars has grown 30 per cent. in the eight years preceding 1893. The number of communicants has also greatly increased, so that it is even said that (relatively to population) 'for every three communicants in England there are four in Wales.'[6] But the best evidence of the rapidly developing work of the Church in Wales is the unconcealed anxiety of her enemies to strike at her before she grows too powerful to be overcome.

Mr. Asquith's Bill is born neither of fanaticism nor of utilitarianism. It stands alone as a disendowment scheme for which neither the bigotry of its promoters nor the failure of the Church gives any

[2] See *Scoble's Acts* (1640 to 1656), page 99.
[3] *Times*, April 27, 1894.
[4] Speech in House of Commons, February 20, 1891.
[5] *Times*, February 24, 1893.
[6] 'Church Work in Wales To-day' (No. 152). Church Defence Institution, Bridge Street, Westminster.

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pretext. The case of the Government is, nevertheless, as simple as possible. They say (I am putting it in my own words) the vast majority of Welsh members demand the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church, and we regard Church property as in the power of the State. We propose, therefore, to take it away, and we are greatly encouraged to activity by the disposition of our Liberationist supporters to turn us out of office if we hang back.

I shall not say a word as to the right of the State to dispose of Church property. It has been often and exhaustively discussed. I will assume that the State can disendow; but I want to point out that the real issue is not whether the State can, but whether it ought, to take away the ancient endowments of the Church and bestow them on secular objects. I suppose that the Ministers who thus throw back responsibility on the Welsh members, those members themselves, and behind them the Welsh voters who send up their representatives to Westminster to vote for disestablishment, will all admit that Mr. Asquith's Bill ought to be capable of defence on moral grounds. Otherwise, so religious a people as the Welsh could not be expected to support it. What is the moral defence of Welsh disendowment? I have been a diligent student of Nonconformist literature dealing with this question for many years, and I must confess that I have never seen even an attempted defence of disendowment as a matter of right or wrong. I am not speaking of disestablishment. I will admit that as to it the Nonconformist has an argument, though, in my opinion, a bad one. But as to disendowment, if there is any case, Nonconformists have been strangely reticent in producing it. Consider how the matter stands.

1. The Church in Wales is in the legal possession of ancient religious endowments which it has held (to take the most adverse view) for more than three centuries—that is, far longer than the longest period any statute of limitations ever demanded.

2. The Church is now admittedly using these endowments as they were intended to be used, for the religious good of the Welsh.

3. The endowments, instead of being too abundant for the work, are greatly deficient. They are, moreover, dwindling year by year, while the work of the Church admittedly expands.

4. No other religious body in Wales desires or would consent to use these endowments.

I do not think that Mr. Asquith will challenge any of these statements. Churchmen, of course, put the case much higher. But taking it thus, I want to know whether it is right or wrong that property so given and so used should be taken away. I have already stated that there is no precedent for it in the action of other States, neither is there any in English law. I suppose the nearest analogy to Church property is charity property. But notwithstanding many, as some think, revolutionary changes in our treatment of charitable

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foundations, we have held rigidly to the principle that property devoted to a particular form of charity, which has become neither obsolete nor illegal, is not to be applied to any other purpose. It is surely no answer to the demand for some moral justification for disendowment to say that the State must disendow, in order to prove that it can. That argument is like the logic of the drunken navvy who smashes his furniture and thumps his wife to show they belong to him. Her Majesty's Government takes, I suppose, an entirely cynical view of the situation. 'What is the use of talking about morality apart from votes?—and the votes of the Welsh return disestablishers with scarcely an exception.' The result of the Montgomery election shows that public opinion in Wales is not in as settled a condition on this question as has been assumed. But, further, the meaning and effect of disendowment, as distinct from disestablishment, have not as yet been fairly put before the people, either in Wales or elsewhere. It was hardly possible to do so until the publication of Mr. Asquith's Bill made it clear how absolutely the Church's resources are to be snatched away. Notwithstanding the bribes the Bill offers to the poor, I believe that when it is understood that disendowment means, as in Wales it must mean, the withdrawal of a resident minister from scores of parishes[7]; the stoppage of the great majority of voluntary schools, and the substitution of Board Schools, supported by a large addition to the local burden of rates; the drying up of charity, and the neglect of visitation of the sick and the dying, the people will see that what they have been taught to regard as the triumph of religious freedom would, in fact, work disastrous injustice, the evil effect of which the poor would be the first to feel.

But however infirm its morality, the Bill is perhaps to be recommended to us as a masterpiece of profound statesmanship. I do not know if I am right, but I assume that statesmanship means more than day by day persuading the Government's so-called supporters to vote for them. Although this seems the absorbing and not particularly successful occupation of Her Majesty's Ministers just now, I suppose Mr. Asquith sometimes allows a care for the future of the country to affect his plans for the management of the present. I want to ask, then, whether the Welsh Bill can reasonably be regarded as likely to promote good government and to secure peace in the future. It is founded on the supposed wishes of the Welsh people, evidenced by a large majority of opinion among Welsh members for the last ten or fifteen years. But who knows how far this state of opinion is temporary or permanent? There have been recent signs, on which I do not desire to lay too much stress, that a change is already setting in. But at least it must be remembered that the Welsh are a people generous and excitable, and liable to be swayed

[7] There are ninety parishes in the Diocese of St. Asaph alone in which there is no resident minister except the clergyman.

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by great waves of feeling, which spend themselves and pass away. Dissent has had a history in Wales of little more than a century. The Church was there before civilisation. Its hold on the people was for centuries unbounded. As Nonconformists refuse to permit a census, the present relative position cannot be gauged accurately; but this much is known, that the Church is advancing more certainly than Dissent. The downfall of the National Church, once accomplished, will be irremediable. Under these circumstances, is it a wise thing, without surer knowledge of the real and settled bent of Welsh opinion, to hurry through a work of destruction for which it may turn out that the people will, in the future, curse, instead of bless, its rulers?

Again, is it good government to discourage and even destroy what at least must be admitted to be an important influence for good in Wales? We are constantly told that the Welsh are a religious people; but is the national piety so universal and so complete that no greater height of virtue remains to be achieved in the matter, say, of purity or of truth? The Government may learn a lesson from the Italian disendowment measures. Instead of seizing the parochial endowments, they augmented them out of the sequestered monastic estates.

Again, what is likely to be the state of feeling between the Church laity of Wales—who, be it remembered, receive no compensation—and the triumphant enemies of the Church? Are the Welsh so notoriously placable a people as to make it likely that the spoiler and the spoiled will be good neighbours? A few weeks ago a large number of reports from about 190 Welsh incumbents were collected, and published in the *Record*.[8] The writers hold benefices distributed all over the Principality. Of course large allowance must be made for the strong feelings and the special point of view of these witnesses. But after making all fair deductions, the reports still convey a comprehensive picture of affairs as they exist to-day in Wales, the importance of which cannot be denied. It is, I think, impossible to read through this body of testimony without coming to four very distinct conclusions: (1) That the Church is now making great strides forward; (2) that disendowment will necessitate the actual abandonment of scores of rural parishes and the giving up of much good work elsewhere; (3) that the present relations between Nonconformists and Churchmen are not really so strained as has been represented by interested agitators; (4) that disendowment will create an exasperation which will cut deep into the heart of the people, and be a cause of bitter ill-feeling, even after the present generation has passed away.

Is it statesmanship to invite so grave a risk as this in order to escape (unsuccessfully, as it seems) the displeasure of Mr. Lloyd George and his friends?

[8] *Record*, March 2, 9, 16, 22, 30, April 6, 1894.

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Finally, although I must leave the disestablishment side of the case out of consideration in this paper, I cannot forbear pointing out that the Bill affects the Church of England more gravely than, I fancy, its promoters appreciate. In future the Church of England will mean one thing in law and another thing in fact. Nobody, I suppose, imagines that Churchmen, whether in Wales or in England, will cease to consider the four Welsh dioceses as part of the Church of England for all purposes outside the Act of Parliament. But more serious still is the alteration (probably inevitable in such a Bill) of the constitution of Convocation by the expulsion of the Welsh bishops and proctors. Now Convocation is an ecclesiastical body with certain constitutional rights and duties like the House of Commons itself. The question will certainly be raised by a large section of Churchmen whether they ought to recognise revolutionary changes in the Church's Synod made by State authority only. Lord Selborne, the greatest living authority on such matters, has very clearly pointed out, in the *Times* of the 22nd of May, the grave constitutional effect of the Bill. I mention the point to show the entanglements the Government are weaving, and the hostility of the saddest kind —religious hostility—which they are creating for the near future. And all for what? To satisfy a section of their party, of whom it is impossible to say that they represent the permanent, or universal, or reasonable mind of the Welsh people.

The Bill is apparently not meant to be pressed this year, and the Welsh members have done their cause doubtful service by forcing the hand of the Government and committing them to a definite scheme. But, as I ventured to say at the outset, this is a distinct advantage to Churchmen. Instead of sheltering themselves under vague generalities, the Ministers have now told us what, so far as they are concerned, Welsh disestablishment and disendowment mean.

We know that the Church of England is to be dismembered, in defiance of its earnest protest, to which the archbishops and bishops have just given timely and eloquent expression, and in contempt of its rights as a religious society existing in a civilised State. We know, to quote the Episcopal Appeal, 'that the direct financial provisions are such as to reduce the Church to penury.' We know that the scheme is so devised as to render financial reconstruction as difficult as possible. We know—and this is the main issue before the nation—that it is intended to take away gifts long ago given, still loyally used, and urgently needed for the service of God, and to lavish them on secular objects chosen, not because they are necessary, but because they are secular.

LEWIS T. DIBDIN.

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THE ART OF DYING

Le dernier acte de sa comédie, et sans doute le plus difficile.—MONTAIGNE.

'TO-DAY kings, to-morrow beggars; it is only when they are themselves that they are nothing,' says Hazlitt of actors. 'To-day kings, to-morrow beggars; it is only when they are nothing that they are themselves,' might be said of the actors upon a wider stage. 'Thank God, this is real,' exclaimed some one when brought face to face with death. It was a significant acknowledgment of that attribute of the great enemy which he not only possesses but in a manner forces upon his victims.

More unreality goes to make up life than one altogether likes to confess. Men and women—perhaps more women—go through it in a pose, or in a variety of poses, assumed as caprice moves them—kings, beggars, stoics, jesters—what you will. Sometimes accident decides the costume, sometimes choice; the part is adopted, the world accepts the convention, till, like children taken in by their own make-believe, the players end by associating themselves with their disguises, in the same way as the actor who had played the devil all his life grew incapable of performing any other part. 'What character have you selected?' would be an apt enough question, were we dwellers in a palace of truth, to put to most of our acquaintances. Not that of the devil, let us hope!

After all, a man has a right to the choice of his own clothes; it was only our first parents in Paradise who could afford to do without them altogether and to go as God made them. But there are, nevertheless, moments when most people weary of looking on at the never-ending masque; of pretending to believe in the tinsel crown and the conventional rags; they find it impossible to be moved any longer by the gilded sceptre to a semblance of awe or reverence, and Lazarus' painted sores cease to excite the pleasing emotion of pity. Like the little prince for whose entertainment all the arts of ingenious contrivance had been exhausted, they turn from the handsome mechanical puppets and ask, for God's sake, to be indulged with a few mud pies—a little undoctored human nature!

It is not that a pose is without an interest of its own, and that a distinct though a secondary one. You look to see whether the part

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has been well selected, whether it is adroitly sustained, whether the make-up is good; you feel a certain curiosity as to the skill and consistency of the representation. But without detracting from the interest attaching to such a performance, it will scarcely be denied that it is inferior to that afforded by the sight of human nature with the mask off, and that it is those moments when the man himself appears to give the disguise the lie which are most worth looking out for. And if ever such moments are to be found, it is surely at the approach of death. No attitude should be more characteristic, as certainly none is more interesting, than the attitude in which men set themselves to meet the rider on the pale horse.

It seems impossible to predict it beforehand. You may form a conjecture as to how a man is likely to conduct himself in most of the conjunctures of life—how he will make love, or marry, or meet ruin and disgrace; and though your forecast may not be altogether infallible, it is often enough borne out in the main by the event. But death is a different matter. It is the occasion *par excellence* when a man is himself. In other crises of life he sets himself to act up to the character he has assumed; the king remembers the blood-royal of his selection; the beggar adheres to his rags; the sham stoic retains his pasteboard armour of philosophy; and, though there may be times when his jests, like Lamb's, 'scald like tears,' the jester pursues his chosen buffoonery. But in this ultimate crisis he acts, unless in exceptional cases, as nature bids him. Few men find it worth while to attitudinise upon a deathbed. Nothing there is to be gained by enacting a part. Death is the one event which, so far as this world is concerned, has no afterwards, except that afterwards which belongs to the immaterial and shadowy abstraction which we call posterity. In every other situation it is ten to one that, consciously or unconsciously, a man is influenced by public opinion, by the sense of spectators who look on and judge, and will pronounce their judgments; he cannot choose but remember to-morrow. But to death there is no to-morrow; there the issue is simple and direct, and men perforce deal with it simply. The verdict of posterity, of which we are so fond of talking—when we consider it likely to be in our own favour—is after all of most importance to posterity itself. When one is secure of being out of hearing, it is astonishing how much the significance of a pronouncement is minimised, and most people, however sensitive, can afford to disregard it.

There are, of course, exceptions—men who die as they have lived, to an audience. Circumstances may almost compel them to the attitude; there may be some quality inherent in themselves which renders it impossible for them to ignore the lookers-on; or the man may have become by long habit so interpenetrated and informed by his part that it is impossible to separate the one from the other. Those who have died upon the scaffold are, perhaps, the most striking

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instances of this. Take, almost at random, the accounts of the deaths of Lord Capell, the Royalist, and of Bishop Fisher, the Catholic ecclesiastic, and without in any degree detracting from the genuineness and reality of the spirit which animated them, it is impossible not to recognise in the last scenes of their lives signal examples, noble and pathetic, of parts played out. In each case the cause for which the victim suffered dignified in his eyes every trivial detail, and converted death itself from a private into a public concern, to be conducted with due regard to solemnity and decorum.

'On his way to the scaffold,' recounts Lord Capell's biographer, 'he put his hat off to the people on both sides, looking very austerely about him,' and, arrived at the place of execution, was careful to inquire whether those who had preceded him there had made their dying speeches uncovered or no, before, receiving for answer that 'they were bare,' he gave his hat to his servant and proceeded with his address to the crowd. A curious preoccupation this of the etiquette of dying to have possession of a man in the very face of the end! And almost as strange seems the anxiety with which he proceeds to define his exact position in relation to religion.

'Truly,' he says, 'I am a Protestant, and very much in love with the profession of it, after the manner as it was established in England by the Thirty-nine Articles, a blessed way of profession, and such an one as truly I never knew none so good.' It is something to be remembered to the credit of the Thirty-nine, now so much fallen into disrepute, that Lord Capell, in his hour of extremity, could declare himself 'in love' with them.

The record of Bishop Fisher's end is yet more striking, and so minute that one seems to stand by and watch the feeble old man preparing for execution with 'such a cheerful countenance, such a stout and constant courage, and such a reverend gravity, that he appeared to all men not only void of fear but also glad of death.' Being wakened in the early morning with the announcement that he was to suffer that forenoon, 'Well,' quoth the Bishop, 'if this be your errand you bring me no great news, for I have looked long for this message, and I most humbly thank his Majesty that it pleaseth him to rid me of all this worldly business. Yet let me, by your patience, sleep an hour or two, for I have slept very ill this night, not for any fear of death, I thank God, but by reason of my great infirmity and weakness.' After which he slept soundly for two hours or more, when awakening, he called his servant to help him up;

but first commanded him to take away his shirt of hair (which customably he wore) and to convey it privily out of the house; and instead thereof to lay him forth a clean white shirt and all the best apparel he had, as cleanly brushed as might be. . . . 'Dost thou not mark (said he) that this is our marriage day, and that it behoves us, therefore, to use more cleanliness for solemnity thereof?'

And so to the close, when, as he was mounting the stairs to the

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scaffold, 'the south-east sun shone very brightly in his face, whereupon he said to himself these words, lifting up his hands: "Accedite ad eum, et illuminamini, et facies vestræ non confundentur."' A picture cheerful almost to gaiety this of the old man, 'lean and slender,' standing arrayed 'in all the best apparel he had,' with the sunlight on his face—a picture perhaps more effective for his cause than all the sermons and controversial treatises, 'mostly against the doctrines of Luther,' which he left behind him.

Something, no doubt, there was in the spirit of the age which specially inclined men to die dramatically. There is a fashion in this business, as in everything else, and unconsciously men conform to it. In more modern times it has grown to be less of an objective matter; people are too much occupied with the thing itself to have much attention to spare for the look of it. But in these earlier days there mingled with their deadly earnest a certain gallant light-heartedness, a capacity for taking an outside view of things, of which later times seem to have forgotten the trick.

'Methinks,' said the seventh Earl of Derby as, the night preceding his execution, he laid him down upon the right side with his hand under his face, 'methinks I lie like a monument in a church, and to-morrow I shall really be so.'

And again—

'There is a great difference between you and me now,' he said the next morning to the friend who, with a brisk wind blowing and roughening the Channel, was to bear the news of his death to the Isle of Man, 'for *I* know where I shall rest this night.'

It would be easy to multiply instances. How, for example, would it have been possible to sum up with more tragic completeness the spirit of Sarsfield's life than when, dying on the battlefield of Landen, he caught in his hand the life-blood trickling from his wound with the exclamation, 'Oh that this had been for Ireland!'

Sir John Eliot, the sturdy champion of constitutional liberty, left to die of disease in his prison, was no whit behind his royalist antagonists, not only in enthusiasm for the cause in which he suffered, but in his determination to leave to those who should come after him a monument of his principles. 'Brought low in body, yet as high and lofty in mind as ever'—the words are not used in praise, but in a quite opposite sense, by the Lord Justice Richardson, who detained him in prison—and, feeling his end near, he sent for a painter to come to him in the Tower, in order that a portrait of himself, changed and wasted by long captivity, might remain to his family 'as a perpetual memorial of his hatred of tyranny.'

'A memorial of hatred.' Hatred, like love, is strong in death. 'Then I may live to meet the French again,' was Lord Collingwood's involuntary expression of the old implacable hostility, when on the very day before he died his exhausted strength made a temporary

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rally. It was the last flicker of the old fighting spirit. A few hours later, asked whether the motion of the vessel disturbed him, he answered that he was in a state in which 'nothing in this world can disturb me more;' and so presently passed away.

It is curious, one may observe, to note the inadequacy of the objects for which men would seem to wish to prolong their days. Collingwood, as his epitaph informs us, 'a pious, just, and exemplary man,' would have liked to have another blow at the French; Lord Peterborough, Pope's contemporary, desired to live in order 'to give that rascal (Bishop Burnet) the lie in half his history'—an aspiration of which he proved the sincerity by carrying with him the volumes, carefully marked, when, already believed to be dying, he went to Lisbon. And Bentley, making up his mind to reach the age of eighty, and no further, observed that 'it was an age long enough to read everything worth reading.'

The death of Mirabeau, at home in his own house, out of sight of the multitudes who were awaiting the end, betrays as unmistakable a consciousness of spectators as that of Lord Capell or of Bishop Fisher facing the mob from the scaffold, and a consciousness emphasised in his case by the indomitable vanity which, distinguishing him in life, remained undiminished in death. Capell and Fisher had identified themselves with their causes—Mirabeau identified his cause with himself. The cause of Mirabeau was Mirabeau. 'Soutiens,' he orders his servant, 'soutiens cette tête, la plus forte de la France.' 'I shall die to-day,' he said to his friend and doctor. 'When one has reached that point there only remains one thing to be done—to perfume oneself, to crown oneself with flowers, to surround oneself with music, in order to enter more pleasantly upon that sleep from which one awakens no more.' Music, perfume, flowers—a triumphal procession, in fact, to the grave! The considerations which affect the imagination are curiously various, and each would probably be incomprehensible to other minds.

> Oh, 'twere merry unto the grave to go,
> If one were sure to be buried so!

cries poor Tom Davis, concluding his picture of an open-air hillside grave, with the drip of wetted trees near it, and the dew trickling down through the matted roots of the grass.

With Mirabeau, at least, all was figure of speech, the natural language of the orator, addressed to the unseen audience and intended possibly to impose upon himself as well as upon others. We hear of no perfume, no music, no flowers; and presently figures of speech are forgotten, and in the extremity of mortal agony the man replaces the actor, as he breaks into reproaches against the physicians who will not put him out of his pain. 'Is it possible,' he writes when incapable of speech, 'to allow one's friend to die upon the wheel?' And

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his last words are of upbraiding. 'Do you wish me,' he cries bitterly, 'to carry away the regret for having given you my confidence?'

Did Carlyle, in the patient stoicism of his own last days, call to mind the passionate appeal of Mirabeau, when he, too, was forced to recognise the impotence of science to ease, except by hastening his passage hence? 'For me,' he told his doctor, 'you can do nothing. The only thing you could do you must not do—that is, help one to make an end of this. We must just go on as we are.'

The last speech recorded of the old philosopher is very pathetic. 'Is it not strange,' he asked wanderingly, 'that *those people* should have chosen the very oldest man in all Britain to make suffer in this way?' adding, however, characteristically, when the answer had been made that it was possible there existed reasons at which we cannot guess, 'Yes, it would be rash to say that they have no reasons.'

It is possible that the examination of the manner in which men have confronted death may owe something of its interest to an unconscious desire to assure oneself that our common humanity is not so poor a thing as some people would make it out, and to obtain some guarantee of our own conduct in like case. It is the only assurance we can get. Death is a matter which admits of no rehearsal. 'On n'a pas d'antécédent pour cela,' says Amiel. 'Il faut improviser—c'est donc si difficile.' To find, therefore, that the improvisation has generally been well managed is encouraging; although it is a wonder at what a distance most people feel from this commonplace and everyday matter of dying, so that when an old man, tottering towards the grave with his children and grandchildren around him, makes a shy and fugitive allusion to his shortening tether, one instinctively recognises it as a perfunctory concession to conventional superstition, and is not surprised to find him the next moment arranging as cheerfully for the future as if he were a lad of twenty. It was Henry Crabb Robinson who, declining at the age of eighty the proffered assistance, declared that he looked upon every man who offered to help him on with his coat as his mortal enemy.

At such moments, however, as we yield a reluctant assent to the doctrine of the inevitableness of death, it may be some satisfaction to find that, judging by precedent, there is a fair likelihood of its being met with a decent show of courage, and it is an indisputable fact that human nature has on the whole come successfully out of this particular test, not only on the occasions—like most of those already cited—when all the world was there to see, but also when the end has had to be encountered without the stimulus of publicity, and where the necessity of waiting, helpless, for the approach of an indefinite doom may well have been the more searching, as well as the commoner, ordeal of the two. To a nature, for example, like that of Emily Brontë, watching in the tragic silence of despair for the end, who can doubt that death, swift and sure, upon the scaffold, would have been the easier alternative of the two?

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Sir Walter Scott, too—his was a dying that might have tried the courage of any man, lasting as it did over more than two years, a hand-to-hand struggle not only with sickness but with calamity. Yet how gallantly was it maintained! Calculating, according to family precedent, his chances of life, he had entered the result in his diary seven years before. 'Square the odds,' the entry runs, 'and good night, Sir Walter, about sixty. I care not if I leave my name unstained and my family property settled. *Sat est vixisse.*' But there is no making conditions with fate. Death came a year later than he had reckoned upon, but ruin had come first, and the necessity of labouring on, with enfeebled brain and failing powers, not for himself or for his family, but for his creditors. 'God knows,' he writes nearly a year and a half before his release, 'God knows I am at sea in the dark, and the vessel, I think, leaky into the bargain. . . . I often wish,' he adds, 'I could lie down and sleep without waking. But I will fight it out if I can.'

He did fight it out, manfully and well, like a man who feels he has no right to die till his work is done. But the time comes when fighting grows impossible. A strong man dies hard. The struggle is apparent when, on the day it had become certain that the battle was over, he turned to those present, rallying his courage and his pride. 'Friends,' he said, 'don't let me expose myself'—the tears had forced their way as the pen his fingers refused to hold fell from his hand, and again when later he had told his old servant that there would be no more repose for Sir Walter but in the grave—'don't let me expose myself; get me to bed—that is the only place.'

His submission was made; he never left his room again.

There is another reason, over and above the more purely selfish one which consists in the desire to obtain a personal guarantee, which lends interest to this inquiry; and that is the light thrown by death upon what has preceded it. If you want to get the keynote to a life it is here that you should seek it. 'C'est le maître jour,' says Montaigne, 'c'est le jour juge de tous les autres.' It may sound like a paradox, but to be rightly understood a biography should be prefaced by its last page.

Regarded in this light, and human nature being as various as it is, it is no more than we should expect to find that the fashion in which men die is equally various. It is true that Mr. Myers has declared that, in the same way as all healthy infancy is alike, so all good men meet death with the same thoughts—an assertion surely strangely at issue with the facts. How, indeed, could it be so? 'As a man lives so he shall die.' Men do not live alike—why should they die alike? Why, take the death of Wordsworth himself, in whose biography the passage occurs, and compare it with those of other 'good men'—with that, for example, of Samuel Johnson—and what contrast can be sharper than that of the homely peacefulness of the

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atmosphere of quiet anticipation which surrounds the one, compared with the fear of death and the terror of hell which oppressed the other. 'Is that Dora?' asked the old poet placidly, as the door opened, naming the dead daughter he was daily expecting to rejoin. 'What do you mean by damned?' was the soothing question of the temporising divine to whom Dr. Johnson had expressed his haunting fears. 'Sent to hell and punished everlastingly,' was the grim and uncompromising definition of the dying lexicographer.

Yet even Johnson, for all his horror of death—'death, my dear, is very dreadful,' he had written not long before his own—even he accepted the inevitable at last, met it with fortitude and with the courage only possible to those who are afraid, and was able to find satisfaction in the thought that his body would rest in Westminster Abbey.

The fact is that, vary as they may, it is rare to find a deathbed destitute of dignity. The extremity of the crisis, if nothing else, forces the victim to play the man and strips him of those trappings and pretences which alone vulgarise human nature. A vulgar moribund! The idea is just conceivable, but surely not more. 'I always made an awkward bow,' writes poor Keats, concluding his last letter to a friend, and apologising beforehand, as one cannot but think, for the possible deficiencies of another and more final leave-taking. But he need not have been afraid; he was equal to the occasion when it came. It is not death but life which is the tragedy here. Death was simply 'the giving over of a game which must be lost.' Like one of Ford's characters he might have said—

> Welcome, thou ice which sitt'st about my heart;
> No heat can ever thaw thee.

'The hope of death,' writes Severn, 'seems his only comfort. He talks of the quiet grave as the first rest he can ever have.' And when the end comes it is he who sets himself to reassure his friend. 'Don't be frightened,' are his last words; 'be firm and thank God it has come.'

A recent article throws a curious side-light upon Keats's protracted agony, and upon the silence he preserved throughout it with regard to the absorbing passion which held for him the whole meaning and significance of life. That human friendship is but a poor makeshift after all is the reflection forced upon one by the picture of the two, apparently so close that each could have counted the heart-beats of the other, yet divided by a gulf as deep as that which separated Dives from Lazarus.

Of another poet scarcely more than a sentence has been preserved to tell us how he died, yet that sentence is sufficient to give the distinctive note of gentle bitterness. Dying for lack of bread in King Street, Spenser, we are told, 'refused twenty pieces sent him by my Lord of Essex, saying that he had no time to spend them.'

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As an illustration of how a man's last hour may strike the keynote of his character, and sum up his life, John of Barneveld may serve. A lawyer by profession and temperament, and condemned to death by an authority he does not recognise, he is clearly not so much disturbed by the sentence itself as by its unconstitutional nature. 'I am ready enough to die,' he explains, surely with a touch of irritation, to the three ministers of religion who would have desired to limit the conversation to spiritual matters, 'but I cannot comprehend *why* I am to die. I have done nothing except in obedience to the laws and privileges of the land, and according to my oath, honour, and conscience. These judges . . . have no right to sit in judgment upon me.' And again and again the complaint recurs. 'I am ready to die,' he repeats, 'but I cannot comprehend *why* I must die.' If only he was satisfied of the reason, well and good, but that the highest legal officer of the States-General should be done to death unconstitutionally, there is the rub. Presently, however, he finds strictly professional comfort in the reflection that he is to be transferred to a higher Court, upon which he can depend to reverse the decree by which he has been condemned. 'I console myself in the Lord my God, Who knows all hearts, and shall judge all men. God,' he adds with something like triumph, 'God is just.'

And so, argumentative, controversial, perhaps a trifle dictatorial, in animated discussion on matters political and religious, the old lawyer passes his last hours. 'Had there been ten clergymen,' the sentry observed to his servant, 'your master would have had enough to say to all of them.' Briskly, almost cheerfully, though resenting the injustice of the thing, he goes to execution, a little bustling, a little fussy—'Is there no cushion or stool to kneel upon?' he demands upon the scaffold—a lawyer to the last, prepared to plead his cause at the eternal Bar and secure at that tribunal of success; a triumph of middle-class fortitude and self-respect. 'May my last end be like his,' might be the prayer of the legal profession.

Other men die less pleasantly in character.

> I paid Sir Godfrey Kneller a visit (says Pope) but two days before he died, and I think I never saw a scene of so much vanity in my life. He was lying in his bed and contemplating the plan he had made for his own monument. He said many gross things in respect to himself and the memory he should leave behind him. He said he should not like to lie among the rascals at Westminster. A memorial there would be sufficient; and desired me to write an epitaph for it.

It is said that the moral sense is absent from dreams. However that may be, the ruling passion is strong in them. There is a dream of Sir Godfrey's preserved by Pope, which, from its curious harmony with the deathbed scene described above as well as on account of its broad humour, I cannot refrain from quoting at length.

> I dreamed I was dead (said the painter). . . . Before me I saw a door and a great number of people about it. . . . As I drew nearer I could distinguish St.

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Peter by his keys, with some other of the Apostles. They were admitting the people as they came next the door. . . . As the first after my coming up approached for admittance, St. Peter asked his name, and then his religion. 'I am a Roman Catholic,' replied the spirit. 'Go in then,' says St. Peter, 'and sit down in those seats on the right hand.' The next was a Presbyterian; he was admitted too after the usual questions, and ordered to sit down on the seat opposite to the other. My turn came next, and as I approached St. Peter very civilly asked me my name. I said it was Kneller. I had no sooner said so than St. Luke (who was standing just by) turned towards me, and said with a great deal of earnestness, 'What, the famous Sir Godfrey Kneller of England?' 'The very same, sir,' says I, 'at your service.' On this St. Luke . . . embraced me and made me a great many compliments on the art we both of us had followed in this world; and entered so far into the subject that he seemed almost to have forgot the business for which I came thither. At last, however, he recollected himself, and said, 'I beg your pardon, Sir Godfrey, I was so much taken up with the pleasure of conversing with you. But apropos; pray, sir, what religion may you be of?' 'Why truly, sir,' says I, 'I am of no religion.' 'Oh, sir,' says he, 'you will be so good then as to go in and take your seat where you please.'

Whether the dream were in truth Kneller's, or whether it were an example of Pope's own inventive faculty, it is an appropriate enough commentary upon the real deathbed, and the painter upon it wrapped in the contemplation of his design for his own monument.

Pope's own end was of a different type, decorous, self-respecting, unemotional, and conducted with due regard to what might properly be expected of him. When a friend, we are told, inquired whether he would not die as his father and mother had done, and whether a priest should not be sent for, 'I do not suppose that it is essential,' he replied politely, 'but it will be very right, and I heartily thank you for putting me in mind of it.'

The very spirit of indifferentism breathes in the courteous acquiescence in the forms of religious observance, yet, looked at in another light, there is something of a matter-of-fact unpicturesque heroism in the unostentatious composure which accepts death as tranquilly as if it were an everyday occurrence. It is indeed a curious fact that men seem to step out with equal courage, though less lightness of heart, into the darkness as into the light. One remembers in this connection John Sterling's last letter to Carlyle. 'I tread the common road,' he says, 'into the great darkness, without any thought of fear and with very much of hope. Certainty indeed I have none. . . . It is all very strange, but not one-hundredth part as sad as it seems to the standers-by.' Had death struck him down in those earlier years when, full of the certainty of faith, he was, according to Carlyle, 'rushing forward like a host towards victory, playing and pulsing like sunshine or soft lightning,' he could not have met it more gallantly. Or, to cite another instance, what farewell to life could be more cheerful, contented, and satisfied than that contained in what David Hume called his own funeral oration?

Ten years before Sterling went out 'into the great darkness'

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Samuel Taylor Coleridge, at whose feet he had once sat, learning that the Church to whose service he was then vowed was not dead but only 'tragically asleep,' had passed away. Mystic, dreamer, and philosopher, there was nevertheless a definiteness about his religious faith which takes one by surprise, till one remembers that it was a time when Wordsworth paused upon the stairs, to say, 'with an emphasis which seemed to proceed from the very profoundest recesses of his soul, "I would lay down my life for the Church!"'—for the Church, that is, which, earlier in the letter from which the quotation is taken, Mrs. Henry Coleridge had described as 'our dear, excellent, venerable Church establishment.' The days when men felt enthusiasm for 'establishments,' as such, are gone by; but Coleridge shared it. 'When he knew that his time was come,' says his daughter, 'he said he hoped by the manner of his death to testify the sincerity of his faith; and hoped that all who had heard of his name would know that he died in that of the English Church.'

In contradistinction both to Pope's eighteenth-century deference to conventional decorum, even in the matter of dying, and to the serene confidence of Coleridge, who out of the unpromising material of a State religion could contrive to construct a temple dedicated to his own mystic worship, it is curious to look back for a moment to the time, not a hundred years before Pope's death, when England had been turned into one vast Methodist chapel, and when the spectacle was possible of a whole regiment in the very heat of battle falling upon its knees in response to the appeal of a single dying soldier. 'Love not the world,' exclaims Oliver Cromwell as his wife and children stand about his deathbed; and again, in reiterated entreaty, 'I say unto you, it is not good that you should love this world!' This poor much-abused world! One would imagine that Puritan discipline and Calvinist austerity had left little enough in it for any one to love, but the dying man probably knew better. The walls of a lifelong home, even when they are bare and whitewashed, are dear to the traveller who is taking his last look at them, and his own present experience may have lent the vehemence to this last warning.

Of all the incidents which have been preserved concerning Cromwell's death there is one which stands out unique in its pathos and in the light it seems to throw upon the inner life of the great Puritan. As the end drew near, we are told, haunted by dread of eternal damnation, he turned to the minister who was attending him with the inquiry whether it was possible that one who had ever been in a state of grace should fall from it. The Calvinist, true to his creed, answered in the negative. 'Then,' said the dying man, 'I am safe; *for I am sure that once I was in a state of grace.*' Once! When was it, one wonders? What had risen before his eyes in that last hour, a pledge and guarantee of salvation? Was it some day—

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perhaps only some hour—in the distant past, in those unrecorded early years during which his passage through the Red Sea had taken place, when the light from God, afterwards darkened or dimmed by care and ambition and bloodshed, had first illuminated his path? Had he, in his extremity, by an effort of memory, recaptured that lost certitude and clung to it in his supreme need as an assurance of safety? And at how many obscurer deathbeds is the incident repeated? How many souls, world-worn, and with the springs of hope and faith long since dried up within them, may have clung at the last to the remembrance of some day long gone by—some hour misted over by the years which lie between, but which yet has power in their supreme necessity to assure them that God is good, and salvation—whatever the word may signify to them—possible, and that they themselves are made for something more than that which has found fulfilment here, so that failure itself is in some sort a pledge of ultimate success. It would be curious could each man's talisman, sacred or secular, be set side by side, each differing from the other, yet each performing the same function towards the soul in its hour of mortal need.

Among the surprises which meet us in this inquiry, and perhaps one of the chiefest, is the unimportance of the influence apparently exercised by surroundings upon those called upon to leave them. One would imagine beforehand that they would have everything to do with it. It is natural enough to find one with regard to whom the utmost ingenuity of man seems to have been exhausted in order to make life unendurable content to part with it, and to begin his experiment over again elsewhere. When we read, for instance, of the poor young Jesuit poet, Southwell, who had been put to the torture on thirteen several occasions, and had passed the concluding years of his short, heroic life in Queen Elizabeth's hospitable dungeons —when we read that the refrain of his doctrine consisted in the recurrent maxim that 'life is but loss,' we recognise in it an almost inevitable deduction from personal experience, and it does not astonish us to find him, at the last, willing and eager to exchange his prison for the splendours of the New Jerusalem, even though the passage thither lay through Tyburn, and the headsman stood as porter at the golden gates. But it is a different matter when we discover, as we so often do, that it is just those who have been the most honoured guests at the banquet who appear readiest at the first summons to rise and, without a backward glance, to quit it; and that it is such as have in the fullest sense lived who are the most willing to part with life.

> I warmed both hands before the fire of life;
> It sinks, and I am ready to depart.

The explanation may possibly lie in the fact that it is an easier matter to leave a world whose resources have been exploited to the

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utmost, than one still full of untested possibilities. Forecasts, too, are largely ruled by experience. 'Experience,' says St. Paul, generalising, as people usually do, from his own, 'worketh hope.' A successful man expects success; while the habit of failure is a pledge and prophecy of its continuance. When Cowper, to the inquiry of his physician how he felt, replied, 'Feel! I feel unutterable despair,' it was, of course, the expression of a mind diseased; but had it been otherwise it would have been natural enough that, having found life such a terrible affair, he should have been unable to bring himself to expect anything better from death, and that when a well-meaning friend sought to comfort him with the hope of happiness in a future world, he should have interrupted him with passionate entreaties for silence.

Two or three years before young Southwell's execution Lorenzo de' Medici, scarcely above middle age, at the height of his reputation, and in the full enjoyments of those gifts which nature and fortune had vied with each other in showering upon him, had quitted the scene of his unrivalled successes with a composure almost amounting to nonchalance. To assert that he died as he had lived, a philosopher, and carrying out his own maxims to the last, may describe but does not explain the matter. The strange thing is that such a philosophy, brought to the test, can stand its ground. The Medici family were, it is true, good at dying. One remembers old Cosmo, Lorenzo's grandfather—the same who, with a fine sense of the picturesque, uncovering his hoary head in the presence of the Venetian envoys, told them that it should not be long before the hair of those who sent them was likewise whitened—one remembers him answering with grim brevity to the inquiry why he closed his eyes, 'That I may accustom them to it;' and something of the same spirit, touched with humour, is discernible in Lorenzo's own reply when asked how he liked his food: 'As a dying man always does,' was the answer. In his response to Savonarola's last exhortation, too, we cannot help suspecting a desire to outdo his old antagonist at the last on his own ground. The priest had reminded him that death must be met with fortitude. 'With cheerfulness,' corrected the moribund, 'if such is the will of God.' The sequel proved his words to have been no empty boast. 'To judge from his conduct and that of his servants,' says Politiano, giving an account of the end, 'you would have thought that it was they who momentarily expected that fate from which he only appeared to be exempt.' The solitary regret expressed by him—one of those curious irrelevant regrets so inadequate to the occasion, and which may be placed beside Collingwood's desire to try another fall with the French, and Peterborough's to prove Burnet a liar—was that he had not lived long enough to complete the public library. The triviality of the reason for which he would have wished his life prolonged is the measure of his indifference to death.

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Another contemporary magnate—this time an ecclesiastic—furnishes a second example of the same kind. Pope Sixtus the Fifth—the pope to whom the ex-Huguenot Henry of Navarre paid his damning tribute of praise, 'I have lost a pope after my own heart' —quitted the world, likewise in the height of his power and with every ambition gratified, with as cheerful an unconcern as if he left behind him as little to regret as that young poet subaltern of his who was at that moment lying in his English prison. 'A prince should die standing;' he was fond of quoting Vespasian's maxim, and he carried it out. Sixtus had done good work and plenty of it, and had no doubt taken pleasure in his labours. Rome, under his auspices, had become so blameless that the post of judge had grown to be a sinecure. He had, in fact, given the imperial city no alternative. Sixtus was a masterful man. A 'taylor' guilty of boxing the ears of 'another person of the same occupation' was sent to the galleys for it—so strict was the decorum maintained. 'If I thought the people would relapse after I was dead, I would hang them all whilst I am alive,' he is reported to have declared in his business-like, practical way. He had filled the public coffers, had not neglected his duty to his own family, and, especially since his elevation to the papacy, had made an enjoyable affair of life. And yet—here comes in the anomaly—the bell rings, the train stops, and he is as ready to take his journey into the unknown country as any starving beggar in the streets, with nothing to lose and everything to gain. We cannot even feel that in his case it is a very serious matter. He sends for the physicians as his mortal malady gains upon him, but more with a view to the interest and amusement to be derived from their discussions than for any practical purpose, for we find him making a joke of their consultations, and for the rest taking his own way and leading his life as usual, until one evening towards dusk he quietly closes his accounts with life and takes his way hence.

There are, of course, innumerable other examples—a cloud of witnesses—whose names will rise at once to the memory, some too familiar to be quoted here, others falling into the same categories as those which have been given, but almost all pointing to the same conclusion—namely, that courage in respect to death when it is near at hand is so general as to come near to being universal, a fact only accentuated by the sharpness with which exceptions, like that furnished by Robespierre, stand out in the memory.

To sum up. The fear of death in the abstract is a natural instinct, and, being natural, is doubtless a wholesome one. And this being so, a constant realisation of it is scarcely to be desired. It is much to be questioned whether, to use the imagery of the hymn, the man to whose consciousness it was continually present that his tent was nightly pitched a day's march nearer to his grave would be a useful campaigner. But in point of fact there is no danger that it will be so.

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The story is told of a priest who, under sentence of death in days when the penalty was more common than now, obtained the privilege of preaching to his fellow-convicts in like case. It is a scene which is repeated in a thousand different places every Sunday morning, but it is a hundred to one that the situation does not strike either preacher or people unpleasantly, and you will find each going home to dinner as cheerfully as if he carried a special exemption in his pocket. It is best so. Not to climb a hill till you come to it is a homely maxim; but it is astonishing how much, carried out, it simplifies life. You imagine it to be an alp that is barring your way, and when you reach the spot it turns out to be a gently rising ground from which you may view the surrounding country before making a fresh start. And so with death. Formidable as it appears from a distance, the more one looks into the subject the more certain it becomes that mankind, when brought to a practical acquaintance with it, have agreed in some blind way to recognise in the enemy whose approaches they have been so unremitting in their efforts to ward off something altogether different from the terrible and hostile force which they have been accustomed to consider it. 'We fall on guard, and after all it is a friend who comes to meet us,' and a friend bringing in his hands

> Oblivion of tears,
> Silence of passions, balm of angry sore,
> Suspense of loves, security of fears,
> Wrath's lenity, heart's ease, storm's calmest shore,
> Sense's and soul's reprieval from all cumbers,
> Benumbing sense of ill with quiet slumbers!

I. A. TAYLOR.

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COLLEGE DISCIPLINE

To talk much about discipline is a dangerous thing. There are many subjects, no doubt, on which we do gain a hearing for our much talking, but there are others which avenge themselves on the talker, in proportion to his eloquence, by bringing on him not merely a suspicion of ignorance but also contempt for positive pretence. The virtue which makes a third to temperance and soberness seems almost to evaporate if it is aired on the platform. He who talks much about the qualities of a gentleman is thought to label himself a snob, and Thackeray only escaped this retort by the frank confession that he was himself the greatest of snobs. And even then we feel that Addison and Steele knew a better way. So also it is with discipline. It is true that, in these analytical days, it is hard to be the owner of a virtue without knowing it, and also a little absurd to exhort one another not to be self-conscious when self-consciousness, as philosophers tell, is that which alone man did not inherit from beast. But there are some qualities in respect of which the ἕρκος ὀδόντων is more than a mere periphrasis; qualities upon which we have to shut our teeth, if we do not want to lose them, or, at all events, the reputation of possessing them. Therefore, as I said before, there is danger in talking, and still more in writing, about discipline. Perhaps there is less danger for me than for some others, for I have served the office of Proctor in the University of Oxford, and have therefore, in all probability, already committed all the mistakes to which the unhappy disciplinarian is prone, and already lost as much reputation as I deserve. Let this, then, be my apology: that I speak as an *emeritus* professor of the ungentle art, and have had opportunity and, I fear, good reason to reflect on its difficulties and dangers.

Whenever there is a big row or a little row at Oxford, our friends in the great world, taking an interest in our doings which we find rather hard to understand (except in so far as they may be members of the august body of British parents), find it only too easy to tell us what we want. A little more tact, consideration, judgment, knowledge of the world, temper, sense of humour and proportion, sympathy, firmness—that is all! In other words, a little more of all the qualities which make one man successful in dealing with other men; qualities

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which make not only the good policeman and notable housewife, but the captain of industry, the captain of armies, the statesman, or, to use the Carlylean climax, the King. If by taking thought we could add a few of those little matters to the list of our accomplishments, we should indeed soon cease to furnish material for striking headlines, pungent paragraphs, and indignant epistles to the editor. But it is not the least good telling us to get these most excellent things. We would give our eyes for them, as who would not? We cannot write out an order for them as we do for books from the Bodleian shelves, and even Professor Max Müller does not lecture on them. But all the same we quite agree with our critics.

There is, however, another point on which we do not agree. Whenever we discredit ourselves by having our windows broken by some one else, our non-academical friends cry out at once that 'there must be something wrong with the system.' Now, there is a truth in this, and to develop the truth of it, in one of its senses, is the very object of this paper; but in another and the ordinary sense it contains a dangerous fallacy, for I will be bold to say that, in the ordinary sense of the phrase, there is no such thing as a 'system' of discipline. It is, I believe, a maxim among sportsmen that a horse can gallop in almost any kind of shape, because they have so often been surprised, pleasantly or unpleasantly, by the performances of the 'mean and vulgar-looking brute,' on the one hand, or those of the 'perfect picture' on the other. In the same way it should be a maxim that there are many ways and no rules by which a disciplinarian may seek peace and ensure it. At the familiar signs of a College row one man jumps out of bed, puts on the first clothes he can find—perhaps a dressing-gown and top hat—and goes down into the quad into the midst of Comus and his crew, and rates the offenders like a pack of riotous hounds, with excellent results. Another will not show himself without his cap and gown and a servant or two at his heels, with excellent results. Another never shows himself at all, but sends the porter to tell the rioters to come to him next morning, with excellent results. At the inevitable interview some are stern, others playful; some rude, others polite; some blunt, others sarcastic; some take a high tone, others a low one; and it is possible to succeed, and fail, egregiously in any mode. I will refrain from quoting Aristotle in this connection, partly because I do not wish to awaken painful memories, and partly because he has only said what every man of sense has thought. When it comes to action and execution, it is a personal matter, and in personal matters there is no 'system.' And it is just because some among ourselves have tried to substitute system for personal government, or to charge against system what should be debited to personality, that difficulties, which must always occur from time to time, have become exaggerated and perpetuated.

Of course there are some general conditions under which personal

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qualities have more chance of success than under others, and it is these conditions which really form the system which is to be praised or blamed. In this sense I shall have something to say about our system later on. But the more the disciplinarian is allowed the free exercise of his own particular personal qualities, and the more he is charged with the responsibility of the failure or success of the particular methods he adopts, the less important do these general conditions become. You must give your disciplinarian a free hand, and if he is a failure there is no remedy except to get another man.

As matters are, however, at present there are two standing obstacles to the orderly government of a College. In the first place, it is almost as difficult to get rid of an inefficient College official as it is to get rid of a parish clerk. If the dean of a College (the dean being, except at Christ Church, a disciplinary, not an ecclesiastical authority) does not happen to possess the personal qualities necessary for his post it is very hard for his colleagues, who dine daily at the same table, and in the common room have a weakness for the same vintage, to remove him. The amiability, unworldliness, and devotion to learning which endear him to the common room are perhaps the very qualities which unfit him for his post. Even if the unhappy officer who is making a mess of law and order is aware of his own deficiencies, and sensitive enough to shrink from the judgment which is nightly passed upon him by events, he is often deterred from resignation by an untimely spirit of courage, by unwillingness to give his colleagues the trouble (which in these days of married Fellows is very great indeed) of finding a successor, or by that natural reluctance, which is the bane of sensitive men, to confess himself a failure, a confession which for him is unsoftened by the reflection, which sometimes comes to stronger men, that in such an office failure is no disgrace. From the best possible motives an incapable don may cling to a post from which no one will remove him. Of course this is the time for the master, provost, warden, or whatever the head of the College may be called, to intervene. But many heads of Colleges are so ambitious of being thought constitutional that they will not take the decisive action which alone can save the State, and for which they alone, by their exceptional position, are competent. They adhere to their principle of being nothing but impartial chairmen of their governing bodies, when circumstances cry aloud for a dictator. A little despotism does seem inseparable from discipline, and I think that if Heads of Houses would sometimes affect the tyrant even the most infallible and advanced of junior Fellows would be rather glad of it. It seems, indeed, if I may say so without impertinence, that heads of Houses are going to have their turn again, and that the next decade will see them restored to that important position in the economy of the University which many of them have been backward to claim for themselves. We are beginning to feel our want of services which

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they alone are fitted to render, and there is no reason to suppose that they will fail us. This first obstacle, however, to good government is clearly still a personal matter, and can hardly be charged to defects of the system.

The second obstacle is the converse of the first, and is really more serious, because it is not so often overcome by one of those happy accidents on which we in Oxford mostly rely for the decision of difficult questions. There is a natural, though most undesirable, tendency on the part of a weak man to shift his personal responsibility on to the shoulders of the governing body as a whole; and, on the other hand, there is an equally undesirable tendency on the part of governing bodies, assembled in council, to review and interfere with the discretion of executive officers. Of course I do not advocate dispensing with the formal confirmation of such officers' action by the general body, but a large body of Fellows is almost as incompetent as the general public to arrive at a right decision as to the proper course of action in a particular case of insubordination or outrage. The result of this tendency is to give the weak officer a longer tenure of his office, and to hamper the action of the strong officer. Indeed, the weak man is often preferred by his colleagues for his 'constitutional' spirit, and when things go wrong with the weak man, they blame neither themselves nor him, but the undergraduate. If things go wrong with the strong man, they blame him for not referring the matter to the decision of the collective wisdom. The disciplinary authority is thus put into commission, when the only remedy is a change of *personnel*.

The effect of such a change is often remarkable. When I first went to Christ Church, I remember seeing the junior members of another College, which afterwards did me the honour of electing me to Fellowship in its body, proceeding *en masse* to the railway station on the way to their homes, though the vacation was still some time distant. The cause of wrath and judgment had something to do with screws, in the use of which the members of that College were said to be expert. At all events, the College had the reputation of being the most insubordinate and rackety in Oxford. Yet in the same College, during the ten years through which I served it, not one single undergraduate was ever even 'gated'—the mildest of College punishments. I am free to mention this fact because I personally was in no way responsible for the discipline, and I can ascribe it to nothing in the world but personal influence. Certainly no one ever accused us of having a 'system.'

It is not at all my object in this paper to discuss in detail recent unfortunate, though not altogether abnormal occurrences at Christ Church. Even if I had that taste for washing dirty linen in public which has been displayed in some unexpected quarters, at any rate, both as a loyal son of 'the House,' and on general considerations of

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what is fair and sensible, I have no mind to canvass the action of those persons who alone have that particular knowledge of the facts which can justify anyone in passing judgment. Still, with the permission of the reader, if he is not already tired of my pretensions to good sense, I will make so bold as to mention a few general points, which either are not generally known or have been lost sight of. And first I may say that, within the limits of my own experience, a most pernicious and unsporting custom has grown up at Oxford of forays or invasions by members of one College into the territories of another. In old days, if the cheerful youth of a College wished to bait the Dons, they baited their own Dons, and did the baiting themselves, and, if caught, took the consequences according to the recognised rules of the game. Lately, however, it has become the fashion, on the occasion of any slight excitement—such as winning the College football cup, or the fours, or making bumps on the river—to raid another College, and, having done as much damage and having been as objectionable to the authorities as possible, to retire rejoicing in the inability of the sufferers to recognise or obtain justice against the offenders. Only a few months ago, a band of youthful desperadoes tried to obtain entrance into the Vice-Chancellor's own College through the Vice-Chancellor's own front door, from which they were, after a smart engagement, repelled by the vigorous hand of the butler armed with the most august umbrella in the University. Very rarely the undergraduates of the raided College combine to expel the intruders. Generally a mistaken sense of hospitality and good-fellowship, and the contagion of a royal row in full progress, restrain the invaded from protesting very vigorously, even if they do not actually draw them into making common cause with those whose conduct, on calm reflection, they seldom fail to disapprove. The case is, of course, far worse when the invasion is deliberately invited, in order that others may do what the members of the College dare not, or are ashamed to do themselves; and I regret to say that this case is not unknown. Whether it was so on the night of the 12th of May last, I do not presume to say; but if it was, no words are too strong to condemn the proceeding. I do not much admire the practice of window-breaking now, though I may admit having in other days found in the crisp sound of breaking glass a greater exhilaration than in any bonfire. Nothing is more expressive of the devil-may-care attitude than throwing a stone at a public lamp. But certainly it was distinctly recognised by the best representatives of undergraduate morals, that to break the windows of a person who was neither your own friend nor your own enemy was unmannerly, and only excusable by an exceptional indistinctness of vision. In the same way, if we had a grudge against our Dons, we did not get our friends from another College to pay it off, but, with such precautions as our ingenuity suggested, we did it ourselves. We certainly

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did not look on while our friends from London 'made hay,' and then plead next morning that we had nothing to do with it—that it was the other fellows, and that we couldn't stop them. I do not wish for a minute to defend, in the abstract, the rules of the game as we played it not so many years ago, but I think that our rules of the game were not altogether unmanly, and that we played them fairly consistently. If others were in danger of being punished for our offences, we gave ourselves up with as good a grace as we could command, and were uneasy if we escaped while others were punished for an affair in which we were equally involved. We certainly did not invoke our solicitors when we got a rap on the knuckles, nor did we advertise our achievements in the columns of halfpenny evening papers. I will only refer to two more points about 'the House.' In the first place, its buildings, geographically speaking, are made for a row, and when a row is once fairly started, it is almost impossible to suppress it with the small force which the authorities can command. It is unlike all other Colleges in this, and the opportunities it affords are not wasted. In the second place, there is the division of disciplinary authority between two Censors, who share the responsibility of the term between them, each taking command for one month. The precedents, as they used to be expounded to us by the lecturer in ancient history, seem all against such an arrangement, especially when the ultimate court of appeal is a governing body with such a unique constitution as that of Christ Church. Even in the most favourable circumstances, 'when constabulary duty's to be done,' the Censor's lot is not a happy one. But these are matters of high State, and I hurry to pass on lest I offend.

But here I can imagine my reader saying: 'What is all this pother about? Is it not beneath the dignity of a great Review to discuss the domestic brawls of a society of some two hundred very young men who want whipping, and some much older men who want compulsory retirement?' I am certainly not responsible for, nor do I profess to explain, the interest of the great world in our petty academical affairs: I am content to take the judgment of my Editor on the fact that such an interest exists. And, after all, this, I admit, rather trifling discourse is meant to lead to something which seems to me to have some importance. I would ask the whole body of British parents who send sons to the Universities, whether they are not partly responsible for a state of affairs which reflects, at several removes perhaps, some discredit on the nation at large.

My complaint is that the British parent tacitly requires us to combine two very different elements in our system, and then does his best to render their combination impracticable. They are very difficult to combine, and it is hard not to sympathise very often with their reluctance and antipathy. When the combination is effected, I for one admire it extremely, as I shall presently confess. But the

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British parent when he takes up the position of the critic, as he is very ready to do, is apt to express views which imply the entire dissolution of the combination which he, in the course of generations, has forced upon us. In the ardour of his criticism he will even adopt views which are mutually destructive, so that it is impossible for us to enjoy even the revenge of taking him at his word. And even when he recognises the difficulties of our position, he is not always too willing to take those practical measures which alone can render it tenable. But I will abandon the mysterious vein and speak plainly.

In practice, an English University is a plain compromise between a place of learning and a place of amusement, or, in the literal sense of the word, a place of pastime. This compromise is being perpetually assailed on two sides. On the one hand we have the view of many sincere and high-minded persons who hold that it is a flagrant wickedness to use the endowments, opportunities, and traditions of a great University for anything except the promotion of knowledge. (The 'Bidding Prayer,' perhaps, may be said to lean towards the side of the compromise when it describes the University as a place of 'true religion and useful learning.') From this point of view the 'pass-man,' unless he be a candidate for Orders, is a superfluity and mere embarrassment. If the student is not simply seeking for light, let him go direct into the outer darkness of business or the unlearned professions. It is good neither for us nor for himself that he should be here. In any case it is a plain disgrace that he should come here and disturb the midnight studies of the quiet-seeker with his coach-horns and fireworks. (As a matter of fact, the quiet student enjoys the fireworks and other spectacles provided by his cheerful fellows as much as anybody, and even scholars have been known to blow coach-horns.) Now, I do not for one minute wish to depreciate or sneer at this view. I sympathise entirely with its spirit and lay down as a first condition of the compromise to which I adhere, that it shall provide for the utmost security and encouragement of all true learners; and to this end I would adopt measures regarding scholarships and exhibitions to which many even of my reforming friends would most strongly object. I would also deal with the standard of a pass degree in a way which would, perhaps, please few pass-men. The forcible exclusion of all ordinary pass-men would clearly, in some respects, bring us nearer to one legitimate ideal of a University; but, apart from my suspicions of such Platonic *coups-d'état*, I should oppose it on the broadest grounds as contrary, if such a phrase is not absurd in this connection, to the interests of the nation.

I do not think that this first and extreme view is taken by many of our own Dons, though, strangely enough, it is sometimes heard from the mouths of University extensionists. Perhaps it would be better for us if we were more inclined to it. It is only sometimes,

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when we find ourselves face to face with petty anarchy, and are worried out of our usual composure by the necessity of getting rid of some of the very undergraduates for whom we have the greatest personal liking, that we discover the absurdity of the system, and ask ourselves why we should be obliged to perform such disturbing functions. We then say in our haste, 'What a lot of good work we should get through if the University was composed solely of people who wanted to learn!' and when the undergraduates cry, 'Down with the Dons!' we respond with just as great—and as little—sincerity, 'Down with the undergraduates!'

But as a rule this indignation with our proceedings, righteous enough in its way, is felt not in Oxford so much as in the provinces, including London, which to Oxford men, it must be remembered, is incurably provincial. I do not think one need take much notice of the head-lines of evening papers with their 'Aristocratic rowdyism at Oxford,' 'Disgraceful scenes,' and so on. The able editors of those organs are sometimes more anxious to have a 'go' at the 'classes' than to promote the study of the classics. I do not know whether our condition afflicts even the Nonconformist conscience very much. If it does, it is at present not at all unwilling to bow down in the house of Rimmon: witness the Colleges of Mansfield and Manchester. But very often the parent of the most arrant pass-man will join in the cry of reprobation, without reflecting that he and his hopeful son are at the bottom of many of our difficulties. Still, there is undoubtedly at each fresh domestic scandal a really 'felt feeling,' as the philosophers say, that we are not fulfilling our trust for the nation; and such a feeling may at some not very distant day bear fruit in a new Universities Commission.

The extreme opposite view is not often maintained in its nakedness, but is generally veiled by a verbal recognition of the view which I have just been describing. It is, however, consistently acted upon by a large body of parents, and when it leads to evil consequences they are the first to cry out. It is the view, that, for a large number of young Englishmen who are not intended for the learned professions or the army, and are not wanted immediately to engage in business, a few years at the University afford the best way of getting over a very difficult and awkward period in their lives. There are, I am aware, many parents who look for much more than this even from the stupidest of their sons, and have some appreciation of the benefits of rubbing elbows with culture, to say nothing of the advantage of seeing other young men already engaging in life as if it were a serious thing. I myself have nothing but good to say of the serious pass-man, and, without any disrespect to the honour-men who have formed the mass of my pupils, I have often felt the livelier interest and satisfaction in those who carried the smaller guns. But there is a large number of parents who only wish their sons to get over the

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difficult years of their life without any serious trouble and with the greatest possible amount of enjoyment, and who wish some one else to have the responsibility of their escapades. The result is that we get a very difficult class to deal with. They are in very truth 'young barbarians at play,' and their sports are as barbaric as their attire, though, in the latter respect, eccentricities are perhaps not so striking as they used to be.

And they really are at a difficult age. They are young enough to claim the privileges of boys on the 5th of November, and they are old enough to talk about legal proceedings when they are sent down for breaking windows or peppering citizens with air-guns. When they have the grace to apologise they are irresistible, but when they have made a false start they are often astonishingly ungraceful. They are such a mixture of engaging frankness and stiff cubbishness that it is hard to treat them consistently; a fact of which they themselves become, on occasion, inconveniently aware. The only thing is to be good-natured, avoid explanations, and be very shy of appealing to precedent. The difficulty of dealing with them is increased by the fact that they are all much of the same age. Their ranks are not stiffened, even to the same extent as at school, by others of relatively greater age. They are much less favourably placed than they would be in a regiment, where they would be forced to live a good deal under the eye of older men, who yet would dine at the same table and engage in many of the same amusements. When the Fellows of a College have become old and musty, or have withdrawn to the domestic joys of the Parks, or have become absorbed each in the composition of his *magnum opus*, then the field is ripe for mischief. The continual introduction of fresh and young blood among the Fellows is almost a necessity, in order to overcome the normal difficulties of the dual society which forms a College.

It must, however, be remembered that, at the best of times, the method by which Fellows are selected is not too favourable to the cause of law and order in such a society as I have described. The Fellow of a College is elected, now at all events, either for distinction in some branch of learning, or for promise of success as a teacher. His personal qualifications are not much regarded, though striking disqualifications sometimes produce their proper effect. But, up to the present, little has been done in the direction so clearly marked out by our public schools, where proficiency in cricket and companionableness are taken seriously into account among the qualifications of candidates for masterships. We at Oxford often smile good-naturedly at this weakness of the head-masters of public schools, and regard it as not wholly unjustifiable, but we should resent the suggestion of admitting any such considerations to influence our own elections. And yet I am not sure that, to a limited extent, we might not justly do so. We have to recognise the enor-

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mous growth of the Colleges and the increasing popularity of a University education—a popularity which seems to grow in proportion to the complaints of its uselessness—and it is no good shutting our eyes to the nature of the compromise to which we are irrevocably committed. All Colleges now recognise the value of athletic distinction, and are glad to see all classes of the community represented inside their walls. Exclusiveness, indeed, has given place to competition of the most up-to-date character. Parents of promising oarsmen or cricketers need no longer trouble to put the names of their sons down at a College in order to secure admission. They can take their choice. If, therefore, we welcome promising young barbarians to our societies, we are bound to provide for them pastors and masters towards whom their relations may be not merely those of respect, but also those of sympathy. A new principle is still more urgently needed in the choice of disciplinary officers than in the initial selection of Fellows. At present seniority prevails just where seniority is least of a qualification. For the office of Proctor, indeed, a maximum and a minimum age are prescribed by the University Statutes. This is, perhaps, not necessary in the case of deans of colleges; but advanced age should certainly give no claim to such an office. Experience, of course, counts for much, but other qualities may well count for more. Selection is, of course, invidious, but the promotion of the unfittest is not part of nature's scheme.

On the whole question of the compromise I may admit that I myself once thought differently, and that my views have changed through, I venture to think, a more mature experience. My enthusiasm for learning and my respect for those who strive to keep the sacred flame alight are, I hope, undiminished; but at the same time, looking at the University as a whole, I should now frankly support the compromise which I once regarded as ignoble. But, at the same time, and in conclusion, I would point out to the parent of the average British boy, that the maintenance of this compromise demands something very definite from him. Bad times in trade and agricultural depression have certainly made University life for the ordinary undergraduate a more sober affair than it once was. Also, I am thankful to say, there is an increase of good sense among even those who can still claim to be gilded parents, and heads of Colleges find a more ready backing when they insist on a certain minimum of industry on the part of their gilded youth. At Christ Church itself there has been for some time a wholesome rule which automatically applies the closure if certain examinations are not passed within a certain time, and the passing of the least of these examinations is more and more becoming a condition precedent of entering the University at all. The wholesomeness of these rules is probably recognised even by the parents of those who suffer by them. But a good deal more remains to be done towards levelling up the

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average. It has to be recognised as beyond dispute that every young man must do his best or go elsewhere. As a rule, the athletic youth accepts the situation honestly, and in a good College he is the backbone of the society. But there is a residuum which remains undigested, and is troublesome, and cries the loudest when it is got rid of. High spirits will out, and the natural and traditional outlet is a good noise, but there is no reason why decency and the rules of the game should not be observed in the College quad as on the cricket and football field. I for one should feel very uneasy if the undergraduates of my College never made a noise. But there are some performances which evince a low rather than a high spirit, and it is impossible for us to deal with this efficiently if we have not the hearty support of the British parent, for whom, in his ordinary temper, I have, as it is only becoming, the greatest possible respect. If our University is to succeed as a compromise, it must be recognised and supported as such on one side as much as on the other, and if it meets with this support, I do not think it will cease to hold that place in the life of the nation which has won it the love and devotion of so many of our greatest men.

L. A. Selby-Bigge.

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A LAND OF INCREDIBLE BARBARITY

PERIODICALLY the attention of the world is called to Morocco by the news that its Emperor has died and that he is to be succeeded peacefully by another, or that there is danger of internal conflict owing to the jealousies of rival claimants.

When a new monarch has ascended the throne and appears to be secure in its possession, Europe once more forgets Morocco, and all its affairs, until such time as it is again awakened to a consciousness of its existence by the recurrence of some similar event.

The telegraph has just flashed across the seas the intelligence that Muley Hassan, late Emperor of Morocco, is dead, and that the claim of his son Abdul Aziz to the right of succession to the throne has been accepted at Casablanca, but is likely to meet with hostility at Fez.

What sort of a land is this Morocco, and what description of a man was the late Emperor? Having recently returned from a visit to Tangier, distant only four days by steam from England, and but three hours from the British fortress of Gibraltar, I unhesitatingly reply that, although I have travelled in many countries, Morocco is the most barbarous land I have ever seen. It is a country where injustice reigns in the place of law, where might is right, where, at this day and hour, in this nineteenth century, treacheries are perpetrated and cruelties committed which could only find their equal in the most horrible stories history has handed down to us of the brutalities of the middle ages.

If it were not for the senseless jealousies of the European Powers, the barbarous government of this country would long ago have gone the way of many another unrighteous power which has outraged the moral sense of modern civilisation. The darkest places of the Dark Continent are rapidly being reached by rays from the torch of human progress. The cruel chiefs of Africa—foul sons of oppression—sprung from the union of ignorance and superstition, have one after another been forced to yield to the advance of civilisation, and have paid the penalty of their crimes. The Corsair Pirates of Algiers and of Tunis are no more. Egypt has been delivered from the tyrannies of a Mehemet Ali and the oppressions of an Ismail. The Mahdi,

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Cetywayo, Lobengula, Behanzin the Manyumea chiefs, and recently Fodi Silah, have all gone down before the avenging hand of Europe; but the Sultans of Morocco, their Bashas and their Kaids, secured by international jealousies from foreign intervention, are free to rob, outrage, and torture the people whose miserable lot it is to be placed under their rule.

The Emperors of Morocco do not succeed to the Crown by right of inheritance. Theoretically they are chosen by the people from amongst the descendants of the Mohammedan Prophet; practically they are placed upon the throne by some Palace intrigue, or by the influence of some man, or body of men, powerful and energetic enough on the death of a Sultan to seize the reins of power, to bribe the soldiery in the vicinity of the Palace, to destroy, banish, or outwit the other claimants to power, and to effect the proclamation in due form of the Sultan of his or their choice.

The late Emperor became Sovereign in no different manner from that of his predecessors. It need hardly be said that the man who interferes in the election of the Monarch of Morocco risks all upon the cast of the die. If he fails, and the rival claimant be successful, the would-be king-maker, and all his kith and kin, may consider themselves fortunate if, by a precipitate flight, leaving all their worldly goods behind, they are able to escape from death and possibly from torture. The man, therefore, who succeeds in placing a sovereign on the throne of Morocco has the strongest possible claim on the gratitude of the autocrat whom he has successfully installed in power. How did the late Sultan reward the subject who risked for him his life and possessions? Some time after his accession, when he began to feel himself secure upon the throne, and without even the pretence of a quarrel or of an accusation, the late Emperor cast this man into one of his dungeons, and there he remained until a few months ago, when he was at length released after an imprisonment of fourteen years. The motive for this crime was probably fear lest the chief who had been powerful enough to raise him to the throne might some day use his influence in favour of another.

But what can we think of the Emperor who was base enough to perpetrate such a wicked deed of criminal ingratitude? This is only one of many unspeakable acts of tyranny and of treachery, which disgraced the late ruler and which history records against the past sovereigns of Morocco. In that miserable country oppression and cruelty seem to advance hand in hand with power. It would appear as if to the mind of a Moorish ruler positions of authority lost all their attractiveness if divorced from the power to oppress. From the Sultan on the throne to the humblest soldier who drags a man to prison on a false charge (in order to secure the fee which he claims for the trouble he has had in arresting the accused and in bringing

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him before the judge), officials live on the miseries and sufferings of their fellow-creatures.

I have seen a poor woman who had been arrested in the street on some trivial accusation brought before the Khalifa or assistant judge, and, although dismissed by that official, dragged off in the sight of the judge to prison by a soldier, and only released from custody on the payment, by a European bystander, of the fee demanded by her captor, and which the woman was unable to meet. Once in prison, a man or woman has little or no chance of release, unless he or she possesses friends who have influence either at Court or with the local Basha or Kaid. No list of prisoners is kept. As a rule no charge is recorded against them. No term of imprisonment is fixed. When the prisoner hears the doors of the gaol close behind him, he knows, if he be poor and without friends, however trivial be the offence for which he has been imprisoned, that he may possibly not leave those walls alive. It is a matter of indifference to the authorities how many are imprisoned, for these wretched captives are no cause of expense to the State. The prisoners have to purchase their own bread and water and to pay their gaolers. Many a man imprisoned for some slight debt which he has long ago discharged, is still detained because he is unable to meet the debt he has contracted towards his gaolers, and which his forced captivity daily increases.

In some prisons they are only permitted to receive a supply of fresh water every second day. What an amount of suffering this means in an African climate, and in the fetid atmosphere of dungeons such as those to be found in Morocco, it is difficult for a European to realise. In a Moorish prison the captives sleep half-naked on the mud floor; they are all huddled together in one apartment, without distinction as regards crime or innocence, for many are simply thrown into prison on account of their reputed wealth or prosperity by avaricious officials who, by prolonged imprisonment and sometimes by torture, hope to squeeze money out of them or discover where they have hidden treasure. Of an evening it is not unusual for the prisoners to be all bound together by a chain passing through an iron collar which each captive wears, thus making it necessary for all to rise, or sit, or lie down together. Open and uncleansed cesspools within the prison add sometimes to the indescribable horror and misery of the place. There is no inspection, no medical attendance, no alleviation in sickness. If a man is ill, and unable to drag himself to the hole in the wall through which the bread and water is passed, he must trust to the mercy of his fellows to supply him with food. Only when death overtakes the poor miserable wretch, do the guards bestir themselves in their own interest, and remove the tortured body which at length has found relief from its overwhelming sufferings. When a prisoner is an absolute pauper and unable to purchase food, the authorities give him daily a small piece of coarse

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bread, provided by religious endowment, sufficient to prolong the agonies of starvation.

A European well acquainted with the state of affairs in Morocco says:—

The prisoners had died off at a high rate, including those who were considered free of crime. Hunger, alas! had done its sad work, and the misery of foul air, and dirt, and fetters, had caused death to those who had previously lived in the open air. It was very sad to see only thirty remaining out of sixty country people all brought in at the same time, two years ago. Some could hardly move about from hunger, three could not rise from where they lay, and others had died from starvation. Those still living were in clanking irons, pale, gaunt, human forms, half bare of clothing, perishing from want. Outside were the wives and mothers of three of the sixty, who had followed them from a very long distance. These poor women were most pitiable objects. Homeless and friendless, they were distracted over the sufferings of the prisoners they were trying to support. 'I had two sons in prisons,' said a broken-hearted mother; 'one has died, but my other son is still living; in God's name give me help for him.' And each one has a tale of woe, showing the fearful misery caused by the reckless imprisonment of natives without giving them food. Relatives see them hopelessly perishing, while they also are starving outside. Often I pushed through the hole the little morsels of food brought by these relatives, with an overwhelming feeling of the awful distress of those who received and those who gave.

The same writer speaks of a prison where 'the captives sat on the ground with high walls around and no roof. There were little arched recesses, but it was a woeful scene of chains, and dreary creatures doing nothing.' Elsewhere, speaking of the prisoners, the writer says:—

Some were fastened together to a wall by a ponderous chain like a ship's cable, under an archway, where the air must have been more suffocating than what rose to us, and that was fearfully noisome. Some thus chained looked superior people, and one so hopelessly sad; his pale, regular face told of terrible suffering. All we could hear of the cause of their imprisonment was 'a squeeze' to get from them their property. They had been there seven months. Many others, in all states, were around in the shockingly crowded, miserable place. We threw down bread, fruit, and garments for the most needy, for all of which they were deeply thankful.

Dr. Guillemard states:—

Shortly before the arrival of Sir Charles Euan Smith's Mission in Fez—I am not indeed sure that it was not actually during our residence—one of the notables connected with the Court, being incensed at some trivial fault of one of his slaves, a boy of about thirteen, caused boiling water to be poured upon the top of his head from a kettle. The boy died, and it was said that he was not the first who had been killed in this manner by his master.

During the Angera affair in 1892 the Sultan's soldiers ill-treated, robbed, and murdered, close to Tangier, harmless peasants whom they well knew to be in no way connected with the revolted tribes. In one case, on the 17th of July, a poor woman was thus set upon. She was wearing the heavy silver bangles of the country. The soldiers tore one off with great difficulty, but having still more difficulty with the other they simplified matters by hacking off her hand. I was told that she died afterwards in the hospital.

While on the march up to Fez we found desultory hostilities going on between

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the Ahl Serif and the Kullohts. Shortly after, the former surprised a body of the latter tribe under the Kaid Kannaira. Many were killed, but the Kaid was captured, and a hole having been dug and filled with brushwood, the unfortunate man was placed in it and burnt alive.

When a tribe incurs the displeasure of the Sultan, or becomes too rich and prosperous, it is the custom of his majesty to 'eat it up,' in the same manner as did his fellow monarch of Zululand. Their flocks and herds are taken from them, the men killed, dispersed, and imprisoned, and the women and children distributed as slaves. An operation of this kind on a small scale took place when we were in Fez, but I do not at this moment remember the name of the tribe. The captives were brought into the city, where we saw the miserable women and children huddled together in the great courtyard of New Fez, lamenting their fate.

When recently staying in this vile country the following facts came to my knowledge :—

1. A very wealthy Moor feared lest the Kaid of the district should covet and seize his property, so he determined to obtain the protection of a powerful Mohammedan. He secured a promise to this effect and was invited to reside with his protector, an offer which he at once accepted. The Moor, consequently, ordered trains of camels and mules laden with provisions and produce from his estate to be sent regularly to him and his friend, and the latter was thus enriched. This continued for nine months. At the end of that time the Kaid whom he feared said to his protector, 'Sell me that man.' A bargain was struck between them, and the wealthy Moor was handed over to the tender mercies of his oppressor. The Kaid seized the Moor, threw him into prison, plundered him of all his property and arrested his two brothers. All three were beaten, each receiving a thousand lashes. The two brothers died from the effects of the flogging, but the Moor survived. At length, when it was thought that nothing further could be squeezed out of the wretched man, he was released, broken in health and purse, to drag out a miserable existence. His own words were, 'I shall remain in this little hut with nothing but my wife, donkey, and a few fowls. I dare not possess more. I must stay as you see me.'

2. Years ago a man was imprisoned. No one knows why. The man who cast him into gaol died some years since. The poor prisoner, however, unless he has quite recently been released or is dead, is still confined, and in constant agony from sores caused by the friction of the irons with which he is fettered.

3. A Moor of fine independent character and of indomitable will, was, like so many others, seized and imprisoned on a false charge, and loaded with chains. Conscious of his innocence, he could not brook the injustice and horror of his captivity. He determined, therefore, to end his hopeless, fettered misery, and, finding no other way, he dashed his head against the wall and continued to do so until life became extinct.

4. A Chief Governor arranged with a Jew to screw money out of

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the neighbouring country people. When they brought goods and had fully paid for them in good money, the Jew suddenly produced false coin, and told the country people that this was the money they had given him. Of course they denied the accusation, but the danger of being arrested and of being thrown into prison was so great, that they preferred to pay a second time rather than run the risk. The Governor and the Jew divided the profits thus iniquitously made.

I was informed by one who has means of obtaining accurate knowledge, that a common mode of extorting money from prisoners is to load them so heavily with chains that they can scarcely move. The prisoner is then told that he can get them lightened if he pays a sum of money. When the money is paid and lighter chains are being substituted, the blacksmith who rivets them on purposely draws the iron ring so tight round the ankle that the prisoner begs to have the iron eased. This is only done on the receipt of more coin, and thus the prisoner is gradually robbed of all his money by a system of torture.

Blind men are continually to be met with in Morocco. Some of these have lost their sight through natural causes, such as ophthalmia and small-pox, which is so common in all Eastern and Mohammedan countries, but a not inconsiderable proportion have had their eyes burnt out with hot irons as a punishment for theft. In some places the crime is punished by chopping the culprit's hand off at the wrist, and thrusting the mutilated limb into hot pitch or heated oil to cauterise it and prevent bleeding to death.

Like all despotic rulers (says Mr. J. V. Crawford in his interesting book entitled *Morocco at a Glance*, published in 1889), the Sultan of Morocco sometimes commits most arbitrary and cruel acts. When he requires money, he demands it from whomsoever he thinks can furnish it, generally pouncing upon some reputedly wealthy Moor or Jew, and by imprisonment, starvation, bastinado, and the most horrible torture, extorts payment. Many, however, prefer to die under this cruel treatment sooner than comply with the Sultan's unjust demands.

The cloak usually worn by the Moors is called a 'ghelab.' The Sultan's special instrument of torture is a deal box shaped like this cloak and perforated or studded with sharp iron nails or spikes. In this diabolical invention the wretched victim is placed, and if he persists in refusing compliance with the Sultan's demand, a shake or two of the 'ghelabir,' as it is called, is administered, and soon decides the matter one way or the other. This horrible operation acts to a certain degree as a check on the Kaids, Bashas, and other cormorants who prey on the people; for, if the rumour of their ill-acquired wealth reaches the Sultan, the wooden 'ghelabir' is sure to await them.

With the exception of the 'Amins,' or collectors of taxes and customs, officers in the army, and a very few other persons, none of the Government officers receive any pay, or, if they do, it is merely nominal; whereas they one and all have to purchase their appointments from the Sultan and his ministers, so that, in order to live, to recoup themselves, to send periodical presents to the Court, and to make as much money as they can besides, they have to squeeze the people under them, thus pursuing a most deplorable system of crime, injustice, spoliation, and fraud throughout the whole Empire, it being the apparent aim and object of the officials, from the Sultan downwards, to plunder those beneath them.

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The rule of these rapacious and unscrupulous governors is arbitrary beyond description. The poor people, especially the rural population, are taxed and plundered in the most brutal and scandalous manner. Every person who is suspected of possessing wealth is watched, and is almost sure, sooner or later, to fall a victim to their unbridled avarice, there being no limit to the revolting cruelties which are practised by the Kaids in order to attain their object. A fearful case occurred not long since which will give only a faint idea of the hideous crimes that are constantly perpetrated with impunity in this unhappy country.

A poor orphan girl, who was suspected of knowing the hiding-place of her late father's money and valuables, was arrested and taken before the Governor of the province, who ordered her to disclose it. Upon her refusal to do so, she was thrown into prison and on the morrow she was had up again and tortured with thumbscrews until she fainted, when she was taken away and placed in an underground dungeon. From this stifling hole she was conveyed, more dead than alive, on a litter the following day before the Governor, who now ordered the thumbscrews to be applied to the nipples of her breasts, under which excruciating torture the poor victim was forced to divulge the spot and then expired. The murderer was her own uncle and guardian.

If you ask a Moorish landowner why he does not extend his cultivation to the increase of his crops, he would tell you that to do so would only excite the avarice of the Sultan, or the Kaid, and bring inevitable ruin upon himself and his family. And he is right, for in this corrupt and lawless country a native cannot hold property or acquire wealth with any degree of safety. He is obliged to bury any money he may earn by his industry, and he is often forced to sell his cattle and horses in an underhand manner, at prices generally far below the value, so as to prevent their being taken from him by force under one pretext or another. He cannot openly dispose of the surplus of his crops, and even in years of scarcity or famine, unless he is able to sell or consume it surreptitiously, he must allow his grain to rot in his underground cellars, rather than expose it to confiscation, and himself to ruin, for the screw of extortion never ceases to be at work, and he is liable, without the slightest cause or provocation, to be pounced upon at any moment, and made to suffer all the wrongs and cruelties which his oppressor chooses to inflict.

There is no justice or redress to be obtained anywhere, no compensation for the endless miseries and injustice to which these greedy and unprincipled rulers subject their people, and this is not to be wondered at, for the root of all these oppressions lies with the Sultan, who is himself the prime offender.

This deplorable state of things gave rise to the system of *protégés*, a system admirable in itself, and absolutely necessary in all countries like Morocco, although liable to abuse like any other.

The primary object of the treaties under which the foreign legations and consulates were authorised to grant protection papers to native Jews and Moors who were in any way connected with, or employed by, foreigners settled in Morocco, was evidently the laudable one of saving them from the cupidity and tyranny of the Moorish authorities, and of thereby securing the interests of their foreign partners or employer. It was at all times within the power of the legations to correct any abuses which might be brought to their notice, by cancelling or withdrawing these protections.

In the process of time, however, the system degenerated into a source of income by the sale of these papers to wealthy Moors, and to other persons who were not really entitled to them, and this irregular protection, afforded indiscriminately, has led to serious complaint, as well as remonstrance on the part of the Sultan.

Availing themselves of their position as *protégés*, some of them have preferred claims which the Sultan has been obliged to settle under pressure from foreign governments—claims, in many cases, which were either grossly exaggerated or

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shamefully usurious, and which have been afterwards collected by the Sultan from his subjects under circumstances of great cruelty. A further abuse complained of is that they put forward extortionate demands and doubtful claims against alleged debtors, who, without investigation or being given any opportunity of contesting the claim, are forthwith imprisoned, and allowed to remain in gaol until they pay. Thus, and in other ways, certain abuses have arisen, which it is, however, quite within the power of the legations themselves to rectify.

Shocking outrages (said Mr. W. Tallack, of the Howard Association, in a letter to the *Times* of the 7th of January, 1893) are being continually perpetrated upon respectable Moorish women and girls, both Mahomedans and Jewesses, by having them arrested on false or frivolous charges and committed to prison, where many of these wretched females become the victims of licentious men, whose vile conduct is facilitated by the local authorities and gaol-keepers, in return for money and other bribes.

In the country districts refined torture is applied, not for crimes, but to extort money, such as by making a man stand on tip-toe and then fastening his neck by a chain connected with a hook above; by spreading quick-lime dust in the cell so that every movement must send it up his nose and mouth and into his eyes; and by putting prisoners into cases studded inside with nails and spikes or knives and rolling them about.

But the most brutal punishment of all was meted out in 1892 to the chief rebels in the Angera rising. Those who were caught had their right hands slashed to the bone at every joint on the inside with a sharp razor. Then salt was rubbed into the wounds, and finally a sharp flint stone was placed in the palm, and the fingers closed tightly over it. Over the hand was then stretched a piece of raw cowhide, which was tied firmly round the wrist. As the cowhide dried, it contracted, causing fearful agony. The arms were bound behind the back, so that the sufferer could in no way alleviate his torture. Many of the men went mad or died, and in the case of the survivors the hands rotted and dropped off. Sometimes this torture was varied by placing lime instead of salt in the poor wounded hands, and then plunging them wrapped up in the cowhide into water.

That the perpetration of such cruelties is not a thing of the past, but is still being carried on in this year of grace 1894, is proved by a letter written by Mr. Tallack and published in the *Times* as recently as on the 9th of June last, in which he says, that during a recent visit to Morocco of a representative of the Howard Association, a Moor was beaten to death at Tangier merely for non-observance of the Mohammedan fast of Ramadan; and that in April last the governor of a southern province of the country ordered a respectable man to be put alive into an oven and to be roasted to death. This order, he states, was carried out, and the only cause of offence was that the victim had applied to the Sultan for the governor's own office.

But enough of these barbarities. The statements made in this paper can be easily verified. There are many independent Europeans residing in Morocco who are aware of these facts, and of many other

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individual instances of dreadful cruelty and oppression, not mentioned here, and who, if appealed to by their respective governments, would gladly give information. But, indeed, the governments are already well acquainted through their agents with all the horrors I have mentioned.

At the commencement of this paper I stated that it is international jealousy, suspicion, and fear, which prevent the Powers of Europe and America from taking united action to sweep from the face of the earth this unspeakably barbarous tyranny, a government only in name, which crushes to the ground the miserable population of Morocco, renders unproductive vast lands which formerly were the granary of the world, hinders the development of Africa, and by its close proximity to Europe is a standing reproach to the civilising influences of Christianity.

Let two or three of the leading countries of the world come to an understanding in regard to the future of Morocco, and there can be little doubt that the others would either rejoice over or acquiesce in any settlement which would replace the iniquitous tyranny at present in force by a stable and righteous administration. Any Government which would open up the country to commerce and civilisation by encouraging enterprise and thrift, and which would enable that portion of the north of Africa to regain the prosperity which at one period of the world's history it is known to have possessed, would be worthy of universal gratitude.

The united influence of Europe and America could hardly be employed in a better cause than in compassing the delivery of the six million inhabitants of Morocco from the intellectual darkness, physical torture, and cruel robbery and oppression which for centuries they and their ancestors have suffered at the hands of their barbarous rulers. The Moorish people have some right to look to Christian nations for relief, as the continuance of their sufferings to the end of the nineteenth century is partly due to the criminal apathy and jealousy of the leading Christian nations.

MEATH.

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THE CENTENARY OF EDWARD GIBBON

THE present year is the hundredth anniversary since the death of the greatest of all English historians. Edward Gibbon died in London, in January 1794, in his fifty-seventh year. His reputation has been so perfectly established since the appearance of the first volume of the *Decline and Fall* in 1776, it has been so unbroken, it is so continuously growing, that there is as little need for any formal commemoration of his achievement as there is for that of Shakespeare or Bacon. And his life was so simple, so transparent, and has been told by himself and by his friends with such ingenuous familiarity, that there would seem to be at first sight no occasion for any further research into his labours, or for any special revival of interest in his memory.

There are some circumstances, however, of a rather peculiar kind which make it a genuine concern of English literature to ask for some further light, to review what the great historian left at his premature death, and to bring his personality before the world before the means of so doing shall have been effaced by time. The National Portrait Gallery (which has likenesses of Peg Woffington and of John Wilkes) has no portrait at all of Edward Gibbon. The only recognised portraits are in private hands, and not accessible to the public. The house at Putney in which he was born, his house in Bentinck Street, his house at Lausanne, the house in which he died, in St. James's Street, have all been destroyed. There is no record of him in our great burying places, not even a bust or a tablet. The bones of Edward Gibbon lie in a vault of a small village church in Sussex, a spot with which, except by friendship, he himself had no kind of connection, and where he was merely an occasional visitor. Not one in a thousand, or in ten thousand, of his ardent admirers has ever stood beside his quiet grave, and few of them, perhaps, could say where his body has found rest. The public at large has never seen either portrait, bust, inscription, manuscript, relic, or any visible memento to recall to them the greatest historian of our language, or to give voice to the honour we all feel for one of the most signal triumphs of our literature. We cannot be said to have erred by any excess of hero-worship in the case of our great historian.

But there is something more than this, and that of a practical

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kind. Gibbon died before he had completed his fifty-seventh year. He was not worn out; his mind had never been in such activity; he still talked of his being 'a good life for ten, twelve, or perhaps twenty years.' His great work had been completed more than six years before; he was still an indefatigable student, and was preparing his *Antiquities of the House of Brunswick*. Death suddenly cut short this busy career—an end largely due to neglect and imprudence—about a week after his return from his friend's house in Sussex. He made this lifelong friend, John B. Holroyd, Lord Sheffield, his executor, who buried him in the Sheffield mausoleum in the church of Fletching, near East Grinstead in Sussex. Lord Sheffield was the possessor of the well-known portrait by Reynolds and that by Warton dated 1774, and stated by Lord Sheffield to be 'by far the best likeness of him that exists.' Lord Sheffield also had all Gibbon's manuscripts, his memoirs, essays, diaries and journals, materials for the *House of Brunswick*, and all his other letters.

As is well known, Lord Sheffield issued two quarto volumes in 1796, containing the historian's miscellaneous works; and again, in 1814, he issued a second edition in five octavo volumes, with much additional matter. For what posthumous work of Gibbon's it possesses the world is exclusively indebted to Lord Sheffield, who had also portraits, manuscripts, correspondence, and every other relic of the great historian. Lord Sheffield discharged his task with great diligence, discretion, and devotion to the memory of his friend. But after the lapse of a hundred years, and the vast increase in the world-wide fame of Edward Gibbon, it seems reasonable to ask that the present generation should have the means of deciding for itself whether his literary executor has omitted nothing which the world would care to have.

Friendship—constant, pure, generous, and warm friendship—was the ennobling trait in Gibbon's far from heroic nature; and it formed the main beauty of his simple life. His love for his aunt, Catherine Porten, for his step-mother, for Deyverdun, for the Neckers, redeems his biography from commonplace. But, above all, his friendship with Lord Sheffield is a landmark in the history of literature in their age. Nothing is more natural or more honourable than Holroyd's devotion to his great friend's memory. He buried him in his own family tomb, carried off all his remains, edited his memoirs and correspondence, and undertook a careful selection of his manuscripts, essays, and materials for publication. Lord Sheffield made himself more than the Boswell of Gibbon; he not only published his *Life* and remains, but he took effective care that no one else should ever intrude on his own labour of love, or add by one line to the Gibbon literature which he himself judged fit to entrust to the public eye. Such devotion, such zeal, such jealousy for the memory of his illustrious friend, are much to his honour. But now that a century

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has passed, we may fairly ask to have some review of the execution of this difficult task.

Lord Sheffield's zeal was worthy of all respect, and it was respected by his own and succeeding generations. But the memory of Edward Gibbon has now outgrown the bounds of any private friendship, or the fostering care of any single editor. Lord Sheffield, we are told, kept to himself the entire body of the Gibbon manuscripts, and left an injunction in his will against any further portion of them being given to the public. He was able to give force to this injunction, because the whole of the materials was left in the possession of his own successors. Such an authority was natural, and not inappropriate for the eighteenth century: but is it to be a law to the nineteenth, to the twentieth—for all time? It is obvious that a restriction on publication made long before the birth of the present owner can have no legal validity; and any exclusive rights of authorship—whether in writings of Gibbon, or of his editor and biographer—have long ago expired.

It does not seem easy to decide from any published information what is the present condition of the Gibbon manuscripts and remains, or what they may contain. Dean Milman prefixed to his edition of the *Decline and Fall* an interesting sketch of the author (1839); we are told that he was permitted to see the manuscripts, but 'with the express understanding that none of their contents should be divulged.' That may have been in proper feeling within twenty years of the testator's death. But half a century more has now passed; and we do not find that any of Gibbon's later biographers have seen these precious documents. The late J. Cotter Morison published his admirable *Life* in 1878, and since then we have had Mr. Leslie Stephen's careful biography in the *Dictionary of National Biography* as well as that in the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1879) by H. Rogers and J. S. Black. None of these writers have had access to the original papers. The case therefore stands thus. Edward Gibbon has been dead more than a hundred years, leaving a mass of original papers, memoirs, diaries, and essays to his biographer, who has himself been dead seventy-three years. It cannot be supposed that Lord Sheffield's descendants and representatives can have any reluctance to a fresh examination of the Gibbon remains. And there is every reason that the centenary of our great historian's death should be made the occasion of a proper search amongst these precious remnants by authorised and qualified persons.

This is not the case of a great writer having made his own selection of his writings, and forbidding publication of whatever he judged unworthy of his reputation. That veto ought, as a general rule, to be religiously respected—though few of us would go so far as to burn the manuscript of the Æneid. The detestable Transatlantic trick of publishing any scrap from a great man's pen that an editor can beg,

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borrow, or steal should be sternly suppressed. There is nothing of the kind here. Gibbon made no selection, put no veto on any publication. Within twenty hours of his death he talked of living for years, and evidently anticipated a new literary career and the completion of his second great work. The selection made of his remains, the veto upon any further publication, was the sole act of his friend, the first Lord Sheffield: and it is now a hundred years old. However judicious the choice, however proper the embargo, it cannot be held conclusive, without fresh examination, by posterity for evermore. Nor can it possibly bind the present representative of the house, who was born long after the death of the first Earl.

No one, perhaps, would suggest any indiscriminate publication of Gibbon's papers; nor, indeed, have we at present any reason to ask for any further publication whatever. All that can be reasonably sought is a fair examination by some competent person. Lord Sheffield was a man of the world, a man of ability, and with literary experience; he won and has received ample acknowledgment for the manner in which he performed his self-imposed task. But paramount reasons may have existed in 1796 against the publication of letters, journals, or papers which have entirely ceased to exist in 1894—reasons which might give the keenest interest to their publication in the present century. And Lord Sheffield no doubt very rightly judged that the issue of personal or trivial notes within a few years of the completion of the *Decline and Fall* (1788) might rather dim its reputation. No such reason can exist now: for the book is as immortal as the *Annals* of Tacitus.

We know that Gibbon's *Memoirs* as we have them are a fragment, or rather a *réchauffé* of fragments—'a mosaic put together by Lord Sheffield from *six* different sketches'—and his biographers have regretted that they deal with his early, and not with his maturer, studies. Is it certain that there do not still exist amongst the Gibbon remains any papers which throw light on his method of working in the plenitude of his power? Who can answer this question until an adequate examination has been made? Mr. Morison very justly remarks that Gibbon's later style seems 'more nervous and supple than that of the *Decline and Fall*'; if less elaborate, it has 'greater ease and lightness of touch.'

It is stated that the Royal Historical Society, of which the president is Sir Mountstuart Grant Duff, has determined to take some note of the centenary of Gibbon, and has already formed a very strong committee to consider further action. The committee has already been joined by the Prime Minister, the Bishop of Oxford, several heads of colleges and professors at the Universities, the Chief Librarian of the British Museum, eminent writers such as Mr. John Morley, Professor Seeley, Mr. Leslie Stephen, Mr. Hodgkin, and Mr. W. E. H. Lecky, Dr. Garnett, Professor Max Müller, Sir D.

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Mackenzie Wallace, and many others. The honorary secretaries of the Committee are Mr. P. Edward Dove, of Lincoln's Inn, and Mr. Hubert Hall, of the Record Office. Mr. Alfred Morrison, of Fonthill House, and General Meredith Read, formerly U.S. Minister at Athens, have already offered the loan of some mementoes, autographs, and objects. And it is understood that the present Earl of Sheffield will join in assisting the commemoration of one for whose memory his own ancestor laboured so well.

Until the committee formed by the Royal Historical Society has issued its programme, it would be premature to speculate what form any commemoration of the great historian might take. A small loan exhibition might be arranged to enable the public and students to see the portrait by Reynolds in the possession of Lord Sheffield, the other known or supposed portraits, autographs, books, and any personal relics which Lord Sheffield and others may be willing to show. His lordship would perhaps give facilities for a party to visit the mausoleum at Fletching, for which Dr. Parr composed a well-known epitaph. But perhaps the most useful practical result at which the committee might aim would be the formation of a small sub-committee, authorised by the favour of Lord Sheffield and the present possessors of the Gibbon papers to make a full examination. And a memorial should be erected in London.

There is a strong, perhaps an unreasonable—often it is an unreasoned—prejudice against centenary commemorations in this country. But the practice of other nations, and the growing tendency of the public mind, make something of the kind inevitable: and they certainly have their convenience. The 'Services,' public officials, Society, and the world in general would greatly miss the suppression of birthdays, jubilees, and anniversaries of royal or public personages and great national events. A centenary is often a convenient occasion for doing some forgotten duty, recalling some fading memory, or repairing some public omission or default. And it is a public default that our national collections contain no likeness of the greatest historian of modern times, that our national monuments contain not a tablet to record his name, that his memory is not kept alive by a single object of any kind in any public place or museum, that not a single living scholar has ever had access to the mass of writings he left, which still remain sealed up in a country house.

There can be no need at the present day for any new eulogium upon Gibbon's work, nor any doubt as to his true place in the world's abiding literature. As the Athenian orator said: 'When one is speaking to those who know, there is no occasion for a long harangue.' The late Mr. Cotter Morison—who, after so much historical promise, was cut off prematurely—has given us in his admirable *Life of Gibbon* ('The Men of Letters' Series, 1878) an estimate of our great historian so just, so mature, so sympathetic, so enthusiastic, that it would be in

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vain to attempt to add to it. Mr. Morison has stated with decision and weight Gibbon's shortcomings and limitations, as well as his supreme merit. The *Decline and Fall* is not the work of a philosopher; it is not altogether scientific history; it is not without very grave misjudgments. But it is a consummate work of art; it unites vast learning with a perfect mastery of lucid narration, superb good sense with unfailing acumen, vivacious wit, and brilliant vitality that irradiates the whole enormous field.

The *Decline and Fall* is the most perfect *book* that English prose (outside its fiction) possesses, meaning by *book* a work perfect in design, *totus, teres, atque rotundus*, symmetrical, complete, final, and executed from beginning to end with the same mastery on one uniform plan. There is no other history extant which can be put beside it, if we reckon all the following qualities and conditions: (1) its immense field, both in extent of area and in epochs of time; (2) its consummate concentration and grasp of view; (3) its amazing range of learning and curious accuracy of detail; (4) its pomp of movement and splendour of style. There have been before and since more subtle observers and more truly enlightened spirits. There have been historians quite as learned, who have made even fewer errors, and some who have written in a purer form. But no historian has ever combined all Gibbon's supreme gifts. And, accordingly, the *Decline and Fall* remains the type of the perfect literary history, just as the Zeus of Pheidias remained the type of the father of gods and men.

As Mr. Cotter Morison has so judiciously explained, Gibbon was the first to give to the world a complete history on the largest scale and with profound original research. And his subject is one so mighty, his scheme so vast, his execution so brilliant, that it still remains in a class by itself—as yet unapproached, gaining by the efflux of time rather than losing in value. His true theme is the complex stormy evolution of the modern world out of the ancient world, the terrible and laboured transition from polytheism and slavery to monotheism and free industry. And this is the most critical and protracted transition in the annals of mankind. The geography of his subject embraces the old world from the Hebrides to the Indus, from the deserts of Tartary to the mountains of Atlas. His topic is the history of civilisation over thirteen centuries. And this vast canvas is filled without confusion, without effort, without discord, by one glowing, distinct, harmonious composition.

This is the supreme merit of Edward Gibbon, that he produced the first perfect literary history on a grand scale—one which still remains the most perfect we know. The only ancient history which in breadth of subject, epical splendour of imagination and beauty of narration, can be compared with his is the Roman history of Livy, of which, alas, we have only fragments. But we can hardly regard the

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delightful *chansons de gestes* of the glorious Augustan *improvisatore* as history in our sense of the term, for his whole soul turned to rhetorical effect and not to authentic record. But Gibbon fused the pomp and clang of Livy's epic with the conscientious veracity of Cæsar's *Memoirs*. Herodotus has a field as wide almost as Gibbon's, a spirit of inquiry as insatiable, and has painted certain great scenes with an even nobler art. But the Father of History was obviously not equipped with the elaborate historical apparatus of a modern library; and his ever fresh and fascinating muses do not group into an organic composition of the highest art. Each muse in turn takes up her favourite subject—legend, antiquities, voyages and travels, anecdotes, fairy tales, memoirs, and battle scenes—but their inexhaustible encyclopædia does not form one continuous epic. Gibbon has combined the epic unity of Livy with the infinite variety of Herodotus, the vivacity and *chiaroscuro* of Plutarch, and the punctilious truthfulness of Cæsar. He combined the minute accuracy and vivid detail of the best *memoirs* with the vast survey and poetic transfiguration peculiar to the highest type of *history*. And he was the first, and the greatest, of those who have done this.

The true devotees of Gibbon are the foremost in restraining their admiration within due limits, and in frankly admitting the grave shortcomings of the master. No one has done this more thoroughly than Mr. Morison. He has abundantly shown that Gibbon is in no sense to be judged as a philosophic historian, that he was not a philosopher at all, that he did not penetrate into the deepest truths behind the record of events, that he sadly misjudged some things of prime importance. But in the last century the philosophy of history was in mere germ, and what are now the commonplaces of every student were truths concealed from them of old time. No one will pretend that Gibbon possessed the profound insight into the human mind of Thucydides, or of Tacitus, of Julius Cæsar; we may add of De Comines, of Bacon, or of Hume. He did not see as deeply behind the veil of the heart and of social movements as any of these. But of all these men, Hume alone wrote history on a really grand canvas, and, as we all know, Hume painted a great historical picture without 'studying from the life' at all. He did all that a man of genius and a consummate writer could do with a very cursory knowledge of his facts. But Gibbon, though a great writer, was even greater in research. And though he was not a profound moralist, and wrote before such a science as sociology had been dreamed of, his task was very different from that of keen thinkers who meditate upon men and events of their own age, or on things that passed under the eyes of their own fathers and grandfathers. The writer of *history* has a very different task from that of the writer of *annals* or *memoirs*—and in many ways a much more difficult task.

Let us never pretend that Gibbon was a philosopher. Machia-

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velli, Bacon, Hobbes, Montesquieu, Leibnitz, Hume, perhaps we may add Vico and Pascal, had yet deeper instincts for the dynamics of society. Both Montesquieu and Hume, his immediate predecessors, stood on a totally superior level as social philosophers. With all their glaring misconceptions, prejudices, and blunders, even Bossuet, Voltaire, Condorcet, and Burke had a clearer vision into social evolution and the grand battle of ideas and manners than ever Gibbon attained in his fifty years of voracious historical study. Nor need we deny that some of Gibbon's own contemporaries wrote history more in the spirit of philosophy. Voltaire, with all his perversity, was an even superior artist, and had a truer sense of the paramount mastery of ideas. And it is a tenable view that Robertson's *State of Europe* showed a more original historical judgment than anything in the *Decline and Fall.* Robertson's best work preceded Gibbon's by some ten or fifteen years; Voltaire's and Hume's both by some twenty-five or thirty years. So that Gibbon was certainly not the earliest real historian of the eighteenth century, and he was certainly by no means the most eminent social thinker. Yet, notwithstanding, given all these qualifications, he was the greatest literary historian.

He was essentially the consummate literary artist who transmutes mountains of exact research into a complex mass of statuary, glowing with life in all its parts, and glorious to contemplate as a whole. This is a literary, rather than a philosophical, feat; and as such it must be judged. Its art is akin to that of the epic poet who works out a grand plot in symmetrical order, with episodes, incidents, digressions, but on a consistent scheme, and with beauty in each part and memorable form in each line. Now, it is beyond dispute that Gibbon's subject and scheme far transcend in breadth and importance to humanity those of any other historian, even those of Herodotus and Livy, Henri Martin, Grote or Milman, if we put aside such manuals as those of Heeren, Becker, Ranke, and Freeman. This is also beyond doubt, that no historian of ancient or modern times has ever shown the creative and formative imagination triumphing over such transcendent difficulties and working on so grand a scale. Carlyle's *French Revolution* is perhaps a typical example of this power to infuse exact record with poetic vitality, but Carlyle's masterpiece gives us the story of five, or at most of twenty years, and of one country, or, rather, of one city. Gibbon's epic history is the story of mankind over the planet during thirteen centuries. And Gibbon's story is even more accurate, more brilliant, more organic, more truly a work of art than is Carlyle's.

And what vigour, what wit, what a clarion ring in every sentence from the first line of the first volume to the last phrase of the last! How it holds one's attention, how it leaves its imprint on the memory, how it conjures up scenes to the eye! It is like watching some interminable

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procession, as of a Roman triumph—some Cæsar returning from his Eastern victories, with warriors of all races, costumes, and colours, and the trophies of barbaric peoples, and the roar of many tribes, strange beasts, the pomp of war, and the spoils of cities. We need not insist that it is a perfect style, or a style without grave limitations or defects. It has not the magical simplicity of Voltaire and of Hume, nor the grace of Addison, nor the pathos of Burke. It is rather too elaborate, too stiff with gold lace, and too uniform in texture. And perhaps these defects have induced the most prolific and versatile, if not the greatest, of living critics to put on record his memorable saying that he did not care for Gibbon, except his *Memoirs*. This is as if one said that he did not care for Shakespeare, except the *Sonnets*.

A great authority on the beautiful was disappointed with the Atlantic; but we must not take these purists too literally. The Atlantic becomes rather grandiose, and at last somewhat monotonous; and so, Gibbon's interminable antithesis and unbending majesty do pall upon the constant reader, if he takes in too much at a sitting. But how splendid is the vigour, the point, the precision of the language; and, with all its faults, how well fitted to rehearse these 'strange stories of the deaths of kings,' how akin to the theme and to the glowing scheme of the painter's colouring! It is impossible to hurry through your Gibbon; you cannot skip; you cannot take in a description at a glance; you cannot leave out the adjectives, or jump the second half of a clause. You may take up your *Decline and Fall*, of which you can repeat pages by heart; you may have read it fifteen times, but the sixteenth reading will give you a phrase of which you had not previously caught the full sense, or throw light on something which has long been a puzzle. And how fixed in the memory are the quips and innuendos, the epigrams and the epithets, with which the page coruscates like a piece of jewellery. It may not be a pure style, it is certainly not a model style, but it is one that gives a gorgeous colour to a supremely organic composition.

Needless, too, now to enlarge on Gibbon's conscientious research, his wonderful accuracy, and the instinct which carries him sure-footed across the rotten and worthless rubbish whereon he had to tread. 'That wonderful man monopolised,' says Freeman, 'the historical genius and the historical learning of a whole generation. . . . the encyclopædic history of 1,300 years, as the grandest of historical designs, carried out alike with wonderful power and with wonderful accuracy, must ever keep its place.' This from the most scrupulously accurate of modern historians, who so seldom found anything accurate outside of the *Constitutional History of England*, is conclusive. The accuracy of Gibbon's work is only equalled by the vast range of his knowledge; and even this is surpassed by the grandeur of his design and the splendour of his handling. Such accuracy never before went with such brilliancy: such breadth of conception with such

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literary art. Thucydides, for all his consummate veracity, is often obscure and sometimes tedious. Tacitus, with all his insight and mastery of phrase, remains always the Roman noble of cast-iron type and limited world. We no more expect critical exactness from Herodotus or Livy than we do from Homer or Virgil. The great painters of historical events are not supposed to be given to laborious research; the great memoir-writers are *ipso facto* confined to their own memory; and the profound antiquarians are almost invariably dull. But we take down our Gibbon time after time, knowing that we can turn up chapter and verse for every sentence, and yet are stirred and delighted by his pictures, as if it were a familiar poem or a work of fiction.

This need not debar us from admitting very serious defects in his work. His perverse misconception of Christianity, his cynical depreciation of its noblest chiefs, his incurable taste for scandal, his disbelief in heroism, in popular enthusiasm, in purity, in self-devotion, and his own epicurean, unromantic, aristocratic habit of mind, very seriously blot his great work and cloud his own memory. Guizot, Milman, Michelet, Carlyle, Froude, Freeman, Green, have a far truer conception of the Middle Ages, the Crusades, of Feudalism and its great chiefs, of the Catholic Church and its services to civilisation, than has Gibbon. They are constantly right where he is wrong, and they tell us much of which he is quite uninformed. But, for all that, no one of these excellent men has given us a single work which can compare with the *Decline and Fall* in breadth, in knowledge, in unity of conception, and in splendour of form.

Let us, then, in the hundredth year after its author's death, lay a wreath upon his tomb, for we specially need to keep him as a type before us. The age is one of interminable specialism, colossal research, microscopic minuteness of examination; and our mountains of documents are become very Pelions upon Ossa. All this is right and necessary; and Gibbon was an accomplished specialist, a glutton of research; no man so microscopic, so minute, so documentary, in the true sense and in the right way. But then Edward Gibbon was much more. His gigantic accumulation of facts and indomitable accuracy were not the *ends* of his labour—but the *instruments*. Research was to him, like grammar or scholarship, not his title to honour, but his raw material for thought and creation. He did not discharge his note-books in a heap like bricks from the brickyard, and leave us to build them up into a house as we pleased. He built us the house, and did not ask us to come into it till it was perfect from foundation to roof-ridge, ornamented, elaborated, habitable, and pleasant to dwell in. His teeming brain disdained the aqueous placidity with which Bavius flows on through one hundred mild and meandering chapters; his creative genius abhorred the rough-hewn masses of stone which year by year Mævius unloads upon us from a thousand quarries. When we grow weary of histories which

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are nothing but undigested note-books or copies from the dullest jottings of some contemporary memoir—histories without form, without mind, without imagination, without purpose, without beginning, middle or end—when we yearn for a book, a man, an idea within the cover, then, for the tenth or the twentieth time, we take down the *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, and we have one of the greatest dramas of human civilisation, rehearsed with the ordered imagination of a poet and the monumental form of a consummate master of language.

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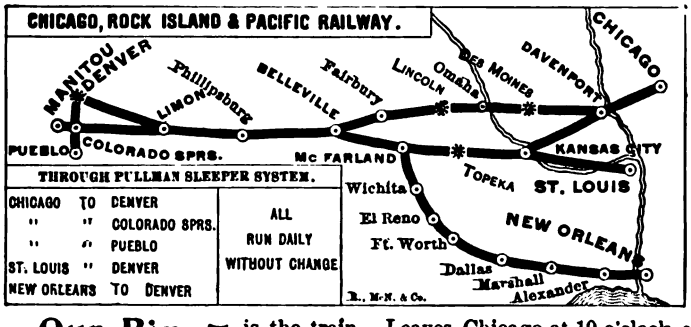

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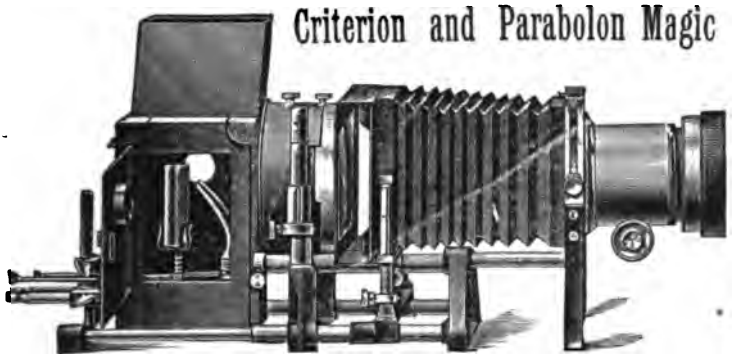

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THE PLACE OF HERESY AND SCHISM IN THE MODERN CHRISTIAN CHURCH

If Christ our Lord founded the Church as a visible and organised society, by a commission from Himself; if He did this in the most definite and pointed way by a charge, not to the mass of believers promiscuously, but to the Apostles, whom He had chosen, and whom in many significant ways He designated as His successors in carrying forward the great work of the Incarnation; and, again, if this charge, far from being limited to the brief term of their personal careers upon earth, was expressly extended by a promise of His superintending presence with them (which could only mean with them and their successors) until the end of the world; if, finally, this Church was to be the great standing witness in the world for Him and for the recovery of lost mankind; it follows that a most serious question arose hereupon, which may be described in such terms as these. It relates to the condition of any who, acknowledging His authority, yet should rebel against the jurisdiction then solemnly constituted, should sever themselves, in doctrine or in communion, from His servants, and should presume in this way to impair their witness and to frustrate thereby His work, so far as in them lay.

This question did not escape the forethought of our Saviour, and it was dealt with by Him in the simplest and most decisive manner. 'If he neglect to hear the Church, let him be unto thee as a heathen man and a publican' (St. Matt. xviii. 17). With this stringent law the language of the Apostles coincides, and, most markedly perhaps among them all, the language of St. John, who was especially the

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Apostle of love. The work of heretics and schismatics was a work of the flesh, and, like other works of the flesh, it excluded from salvation. Thus, in the face of all hostile powers, and under the pressure of its hostility, the unity of the Church was maintained, and she patiently pursued her office through the gloom of this world to the glory of the next.

This I think is a fair account of heresy and schism, according to the view of our Lord and the Apostles. But now there have passed away well nigh two thousand years, and enormous changes have been brought about.

The Church, whose light in Apostolic days was still, so far as regarded the world at large, hidden under a bushel, by degrees became mistress of the social and moral forces which determined the course of human society, and assumed a conspicuous and triumphant position. That cruel overweening world, of which Scripture speaks, waned by degrees and dwindled in her presence, and finally throughout Christendom became absorbed in the mass of baptised believers. But the internal change, though it was great, was not co-extensive with that on the exterior face. All the elements of evil, which at first had carried on an open warfare with the Church, now wrought against her true life and spirit more subtly from within. The tone of her life was immensely lowered, and her witness for God before the world, which was formerly only compromised by heresy and schism, was now darkened and enfeebled by latent corruption in a thousand forms. She was still, however, the heir of the promises: the obligations of her mission were unchanged. Was she still entitled as before to wield against those who broke away from her creed or her communion, the thunderbolts of the Most High? Without doubt it was still her duty to pray, as she now prays, to be delivered from the evils of heresy and schism; but when her warnings had been slighted, and these evils had come into an existence, not only active but inveterate, was she still bound, was she now even permitted, to act upon the rules and to hold the language of the New Testament against the persons chargeable?

I should be inclined to reply that during such periods as the fourth century, when the wide sway of the Arian opinion often made it matter of doubt where the true Church of Christ, in one place or another, was to be found; or in other words with which of two contending bishops it was a duty to hold communion, this darkening of the evidence modified the moral character of the offence. But on the whole the credentials of the Church did not lose their original clearness, and so long as this was the case, her duties with respect to heresy and schism remained without substantial change, and she was bound not to compromise the safety of her spiritual children by any use of ambiguous language.

Now it has happened in certain cases, and it seems to have come about very gradually since the Advent, that the laws of religion have

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been modified by circumstance. Nothing can be more broad and sweeping than the denunciations of the Old Testament, against all attempts to embody in images the forms of living creatures. The crime of idolatry ranks in all its pages with the very highest crimes. But it has been urged that, from the time when the Son of God was pleased to assume human form, this law naturally, if insensibly, underwent an essential modification. By far the largest portion of the Christian Church, gives a sanction to the use for religious purposes either of images or of pictures. This use is not wholly excluded from the Churches of the Reformation, as may be seen in Lutheran countries, and especially in Scandinavia. Not that the dangers which beset the employment of images in religion have been wholly removed; but rather that they are now in the class of dangers fit to be guarded against otherwise than by absolute prohibition. It is not now with us as it was at the period when Moses was in Horeb. The world was then generally given to the practice of representing God in images; and in many cases this practice, especially in the East, was associated with purposes unspeakably degrading. The mission of the Hebrew race absolutely required that the Divine idea should be held in sharp severance from every material form. The religion of the God-man has now deprived abuse of every palliation. A new method of procedure has to be adopted, and the mere making of the image or picture, apart from the cult paid to it, no longer involves the guilt of idolatry.

We might perhaps quote, as another instance of the mutability in certain cases of great religious laws, the case of the law of usury. It appears to have been incorporated in the Mosaic system, as a conservative expedient for the repression of all those economic changes, which seemed to threaten the fixity of the Jewish system. Hence the taking of usury is everywhere denounced with vehemence as a moral offence. Yet our Saviour himself, in the parable of the talents, appears to recognise interest upon money as an established, perhaps as a legitimate, practice. The phrase itself has been essentially changed in signification; and the whole prohibitory system against it, in whatever sense, may be said to have disappeared from the face of Christian Statute-Books.

Let us see whether the application of true and just principles to the mixed and fluctuating conditions of life has undergone, or ought to undergo, in the case of heresy and schism, any mitigation offering in some respects an analogy with what has happened as to the law of idolatry and the law of usury.

Now the guilt of any offence whatever, varies inversely with the strength and clearness of the evidence which establishes its criminality. And surely it is not to be denied that the evidence which condemns heresy and schism has been greatly darkened, and therefore greatly weakened, since the days of the Apostles.

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The Church was then fresh from the hands of her Divine Founder. The principles of life within her were so powerful as to preclude any allowed manifestation of the spirit of heresy or of schism, or to render its suppression easy. She was governed by those who had personally known the Lord: whose authority was attested by the extraordinary gifts of the Spirit; by men, some of whose brethren had already sealed, and who might themselves at any moment be summoned personally to seal, their testimony with their blood. The unity of the Church was a fact as patent to those who came into contact with it, as the unity of the sun in heaven, and to deny the one was like denying the other.

But before three centuries had passed, the Church was at variance for considerable periods with itself, both in communion and in doctrine, and these periods were gradually elongated into something like a continuous chain. During the agonising struggles of the fourth century with Arianism, the intensity of which it is difficult for modern Christendom to conceive, where was the light of the city on the hill? or what could be the responsibility of the individual Christian, for threading his way through the mazes of theological controversy to the truth? On minor cases it is needless to dwell; almost needless to point out that in cases such as that of Montanism, the party adjudged to be heretical might well seem, to the inexperienced eye, as the stoutest attestors of the antagonism between Church and world, which all knew to be a fundamental truth of the Gospel. The force of Athanasian faith proved eventually sufficient to bring the Arian heresy to its downfall, and the accompanying schisms to a close. But who does not feel that these facts of history remaining on its page cast some haze upon the clear light of the Apostolic doctrine of schism, and abate the sharpness of its edge? Still, as facts, they passed away, and unity was admitted in principle as the universal law.

But experience had yet to produce larger crops of evidence all working in the same direction. The eleventh century established the rupture between the Greek and the Latin Churches which has never yet been closed; but which on the contrary has, it is to be feared, been seriously widened by the proceedings of the Vatican Council in 1870; proceedings which appear to have so greatly sharpened the edges of Papal infallibility. But the division established between East and West did not end there. There grew up in the fourteenth century a division between West and West, between Rome and Avignon, under which the English Christian found himself excommunicated in Scotland, and the Scotch in England. Into this labyrinth we need not further enter. The quarrel reached its close; but not in full until the fifteenth century had well advanced. Even then there remained the formidable question to be settled, which party had been in true corporate union with the Chair of St. Peter. Any answer to this

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question which may be attempted, appears to involve consequences beset with the most formidable difficulties. If either party be excluded, then the light of half Western Christendom had been extinct for half a century. If on the other hand it be attempted to include them all by the doctrine of an upright intention, that doctrine, when once admitted with respect to Church communion, may be found to render all sharp application of the argument against schismatics (nor is the case of heretics in my opinion materially different), in truth against all non-Roman Christians, nearly impracticable. Meantime the East had all along its divisions also, and Churches tainted with heresy (under the decrees, for example, against Nestorius,) still subsisted, and have continued to subsist down to the present day. Moreover, they appear to enjoy equally with the Orthodox Church the prerogative of perpetuity.

After this it seems almost needless to refer to the further and great aggravations of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. But to find a way of escape from their significance, surely implies a marvellous faculty of shutting the eyes to facts. The Continental Reformation is now nearly four hundred years old. It underwent in the sixteenth century much vicissitude. But, on the whole, sects and parties have settled down. The boundaries of sect now undergo no great changes. Protestantism unable to make good its footing south of the Alps, and numerically feeble in France, yet remains upon the whole, after this long experience, a hard, inexpugnable, intractable, indigestible fact. In some countries, as in Scandinavia, it enjoys even exclusive possession. Who can fail to be struck with the fact, that the distinctions between the fugitive and the permanent seem to be in a measure broken down? It was not so of old. The Gnostic, the Arian, the Donatist, the Monophysite, where are they? When we compare their meteoric passage over the scene, with the massive and by no means merely controversial Protestantism of Northern Europe, are we not led to the conclusion that there must be some profound and subtle difference in the causes which have issued in such a signal contrariety of results? It does not seem altogether like the case of the wicked man, flourishing for a moment like the green bay tree, but presently sought for and nowhere to be found.

And if this be true as to the Protestantism of Continental Europe, is it not even more vividly true of the singularly active and progressive Protestantism (other than Anglican) of Great Britain? I speak of that Protestantism—Presbyterian, Methodist, Independent, and the rest—which has not only built itself steadily upward, without aid, speaking generally, from any other than internal and voluntary resources, but has reproduced itself in America, endowed there also with much of this same reproductive energy, and has dotted nearly all barbarous countries with the light of its Christian Missions.

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I have not here spoken of the Church of England, which holds a remarkable, and, in some degree, a peculiar, position of its own in Christendom. But I must admit that, at periods not wholly beyond my memory, and in appreciably large portions of the country, it has appeared as if the hands principally charged with the training of souls for God, were the hands mainly or only of Nonconformists. If in the abstract it be difficult to find justification for English Nonconformity, yet when we view it as a fact, it must surely command our respect and sympathy. If so we cannot dare to curse what God seems in many ways to have blessed and honoured, in electing it to perform duties neglected by others, and in emboldening it to take a forward part, not limited to our narrow shores, on behalf of the broadest interests of Christianity. Here, indeed, I may speak as one who in some degree at least knows that whereof he is talking. I have seen and known and but too easily could quote the cases, in which the Christian side of political controversies has been largely made over by the members of the English Church to the championship of Nonconformists. I take it for example to be beyond all question that, had the matter depended wholly on the sentiment and action of the National Church, the Act for the extinction of negro slavery would not have been passed so soon as in the year 1833.

There are civil cases when, though we may not be able to say the rebel is in the right, yet we can clearly see that the possessor of power who drove him to be a rebel, is far more profoundly in the wrong. It may perhaps be that something of a similar situation has been brought about in the Christian Church, and that antichristian ambitions, working under some thin Christian garb, have in a certain sense sapped and mined foundations, in such manner that, through long addiction to and tyrannical enforcement of unreasonable claims, it has eventually become impracticable to procure the allowance of any just weight to claims which are reasonable.

If there be anything of force or justice in the foregoing remarks, they lead us directly and undeniably to an important consequence.

Nothing can be more plausible, or at first sight stranger, than the case which can be made for itself by the spirit of proselytism; although our Saviour made a reference to it which cannot be encouraging to its more reckless votaries. Let us see what that case really comes to. Truth, it will be truly said, is the possession most precious to the soul of man. If I am so happy as to possess the truth, as the question supposes it, am I to stand by inactive, and see my neighbour perish for the lack of the sustenance which it supplies? The case, without doubt, is susceptible of startling presentation. But let us look into it a little more closely. Who assures me that this truth of yours, on which you so naturally rely, is certified by any other witness, than the witness of your own private spirit? You will hardly pretend that it has come to you with the stamp and seal of a

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Divine revelation, or that you are entitled to proclaim, like one of the ancient prophets, 'Thus saith the Lord!' Holy Scripture provides us with instances of the danger of substituting the witness of another person's private spirit for our own (1 Kings xiii.). Your supposed certainty is but your sincere persuasion; a great warranty without doubt for yourself, but none whatever for me your neighbour. Unless, indeed, you can show me that you have received from on high, a commission to instruct mankind in that which you have learned yourself; but such a commission, which, if it is to rule me, must be exhibited in a manner which I can understand, you do not attempt to show. And thus, or in some way like this, it is that the hot proselytiser ought to learn to pay some of that respect to the convictions of his neighbours, which he pays so largely to his own.

Let us show a little more particularly why and wherefore such respect ought to be paid.

When the proselytiser[1] begins his operations, his first act is to plant his battering-ram, stronger or weaker as the case may be, against the fabric of a formed belief. It may be a belief well formed or ill; but it is all which the person attacked has to depend upon, and where it is sincere and warm, even if unenlightened, the proselytiser, properly so called, seems to have a special zest in the attack. His purpose is to batter it down, to cart away the ruins, and then to set about building up something else, which he has inwardly projected, in its stead. His purpose is constructive: but his activity is bent in the first instance to destroy. He little knows how easy is the last-named operation, how difficult the first. When he has broken to pieces the creed or system at which his great guns are aimed, what right or power has he to dig new foundations for a mind which is in no way bound to his allegiance? He has led his victim out into the desert, to choose for himself amidst a thousand paths. It is with a just, though not an exclusive, regard to these principles, as I conceive, that the wisest men have proceeded.

It was my lot to visit Munich in the autumn of the year 1845 for a purpose purely domestic. This purpose required me to call upon Dr. Döllinger, then (I may almost say) the favourite theologian of the Latin Church in succession to Möhler, and undeniably a person of essentially large, historic, and philosophic mind. He gave me his time and thoughts with a liberality that excited my astonishment, and I derived from him much that was valuable in explanation and instruction, nor did he scorn my young and immature friendship. For the Church of England, and for its members, among whom I counted, the period was one of disaster and dismay; it was the hour of Newman's secession; the field of controversy was dark with a host of fugitives. But in that trying hour, Dr. Döllinger, while he

[1] Some sensible remarks on this subject will be found in the correspondence of Cowper, where possibly they would not be looked for.

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patiently laboured to build me up in Christian belief, never spoke to me a single word that smacked of proselytism. He would not (so I suppose) destroy the half truth, as the first step to the introduction of (what he would think) the whole. I should define the spirit of proselytism as a morbid appetite for effecting conversions, founded too often upon an overweening self-confidence and self-love.

The antidote to this spirit, is to be found in a careful regard to the whole circumstances of the case and position of the person concerned. The first requisite is to distinguish markedly between the ringleader in a heresy or schism, and his followers; and the next to distinguish, still more markedly, between the first generation of the followers, and their descendants.

The great, I might say the enormous, difference which subsists between the founder of a heresy and those who inherit it from the founder, may be illustrated by examining the nature of the term.

The word heresy does not in itself imply poisonous or mischievous opinion. It means self-chosen and self-formed opinion. The Gospel is not chosen or formed by us: but fashioned by God and tendered for our acceptance. Here lies the responsibility of the arch-heretic or heretic proper: God offers him something, he puts it aside, and substitutes for it another thing.

But in the case of his heirs and successors, there is no supposition. Not through their own act, but through the act of the heretic proper, the Divine offer has been hid from their view. If and so far as the heresy involves in itself perversion of the Christian dogma, they are the sufferers. But here we are dealing with error, not heresy. With the speciality of heresy, namely, self-appointed choice in lieu of acceptance from the hand of God, they have nothing to do. The heretics of the Apostolic times were founders, self-choosers, and thus heretics proper. The ostensible heretics of our times are consequential and passive, and do not fall within the proper compass of the term, unless, and then only in so far as, they make themselves party to the original rejection of a Divine tender.

A petty and most unwarrantable schism was engendered in the Episcopal Church of Scotland, some thirty or forty years ago: but within that obscure and abstractedly unblessed fold, there grew up, as I had occasion to know, some young persons of a singular holiness. And what we ought to bear in mind is this; the young Protestant, Nonconformist, Quaker, or other (supposed) imperfect believer, has been reared, like the young Roman Catholic or Eastern, in a home. He has been taught about God, to believe in Him, to love Him, to obey Him, in the lap of a mother. He holds his religion (though he may not know it), as the mass of Continental Christians do, by tradition. In these first convictions his mind and soul have been trained; and they are entitled to respect, and to the most considerate and tender treatment, upon the very same principles as those which,

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within the fold of the hierarchical Churches, fence round with sacredness the pious aspirations of the young. *Maxima debetur puero reverentia.* But what is true of the child also adheres to the adult; and, if the tenor of this paper be a sound one, we must beware of all that looks coldly or proudly upon beliefs, proved by experience to be capable of promoting, in their several degrees, conformity to the Divine will, and personal union with the Saviour of the world.

Let us now proceed to consider various objections which may be taken in perfect good faith, to the strain of argument and remark, which have been followed in the present paper.

It may in the first place be said that I am playing with edge-tools; that the record of Scripture is plain and strong, written on the sacred page as in characters of fire. Do not, it will be said, attenuate, do not explain away, a teaching which is Divine. You are tempting your fellow-creatures to walk in slippery paths, and if they should fall you will have incurred no small responsibility.

My reply is as follows. In the cases of idolatry and of usury, I have sought to follow the guidance of Scripture itself; and, it should be remembered that Scripture is not a stereotype projected into the world at a given time and place, but is a record of comprehensive and progressive teaching, applicable to a nature set under providential discipline, observant of its wants which must vary with its growth, and adapting thereto in the most careful manner, its provisions.

What I have attempted, is to distinguish between the facts of heresy and schism, as they stood in the Apostolic age, and the corresponding facts as they present themselves to us, at a period when the ark of God has weathered eighteen hundred years of changeful sea and sky.

I think it was in the year 1838 that the Rev. Sir William Palmer published his book upon 'The Church,' which I suppose to be, perhaps, the most powerful, and least assailable defence of the position of the Anglican Church from the sixteenth century, especially from the reign of Henry the Eighth onwards. The book was after a few years submerged in the general discredit and discomfiture, which followed upon the temporary collapse of the Oxford movement, consequent upon the secession to the Latin Church of the most powerful genius among its founders. Father Perrone, the official theologian of the Roman See, said of its author, if my memory serve me right, that he was *theologorum Oxoniensium facile princeps*, and gracefully added, *talis cum sit, utinam noster esset.* But he applied in all their vigour to Presbyterians, Puritans, and others, the language of the New Testament concerning heresy and schism, and he seemed ruthlessly to cast them and their communions out of the Church of Christ. I remember feeling at the time the incongruity of such language. In or about the year 1874, the distinguished author published an anonymous work under the pseudonym of *Umbra Oxoniensis*: as to which Dr. Döllinger said to me 'This writer knows

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what he is about.' He presented in truth an essential alteration of his rigid and icy views upon modern heresy and schism. Of the work itself Dr. Döllinger said that its republication, with such enlargement or modification of the text as the lapse of half a century had rendered needful, would be 'an event for Christendom' (*ein Ereigniss für die Christenheit*).

But I turn to the higher authority of Holy Writ, and the historic dealings of God with His chosen people. I ask the impartial reader to compare the treatment awarded to Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and to their followers, with the providential method pursued, after the great schism of Jeroboam, with the Ten Tribes or Northern Kingdom. Not that the act of this heresiarch was lightly viewed: who, in the teeth of all the tokens continually displayed in Hebrew history, 'made Israel to sin.' So stood the founder; but how stood the followers? Were they cast out from the elder covenant and its provisions for Divine guidance? The account given us of the priesthood of the Northern Kingdom, with its broken succession, might not of itself supply an answer. But parallel with, not antagonistic to, the sacerdotal orders ran the historic race of prophets. The two great functions might be united in the same person. They were in themselves alike sacred, and perfectly distinct. The schismatic body constituted the majority; but this could have no determining effect, for 'thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil.' On grounds, as we may rest assured, quite distinct from those of mere numerical preponderance, the Northern Kingdom was still systematically made the object of rebuke, encouragement, or warning. To it was addressed the great representative ministry of Elijah, the person selected to typify the prophets in the grand vision of the transfiguration: and his character was, so to speak, reproduced in that of the Baptist. Their ruinous dispersion was treated much like that of the Jews. Samaritans, after the Advent, continued to be the objects of the tender regards of our Lord; and the recently recovered Pentateuch of the Samaritan use, has served to show that the people of this motley nation, now so hard to trace amidst the floods of ethnical change, still remained, either collectively or individually, within the fence of the vineyard once planted 'on a very fruitful hill.'

I ask no more than that we should apply to the questions of heresy and schism, now that they have been permitted, all over Christendom, to harden into facts seemingly permanent, and to bear not thorns and thistles only, but also grapes and figs, the principles which Holy Scripture has set forth in the history of the two Hebrew kingdoms, and which a just and temperate use of the method of analogy may extract from the record.

I now turn to another objection which may be advanced against me from the Catholic churchman's point of view. And by the Catholic churchman I mean simply one who adheres with firmness to the

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ancient or Catholic Creeds of the Church. These are the Apostolic Creed and the (as commonly called) Nicene Creed; the Athanasian Creed, however important as a document of history and theology, occupying a different place.

It will have been noticed that the argument of these pages points to an alteration in the ancient modes of dealing with those who decline to accept these venerable documents. I have shown that the finger-posts which marked the way to them have, in the course of time, been blurred by human infirmity, and I may be asked whether I propose to resign or abandon those portions of the old Creeds which do not now command, as they did four centuries ago, an universal acceptance? For instance, 'I believe in one Baptism for the remission of sins.' For a section of Christendom, not inconsiderable in numbers, and as I conceive growing in magnitude relatively to the whole, these words, I fear, convey no very definite meaning, and are in no sense an article of faith. I mean the non-Episcopal Protestants, especially those of the English tongue. We are not, it seems, to condemn them as they would have been condemned of old for contumacy in the non-acceptance of this article; but we are, in the rather hollow phraseology of the day, to dwell much on the matters in which we agree, little on those in which we differ; a sentiment capable of either wise or unwise application, but sometimes put forward in a thoroughly onesided spirit, and intended to convey as its true sense that we are to make light of our differences with the Reformed Churches of the sixteenth century, but as much as we please of any points in controversy with the great Latin and Eastern communions; as if the sixteenth century of our era had been favoured with a new, and even with a more authoritative, republication of the Gospel.

Is it the effect, it may be asked, the drift of these explanations, to land us in the substitution for our ancient and historical Christianity, of what is known as undenominational religion?

This is no trivial question, especially in Great Britain and North America. For in them subsist great numbers of religionists organised in bodies which really present few or no salient points of difference. The Sacrament of Baptism might have appeared to raise such a point, when Baptism was conceived to convey with Divine authority an inward and spiritual grace. But in proportion as the minds of men are staggered at such a doctrine, and as Baptism consequently resolves itself into a becoming and convenient form, the bodies known as Independents and Baptists, counted by millions respectively, may seem to find their warrant for severance from one another somewhat obscured. And as in parts of Great Britain, and in most parts of North America, these non-Episcopal Protestants constitute the bulk of professing Christians, we cannot wonder, and should not complain, if they are more and more laid hold of by the idea, that the contentions of Anglicans, and even of Roman Catholics or Easterns, may

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properly be overridden with regard to their sectional peculiarities and may be justly required to submit to laws which impose, in schools for the education of the young or otherwise, something that is called undenominational religion. Are not belief in Christ, and union with Christ, the main, the all-important matters, and why should we not together put forward the assertions in which we agree, and leave to the separate care of those who hold them and think them material all adventitious provisions which are supplementary to this grand and central purpose of the Gospel? A purpose which still blazes, as it were, in the heavens without obscuration before our eyes, while we ourselves confess that the tokens necessary to make good the claims of this or that communion to our allegiance, have been in the course of time obscured.

A few words then are necessary on the nature of undenominational religion.

The idea conveyed in this phrase with awkwardness characteristically modern, has in my opinion two aspects absolutely distinct. One of them is in the highest degree cheering and precious. The other aspect disguises a pitfall, into which whosoever is precipitated will probably find that the substance of the Gospel has escaped, or is fast escaping, from his grasp. With the former of them I first proceed to deal, and very briefly.

I do not know on earth a more blessed subject of contemplation than that which I should describe as follows. There are, it may be, upon earth four hundred and fifty millions of professing Christians. There is no longer one fold under one visible shepherd: and the majority of Christians (such I take it now to be, though the minority is a large one,) is content with its one shepherd in heaven, and with the other provisions He has made on earth. His flock is broken up into scores, it may be hundreds, of sections. These sections are not at peace but at war. Nowhere are they too loving to one another for the most part love is hardly visible among them. Each makes it a point to understand his neighbours not in the best sense, but in the worst: and the thunder of anathema is in the air. But they all profess the Gospel. And what is the Gospel? In the old-fashioned mind and language of the Church, it is expressed as to its central truths in very few and brief words; it lies in those doctrines of the Trinity, and the Incarnation of Christ, which it cost the Christian flock in their four first centuries such tears, such prayers, such questionings, such struggles, to establish. Since those early centuries men have multiplied upon the earth. Disintegration within the Church, which was an accident or an exception, has become a rule: a final, solid, and inexorable fact, sustained by opinion, law, tendency, and the usage of many generations. But with all this segregation, and not only division but conflict of minds and interests, the answer given by the four hundred and fifty millions, or by those

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who were best entitled to speak for them, to the question what is the Gospel, is still the same. With exceptions so slight, that we may justly set them out of the reckoning, the reply is still the same as it was in the Apostolic age, the central truth of the Gospel lies in the Trinity and the Incarnation, in the God that made us, and the Saviour that redeemed us. When I consider what human nature and human history have been, and how feeble is the spirit in its warfare with the flesh, I bow my head in amazement before this mighty moral miracle, this marvellous concurrence evolved from the very heart of discord.

Such, as I apprehend, is the undenominational religion of heaven, of the blissful state. It represents perfected union with Christ, and conformity to the will of God, the overthrowing of the great rebellion, and the restoration of the perpetual Eden, now enriched with all the trophies of redemption, with all the testing and ripening experiences through which the Almighty Father has conducted so many sons to glory. It is the fair fabric now exhibited in its perfection, which could afford to drop, and has dropped, all the scaffolding supplied by the Divine Architect in His wisdom for the rearing of the structure. The whole process, from first to last, is a normal process, and has been wrought out exclusively by the use of the means provided for it in the spiritual order. Whatever may have been the diversity of means, God the Holy Ghost has been the worker; and the world, which Christ lived and died to redeem, has been the scene. In some cases the auxiliary apparatus was elaborate and rich, in others it was elementary and simple, but in all it was employed, and made effectual for its aim, by the hand of the Almighty and Allwise Designer.

Here is the genuine undenominationalism; now let us turn to the spurious.

From every page of the Gospel we find that the great message to be conveyed to the world, in order to its recovery from sin, was to be transmitted through a special organisation. I do not enter on any of the questions controverted among believers as to the nature of this organisation, whether it was the Popedom, or the Episcopate, or the Presbyterate, or the Christian flock at large consecrated and severed from the world by Baptism. The point on which alone I now dwell is that there was a society, that this society was spiritual, that it lay outside the natural and the civil order. These had their own places, purposes, and instruments; they were qualified to earn a blessing in the legitimate use of those instruments within their own sphere, or might degrade and destroy them, by ambitiously and profanely employing them for purposes for which they were not intended by the Most High.

Nowhere, so far as my knowledge goes, is this essential difference between the temporal and the spiritual kingdoms laid down with a

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bolder and firmer hand, than in the confessional documents of the Scottish Presbyterian system. It may be due to that Christian courage, that Scottish Presbyterianism has been found strong enough to exhibit in this nineteenth century of ours, examples of self-sacrifice and faith, which have drawn forth tributes of admiration from the Christian world at large. Conversely, of all the counterfeits of religion there is in my view none so base as that which passes current under the name of Erastianism, and of which it has been my privilege to witness, during the course of the present century, the gradual decline and almost extinction, especially among the luminaries of the political world. This is not a question between a clergy and a laity; but between the Church and the world. Divine revelation has a sphere, no less than a savour of its own. It dwelt of old with the prophets, the priests, and the congregation; it now dwells with the Christian people, rulers and ruled; and this strictly in their character as Christian people, as subjects of God the Holy Ghost engaged with them in the holy warfare, which began with the entrance of sin into the world, and which can never end but with its expulsion. Foul fall the day, when the persons of this world shall, on whatever pretext, take into their uncommissioned hands the manipulation of the religion of our Lord and Saviour. The State, labouring in its own domain, is a great, nay a venerable, object; so is the family. These are the organic units, constitutive of human societies. Let the family transgress and usurp the functions of the State; its aberrations will be short, and a power it cannot resist will soon reduce its action within proper limits. But the State is, in this world, the master of all coercive means; and its usurpations, should they occur, cannot be checked by any specific instruments included among standing social provisions. If the State should think proper to frame new creeds by cutting the old ones into pieces and throwing them into the caldron to be reboiled, we have no remedy, except such as may lie hidden among the resources of the providence of God. It is fair to add that the State is in this matter beset by severe temptations; the vehicle through which these temptations work will probably, in this country at least, be supplied by popular education.

The Church, disabled and discredited by her divisions, has found it impracticable to assert herself as the universal guide. Among the fragments of the body, a certain number have special affinities, and in particular regions or conjunctures of circumstances it would be very easy to frame an undenominational religion much to their liking, divested of many salient points needful in the view of historic Christendom for a complete Christianity. Such a scheme the State might be tempted to authorise by law in public elementary teaching, nay, to arm it with exclusive and prohibitory powers as against other and more developed methods which the human conscience, sole legitimate arbiter in these matters, together with the Spirit of God,

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may have devised for itself in the more or less successful effort to obtain this guidance. It is in this direction that we have recently been moving, and the motion is towards a point where a danger signal is already lifted. Such an undenominational religion as this could have no promise of permanence. None from authority, for the assumed right to give it is the negation of all authority. None from piety, for it involves at the very outset the surrender of the work of the Divine kingdom into the hands of the civil ruler. None from policy; because any and every change that may take place in the sense of the constituent bodies, or any among them, will supply for each successive change precisely the same warrant as was the groundwork of the original proceeding. Whatever happens, let Christianity keep its own acts to its own agents, and not make them over to hands which would justly be deemed profane and sacrilegious when they came to trespass on the province of the sanctuary.

Let us now turn to another aspect of this interesting examination.

Thus far it may be said we have been constantly extenuating the responsibilities which attach to heresy and schism, and tampering with the securities for the maintenance of the true Apostolic doctrine. If it may be said the claims of rival communions to demand adhesion with authority are now thus confused or balanced, it follows that Christianity has been deprived of some portion at least of the favouring evidences on which it had to rely when ushered into the world; and thus a diminution has been effected in the aggressive force, by means of which the Gospel had to convert the kingdoms of the world, into the kingdoms of our God and of His Christ. And such without doubt is the first result of the argument as it has been set out. But let us see, if this be an evil, whether it is not one for which in another portion of the field that has been opened, we have an ample compensation; and whether the spirit of faction which prevails so lamentably in religious divisions, has not been made to minister to the very purpose over which it had seemed to exercise so fatal an agency.

When two powers or parties are very sharply divided in controversy, and when the force of the old Adam seems to enthrone this hostility as the ruling motive of their conduct, it is apt to follow that great additional emphasis and efficacy is given to their testimony on the points where it is accordant. Take for example the case of the lately discovered Samaritan Pentateuch. The enmity which subsisted between Samaritans and Jews was an overpowering enmity, which reached the point of social excommunication; for the Jews had 'no dealings with the Samaritans.' Under these circumstances, if either party could have detected the other, as implicated in the offence of altering or corrupting the great traditionary treasure of the Torah, it is quite certain that the accusation would have been made, and would have been turned to the best possible account. When the capacity

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and the disposition to expose negligence or fraud existed on each side and in the highest degree, the absence of any charge, and the absolute concurrence as to the great document, afford us the highest possible assurance of the integrity of the record.

The same argument is applicable as between Jews and Christians, and within its proper limits to the integrity of the Hebrew Scriptures.

Now let us ask whether and how far a similar argument applies to the case of the Christian Church rent by schisms, and the Christian faith disturbed and defaced by heresies. We have before us a very Babel of claimants for the honours of orthodoxy and catholicity. Setting out from Western Christendom, we naturally go back to the great convulsion of the sixteenth century; we perceive the still huge framework of the Latin Church, with the Popedom at its head, standing erect upon a wide field of battle, in the midst of other separated masses, each of them greatly smaller when reckoned one by one, but in the aggregate forming a total very large, even if we confine our views to Europe. The three principal of these severed masses are the Lutheran, the Calvinistic, and the Anglican, which at the present time may reach sixty or eighty millions in this quarter of the globe. Conjoined with them are a number of Christian bodies, which derive force and significance partly from magnitude, and partly from the historic incidents of their formation; or from moral, spiritual, or theological particularities, whether in government, discipline, creed, or in the spirit of their policy and proceedings. Almost all of them are very strongly anti-Roman, and there are probably still many religionists among them, who regard the Roman scheme, incorporated in the person of the Pope, as the man of sin, the anti-Christ, sitting in the temple of God, and boasting or showing himself that he is God. It is impossible to conceive a livelier scene of diversity and antagonism.

When we pass beyond the ocean we find large additions to all these Western Communions, especially to those which bear the name of Protestant. So that Presbyterians, Methodists, and Independents or Congregationalists, are able to boast of an aggregate following, which amounts apparently in each case to a respectable number of millions, while the smaller segments of the body continue to be almost everywhere represented.

But Western religion has had this among its other particularities, that it maintains a wonderful unconsciousness of the existence of an East. But there is an Eastern Christianity, and this too is divided among no small number of communions, of which by far the most numerous are aggregated round the ancient See of New Rome, or Constantinople. And here again we find a knot of Churches, which are termed heretical on account of difficulties growing out of the older controversies of the Church. It seems fair, however, to remark that these Churches have not exhibited the changeable and short-lived

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character which is supposed to be among the most marked notes of heresy. They have subsisted through some fifteen hundred years with a signal persistency, I believe, in doctrine, government, and usage. The Eastern Christians do not probably fall short of ninety or a hundred million persons all told; and although to the Western eye they present so many exterior resemblances to the Roman Church, they are in practice divided from it not less sharply than the Protestants, by differences partly of doctrine (where their position seems very strong), but still more of organisation and of spirit.

That all these Churches and communions, Latin, Eastern, or Reformed, bear a conflicting witness concerning Christianity on a multitude of points, is a fact too plain to require exposition or discussion. Is there, however, anything also on which they generally agree? And what is the relation between that on which they agree, and those things on which they differ? At this point, it is manifest that we touch upon matters of great interest and importance; which, however, it will suffice to mention very briefly. The tenets upon which these dissonant and conflicting bodies are agreed, are the great central tenets of the Holy Trinity and of the Incarnation of our Lord. But these constitute the very kernel of the whole Gospel. Everything besides, that clusters round them, including the doctrines respecting the Church, the Ministry, the Sacraments, the Communion of Saints, and the great facts of eschatology, is only developments which have been embodied in the historic Christianity of the past, as auxiliary to the great central purpose of Redemption; that original promise which was vouchsafed to sinful man at the outset of his sad experience, and which was duly accomplished when the fulness of time had come.

If, then, the Christian Church has sustained heavy loss through its divisions in the weight of its testimonials, and in its aggressive powers as against the world, I would still ask whether she may not, in the good providence of God, have received a suitable, perhaps a preponderating, compensation, in the accordant witness of all Christendom, to the truths that our religion is the religion of the God-Man, and that Jesus Christ is come in the flesh?

It will have appeared, I hope, sufficiently from the foregoing pages, that what they contemplate and seek to recommend is a readjustment of ideas, and not a surrender, in any quarter, of considered and conscientious convictions, or of established laws and practices.

The Christian Church, no longer entitled to speak with an undivided and universal authority, and thus to take her place among the paramount facts of life, is not thereby invaded in her inner citadel. That citadel is, and ever was, the private conscience within this sacred precinct, that matured the forces which by a long incubation grew to such a volume of strength, as legitimately to obtain the mastery of

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the world. It would be a fatal error to allow the voice of that conscience to be put down by another voice, which proceeds, not from within, but from without, the sanctuary. The private conscience is indeed for man, as Cardinal Newman has well said, the vicegerent of God.

It is part of the office with which the private conscience is charged, to measure carefully its powers of harmonious co-operation with Christians of all sorts. This duty should be performed in the manner, and on the basis, so admirably described by Dante :—

> Le frondi onde s' infronda tutto l' orto
> Dell' Ortolano eterno, am' io cotanto
> Quanto da lui a lor di bene è porto.[2]

It will be governed by large regard to the principle of Love, and by a supreme regard to the prerogatives of Truth, and the very same feelings which will lead a sound mind to welcome a solid union, will also lead it to eschew an immature and hollow one.

And why, it will be further asked, is this readjustment of ideas to be the work of the present juncture? In answer, I request that we should study to discern the signs of the times. Is creation groaning and travailing together for a great recovery, or is it not? Are the persons adverse to that recovery, banded together with an enhanced and overweening confidence? They loudly boast of their improved means of action: and are fond especially of relying on the increase of knowledge. Knowledge, forsooth! God prosper it. But knowledge is like liberty; great offences are committed in her name, and great errors covered with her mantle. The increase of knowledge can only lead us to an increased acquaintance with Him Who is its source and spring. Let the champions of religion now know and understand, that it is more than ever their duty to equip themselves with knowledge, and to use it as an effective weapon, such as it has proved, and is proving itself to be, in regard to the ancient history of our planet and of man. It is the extension of wealth, the multiplication of luxuries, the increase of wants following therefrom: of wants, every one of which is as one of the threads which would, separately, break, but which in their aggregate, bound Gulliver to the earth. This is the subtle process which more and more, from day to day, is weighting the scale charged with the things seen, as against the scale whose ethereal burden lies in the things unseen. And while the adverse host is thus continually in receipt of new reinforcements, it is time for those who believe to bestir themselves: and to prepare for all eventual issues by well examining their common interests, and by keeping firm hold upon that chain which we are permitted to grasp at its earthward extremity, while at its other end it lies 'about the feet of God.'

W. E. GLADSTONE.

[2] *Paradiso*, Canto xxvi. 64.

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THE ITALIAN CASE AGAINST FRANCE

Of late years French hatred of Germany has been much less noisy and demonstrative than it was during the ten or fifteen years following the Peace of Versailles. Now that Alsace and Lorraine have become thoroughly contented with their change of nationality, it is impossible for the French to persist in weeping over the woes of the conquered provinces. In point of fact, the loss of those provinces was only the ostensible and not the real cause of the virulence of French hatred of Germany. It was the crushing defeat of the French armies, and the consequent loss of military prestige, which made the French so bitter against their conquerors, and so loud in their profession of a determination to take an early revenge. In spite of this professed thirst for revenge, the French have not forgotten the wholesome lesson taught them by Von Moltke, and they have been careful not to risk a repetition of it. Gradually the absurdity of constantly talking of revenge, and never making an effort to obtain it, has dawned upon the French, and at the present time the Parisian press devotes but a small part of its space to preaching eternal hatred of the Germans.

Meanwhile there has grown up in France a hatred of Italy, which is to-day as intense and bitter as was ever the French hatred of Germany. French journalists have discovered that Italy has been guilty of the grossest ingratitude to France. 'It was generous France,' cry the French newspapers, 'that made Italy free and independent, and yet Italy, instead of helping France in her struggle against Germany, held selfishly aloof, and has since allied herself with the enemies of France.' Preaching from this text the French press has sedulously fanned the flame of hostility to Italy. Organised and persistent efforts to depress the value of Italian securities have been made on the Paris Bourse. A commercial war has been begun and relentlessly waged by France against Italy. Italian workmen have been massacred in French towns, and the murderers have gone unpunished. French correspondents, writing from Rome, have systematically concocted false news in order to injure Italian credit. French military critics never cease to publish their contempt for the

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Italian army, forgetting that the Italians are perfectly familiar with the story of the Sedan campaign and the surrender of Metz. Signor Crispi, who, before he became Prime Minister, was well known to be friendly to France, and, when he was last in power, endeavoured by every honourable means to come to a friendly understanding with the French Government, has been singled out for especial abuse, and is constantly charged with having been the author of the Triple Alliance, and of the commercial war between France and Italy. The hatred which the French once felt towards Bismarck has been eclipsed by their hatred for Crispi, and the false accusations which were formerly brought by French newspapers against the former have been left far behind by the more absurd and not less malignant accusations daily brought against the latter.

The charge that Italy has shown gross ingratitude to France is wholly untrue. Italy was not made free and united by France. On the contrary, France threw every possible obstacle in the way of the unification of the peninsula. Let us look for a moment at the facts as they must appear to the impartial historian.

Napoleon the Third led an army into Lombardy with the avowed purpose of driving the Austrians out of Italy. For this service he had been hired by Count Cavour. The price on which Napoleon insisted was the cession of the provinces of Nice and Savoy, and the sacrifice of the Princess Clotilda to his cousin Prince Jerome. Napoleon promised, not only in his agreement with Count Cavour, but in a proclamation to the Italian people, that Italy should be 'free from the Alps to the Adriatic.' Did he keep his promise? All the world knows that he did not.

With the help of the Piedmontese army—and without that gallant army's magnificent conduct at the hill of San Martino the allies would have been beaten at Solferino—Napoleon drove the Austrians out of Lombardy. He then made peace, leaving Austria in full possession of Venetia, and entrenched in the famous Quadrilateral. He had done only one half of what he had been hired and had pledged himself to do, but he exacted the full price which he had demanded. If a man undertakes to sell a given number of acres for a given sum, and after receiving the money gives a deed for only one half of the estate, the purchaser does not feel overwhelmed with gratitude. France did indeed give Lombardy to Italy, or rather to Sardinia, but France—for France has assumed the act of Napoleon as her own—performed only half of the service which had been promised, and exacted payment for what she had failed to do as well as for what she had done. Ordinarily the one who is betrayed and overreached in a bargain is not expected to be grateful to the overreacher.

But, not content with leaving Austria encamped in Italy, Napoleon did his best at Villafranca to prevent the unification of Italy. He

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stipulated that the Archduke of Tuscany and the Dukes of Parma and Modena should be restored, and that Italy should be made a confederation under the presidency of the Pope. A confederation in which the tyrant of Naples and the petty Austrian satraps of Central Italy were to sit side by side with Victor Emmanuel, and over which a Pope kept on his throne by a French garrison was to preside, would have kept Italy hopelessly divided and as contemptibly weak as her worst enemy could have desired. And when this scheme for thwarting the aspirations of the Italians had failed, the French Emperor still kept the Italians out of Rome; protected to the last possible moment Gaeta and its occupant, the miserable King of Naples; and shot down the Italian volunteers at Mentana. This is the way in which France made Italy 'free and independent.' It is for the hopes ruined at Villafranca, for the hostile though finally impotent intrigues in behalf of an Italian confederation, and for the 'miracle of the chassepots' at Mentana that Italians are ordered to be eternally grateful to France. Italy became a nation, not by the grace of France, but in spite of French intrigues and French threats, and the reckless and ignorant assertions of French journalists and politicians cannot change the facts of history.

But it may be said, 'admitting that all this is true, nevertheless thirty thousand French soldiers died in Lombardy in setting free Milan and the adjacent provinces.' For the memory of these gallant men, who had no share in the shame of Villafranca, and who were guiltless of the blood of Mentana, Italy will never cease to cherish gratitude. But more than a hundred thousand Italians died fighting for France under the banners of the first Napoleon. If we are to count dead soldiers, the balance of gratitude is due from France to Italy—not from Italy to France.

There is a nation to which Italy owes gratitude, and that nation is Prussia. It was the alliance of Italy with Prussia which gave Venice to Italy. Whatever promises Prussia made to Italy were loyally kept. She did not give to Italy half of what she had promised and then exact payment for all. She did not intrigue against Italian unity. She did not send an army to Rome to keep the Romans in subjection to the Pope, and to shoot down with the newest weapons the gallant and wretchedly armed Italian volunteers. It was Prussia that did what France had promised to do and failed. It was Prussia that drove the Austrians out of Italy, and made Italy free from the Alps to the Adriatic.

Now, when war broke out between France and Prussia—a war, be it remembered, wantonly forced on by France for the purpose of seizing German territory—what did gratitude require of Italy? That she should forget the services honestly rendered by Prussia, and take part in an aggressive war against her? She certainly was not required by any conception—not purely French—of policy or duty to take part with France. Italy, therefore, remained neutral, and when France

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was compelled to withdraw her garrison from Rome, Italy, as was her right, took possession of her capital.

France has then no reason for accusing Italy of ingratitude. Neither can France point to a single act on the part of Italy which can justify French hatred of her. It is almost daily asserted by the French press that Italy, under the malign direction of Signor Crispi, began a commercial war against France. The accusation is utterly untrue, and there is not an intelligent Frenchman who does not know that it is untrue. The commercial treaty between France and Italy expired in 1886, Signor Depretis being then Prime Minister, and General Di Robilant Minister of Foreign Affairs. A new treaty was immediately negotiated between the Italian Government and the French ambassador at Rome. This treaty was rejected by the French Legislature without debate, and purely because its rejection would injure Italy. As a consequence, goods imported by either country from the other became subject to the highest scale of duties. This was the beginning of the commercial war. It was begun by France, and Italy had absolutely no share in its inception.

In August 1887, Signor Crispi became for the first time Prime Minister of Italy. He found the commercial war in full vigour, and tried by every honourable means to put an end to it. Finding it impossible to induce France to make a new treaty, Signor Crispi, in February 1889, reduced the duties on imports from France, and placed France in the category of 'the most favoured nation.' France never responded to this overture, but up to the present date Italian duties on French imports are as low as they would be did a commercial treaty between the two nations exist. And yet the French never weary of asserting that Signor Crispi began and still carries on a commercial war against France.

The other grave charge brought against Italy is that, under the leadership of Signor Crispi, she entered the Triple Alliance, and so ranged herself with the enemies of France. Italy joined the Triple Alliance for the reason that the faithlessness and hostility of France had become so apparent that Italy could not do otherwise than to stand on the defensive. The French Government had solemnly assured Signor Cairoli, the Italian Prime Minister, that under no circumstances would France occupy Tunis. While the ink with which this pledge was signed was yet wet, France seized Tunis, and thus furnished herself with a naval station almost within sight of the Sicilian coast. The violation of the pledge showed that the word of the French Government was worthless: the seizure of Tunis was a direct menace to Italy. In these circumstances, General Di Robilant negotiated the entry of Italy into the Triple Alliance, an alliance which is purely defensive, and which pledges Germany and Austria to come to the help of Italy in case the latter is attacked, but pledges none of the allies to aid the others in an aggressive war. It was the

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faithless and hostile act of France that drove Italy into the Triple Alliance, and the French assertion that Italy joined the alliance merely in order to assist Germany in keeping possession of Alsace and Lorraine is as false and foolish as the assertion that Signor Crispi negotiated the Triple Alliance, at a time when he was not merely out of office, but was a member of the Opposition.

The true cause of French hatred for Italy is not far to seek. Smarting under the knowledge that the French armies had been defeated by the Germans, and that these defeats would probably be repeated were France to attack Germany, the French looked elsewhere for an opportunity of regaining their lost military prestige. It was evident to every Frenchman that if Italy stood alone she could easily be crushed by the overwhelming numbers of the French army. France could thus gain military glory, new territory, and a ready made fleet. Here then is a glorious opportunity waiting for the armies of France, and nothing but that pestilent Triple Alliance stands in the way. This is the whole secret of the growth and violence of French hatred towards Italy. France wishes to wage a war in which victory would be reasonably certain. France wants the superb Italian fleet, the possession of which would give her an overwhelming naval preponderance in the Mediterranean. France wants to destroy Italian unity, so as to render any future Triple Alliance impossible; and to strengthen the attachment of French Catholics to the republic by restoring the temporal sovereignty of the Pope. And nothing, so the French believe, hinders this desirable consummation except the fact that behind the army of Italy are ranged the armies of Austria and Germany.

As it was the act of France that drove Italy into the Triple Alliance, so it is the continued attitude of France that makes it impossible for Italy to withdraw from the Alliance. Were Italy without allies, France would attack her to-morrow. That Italy, with an empty treasury, a coast line exposed to attack at almost any point, and an effective army of less than half the number of men that France can call under arms, could successfully withstand the attack of her powerful neighbour is hardly probable. At the same time, France would not find her task an easy one. The Italian army, which the French affect to despise, is, in the opinion of unprejudiced military critics, superior to the French army in everything but numbers. The Italian soldier is stronger physically than the French soldier, and can bear more fatigue. The Italian officers are, with the single exception of the Germans, the best-educated officers in Europe; and the discipline in all branches of the Italian army is far better than the discipline in the French army. French critics, while admitting that the Piedmontese make good soldiers, assert that the Piedmontese element in the Italian army has been swamped by worthless Sicilians and Neapolitans. But of the six hundred men

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who died in their ranks at the combat of Dogali—men whose heroism was not surpassed even by the Spartans at Thermopylæ—one half were natives of Sicily and Southern Italy. Had the soldiers of McMahon and Bazaine possessed the steady, cool, unflinching nerve of the heroes of Dogali, Sedan and Metz might still have been German victories, but they would have cost the victors so dear that in all probability they would have been ready to make peace without venturing on the march to Paris. The popular French theory that Italian troops would scarcely venture to make a stand against a French army is a delusion born of French vanity and forgetfulness. Only twice during the present century have Italians and French met on the battlefield. The first occasion was at Rome, in 1849, when Garibaldi at the head of 7,000 men attacked and utterly defeated Oudinot's army of 10,000 men, driving them in confusion nearly to Cività Vecchia, and taking a large number of prisoners. The second occasion was when the raw, undisciplined, and half-armed Garibaldians were attacked at Mentana by the French, armed with their chassepots. Of course the Garibaldians were beaten, but no one has ever ventured to deny that they behaved with the utmost courage and steadiness, although officers and men knew perfectly well that the battle could have but one issue.

Nevertheless, while we may be sure that in the event of war between Italy and France the Italian army would prove itself in every way worthy of the pride with which every patriotic Italian regards it to-day, it is reasonable to suppose that in a single-handed conflict between the two nations Italy would go to the wall. Italy is, therefore, compelled to remain in the Triple Alliance as her only means of safety against French aggression. Contrary to the opinion held—or rather professed—by 'Outidanos' and his kind, the Triple Alliance imposes no expense upon Italy beyond what would be necessary did she stand alone. On the contrary, Italy now keeps less than 250,000 men with the colours, for the reason that if she is attacked she has the vast armies of Germany and Austria pledged to come to her help. Were she to withdraw from the Alliance, she would have to depend upon her own defensive resources, and the increase of the army with the colours to at least 400,000 men would be inevitable.

But the day is close at hand when Italy must disarm. Her people are now taxed to the utmost limit. They have borne this burden of taxation for years with a heroism that is worthy of the admiration usually reserved for the easier heroism of the battlefield. Before France began the commercial war, and so cut Italy off from her most important market, Italy was able to pay her way, though with the utmost difficulty. When France refused any longer to admit Italian wines and Italian silks, a deadly blow was struck at Italian finances. To-day Italy finds her treasury empty, and no means of filling it. Any

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further increase of taxation is out of the question, and the economies that can be made, short of the reduction of the army and navy, are insignificant. Signor Crispi is a statesman whom Europe does not yet estimate at his true value. To indomitable courage, and passionate patriotism, he unites the subtlest and clearest brain of any statesman since Cavour. He has been called to power because it was recognised that, if any man could extricate Italy from her present peril, that man was Francesco Crispi. But the task is one beyond the powers of any man. There is but one way in which Italy can escape bankruptcy, and that is by reducing her army to the smallest force compatible with the preservation of domestic order, and by putting out of commission every vessel in her navy except two or at most three cruisers, one to be stationed in the Mediterranean, another in the Red Sea, and perhaps a third in Argentine waters.

But if Italy disarms she must withdraw from the Triple Alliance, and she cannot withdraw without placing herself under the heel of France. If Italy abandons her allies, and disbands her forces, she places herself in precisely the position in which she would find herself were she to go to war with France and be beaten. She would continue to exist as a nation only by the sufferance of France, and on condition of slavish obedience to French decrees. If Italy must be led in chains behind the rickety car of the French Republic, she should at least compel the French to fight hard for their triumph. If Italian freedom and unity, purchased by so many sacrifices, are to perish, they should at least perish with honour. France has driven Italy to the choice between war and bankruptcy, between national independence and national servility. There cannot be a moment's doubt as to which alternative Italy will choose.

It is true that war is a desperate remedy, but Italy has nearly arrived at a desperate state. She has everything to gain by a successful war between the Triple Alliance and France, and she can lose nothing by an unsuccessful war which she will not lose if she prefers to disarm. Were the Triple Alliance to crush France, Italy could at once disarm in perfect safety, and her share of the fine which France would be compelled to pay would go far towards covering her share of the expenses of the war. Naturally every humane man must shrink from the horrors of a war waged with modern weapons, but when war is the only alternative to national ruin it must be faced. Even the noble and unselfish Italian king, whose every thought is of the welfare of his people, must see as clearly as his veteran minister that in the terrible surgery of the sabre lies the only hope of Italian salvation.

The German Emperor unquestionably desires peace, but Germany cannot afford to purchase peace at the price of the disruption of the Triple Alliance. In case of war, Italy can easily give employment to two hundred thousand French troops that would otherwise oppose

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Germany on the Rhine; and the Italian fleet can keep the greater part of the French fleet in the Mediterranean. When, therefore, the Italian Government informs the Kaiser that either war with France must be begun without delay, or Italy must withdraw from the Alliance and disarm, the end of the present armed peace will have arrived. Germany must prefer to go to war with Italy as her ally, rather than to await without the aid of Italy the attack of the French.

The logic of the situation points inexorably to war. The longer it is delayed the nearer Italy draws to bankruptcy or to slavish submission to France. The situation has been made by France, and on her alone must rest the guilt of the coming struggle. France will probably accept war 'with a light heart,' for she firmly believes that with her money she has bought the fidelity of Russia. Less than a quarter of a century ago, France plunged gaily into war with Prussia, and counted on the support of Austria. If Austria, even when smarting under the defeat of Sadowa, declined to come to the help of the French Empire, is it probable that the Czar, now that he does not need another loan from France, will come to the help of the French Republic? Perhaps the justice of Heaven reserves for the nation whose wounded vanity keeps all Europe under arms, and burdens the toiling millions with cruel taxation and military service, a disappointment even more bitter than that which followed the swaggering march 'To Berlin!'

CAV. W. L. ALDEN
(late Consul-General of the United States at Rome).

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MUTUAL AID IN THE MEDIÆVAL CITY

I

SOCIABILITY and need of mutual aid and support are such inherent parts of human nature that at no time of history can we discover men living in small isolated families, fighting each other for the means of subsistence. On the contrary, modern research proves that since the very beginning of their prehistoric life men used to agglomerate into *gentes*, clans, or tribes, maintained by an idea of common descent and by worship of common ancestors, and that for thousands and thousands of years this organisation has kept them together, even though there was no authority whatever to impose it. It has deeply impressed all subsequent development of mankind; and when the bonds of common descent had been loosened by migrations on a grand scale, while the development of the separated family within the clan itself had destroyed the old unity of the clan, a new form of union, territorial in its principle—the village community—was called into existence by the social genius of man. This institution, again, kept men together for a number of centuries, permitting them to further develop their social institutions and to pass through some of the darkest periods of history, without being dissolved into loose aggregations of families and individuals. Such were the ideas developed in two previous essays in this Review on 'Mutual Aid among the Savages and the Barbarians.'[1] We have now to follow the further developments of the same ever-living tendency for mutual aid. Taking the village communities of the so-called barbarians at a time when they were making a new start of civilisation after the fall of the Roman Empire, we have to study the new aspects taken by the sociable wants of the masses in the middle ages, and especially in the mediæval gilds and the mediæval city.

Far from being the fighting animals they have often been compared to, the barbarians of the first centuries of our era (like so many Mongolians, Africans, Arabs, and so on, who still continue in the same barbarian stage) invariably preferred peace to war. With the

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, April and December 1891.

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exception of a few tribes which had been driven during the great migrations into unproductive deserts or highlands, and were thus compelled periodically to prey upon their better favoured neighbours —apart from these, the great bulk of the Teutons, the Saxons, the Slavonians, and so on, very soon after they had settled in their newly conquered abodes, reverted to the spade or to their herds. The earliest barbarian codes already represent to us societies composed of peaceful agricultural communities, not of hordes of men at war with each other. These barbarians covered the country with villages and farmhouses;[2] they cleared the forests, bridged the torrents, and colonised the formerly quite uninhabited wilderness; and they left the uncertain warlike pursuits to brotherhoods, *scholæ*, or 'trusts' of unruly men, gathered round temporary chieftains, who wandered about, offering their adventurous spirit, their arms, and their knowledge of warfare for the protection of populations, only too anxious to be left in peace. The warrior bands came and went, prosecuting their family feuds; but the great mass continued to till the soil, taking but little notice of their would-be rulers, so long as they did not interfere with the independence of their village communities.[3] The new occupiers of Europe evolved the systems of land tenure and soil culture which are still in force with hundreds of millions of men; they worked out their systems of compensation for wrongs, instead of the old tribal blood-revenge; they learned the first rudiments of industry; and while they fortified their villages with palisaded walls, or erected towers and earthen forts whereto to repair in case of a new invasion, they soon abandoned the task of defending these towers and forts to those who made of war a speciality.

The very peacefulness of the barbarians, certainly not their supposed warlike instincts, thus became the source of their subsequent subjection to the military chieftains. It is evident that the very mode of life of the armed brotherhoods offered them more facilities for enrichment than the tillers of the soil could find in their agricultural communities. Even now we see that armed men occasionally come together to shoot down Matabeles and to rob them of their droves of cattle, though the Matabeles only want peace and are ready to buy it at a high price. The *scholæ* of old certainly were not more scrupulous than the *scholæ* of our own time. Droves of cattle, iron (which was extremely costly at that time[4]),

[2] W. Arnold in his *Wanderungen und Ansiedelungen der deutschen Stämme*, p. 431, even maintains that one-half of the now arable area in middle Germany must have been reclaimed from the sixth to the ninth century. Nitzsch (*Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, Leipzig, 1883, vol. i.) shares the same opinion.

[3] Leo and Botta, *Histoire d'Italie*, French edition, 1844, t. i., p. 37.

[4] The composition for the stealing of a simple knife was 15 *solidi*, and of the iron parts of a mill, 45 *solidi*. (See on this subject Lamprecht's *Wirthschaft und Recht der Franken* in Raumer's *Historisches Taschenbuch*, 1883, p. 52.) According to the Ripuarian law, the sword, the spear, and the iron armour of a warrior attained

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and slaves were appropriated in this way; and although most acquisitions were wasted on the spot in those glorious feasts of which epic poetry has so much to say—still some part of the robbed riches was used for further enrichment. There was plenty of waste land, and no lack of men ready to till it, if only they could obtain the necessary cattle and implements. Whole villages, ruined by murrains, pests, fires, or raids of new immigrants, were often abandoned by their inhabitants, who went anywhere in search of new abodes. They still do so in Russia in similar circumstances. And if one of the *hirdmans* of the armed brotherhoods offered the peasants some cattle for a fresh start, some iron to make a plough, if not the plough itself, his protection from further raids, and a number of years free from all obligations, before they should begin to repay the contracted debt, they settled upon the land. And when, after a hard fight with bad crops, inundations and pestilences, those pioneers began to repay their debts, they fell into servile obligations towards the protector of the territory. Wealth undoubtedly did accumulate in this way, and power always follows wealth.[5] And yet, the more we penetrate into the life of those times, the sixth and seventh centuries of our era, the more we see that another element, besides wealth and military force, was required to constitute the authority of the minorities. It was an element of law and right, a desire of the masses to maintain peace, and to establish what they considered to be justice, which gave to the chieftains of the *scholæ*—kings, dukes, *knyazes*, and the like—the force they acquired two or three hundred years later. That same idea of justice, conceived as an adequate revenge for the wrong done, which had grown in the tribal stage, now passed as a red thread through the history of subsequent institutions, and, much more even than military or economic causes, it became the basis upon which the authority of the kings and the feudal lords was founded.

In fact, one of the chief preoccupations of the barbarian village community always was, as it still is with our barbarian contemporaries, to put a speedy end to the feuds which arose from the then current conception of justice.[6] When a quarrel took place, the community at once interfered, and after the folkmote had heard the case, it settled the amount of composition (*wergeld*) to be paid to the wronged person, or

the value of at least twenty-five cows, or two years of a freeman's labour. A cuirass alone was valued in the Salic law (Desmichels, quoted by Michelet) at as much as thirty-six bushels of wheat.

[5] The chief wealth of the chieftains, for a long time, was in their personal domains peopled partly with prisoner slaves, but chiefly in the above way. On the origin of property see Inama Sternegg's *Die Ausbildung der grossen Grundherrschaften in Deutschland*, in Schmoller's *Forschungen*, Bd. I., 1878; F. Dahn's *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, Berlin, 1881; Maurer's *Dorfverfassung*; Guizot's *Essais sur l'histoire de France*; Maine's *Village Community*; Botta's *Histoire d'Italie*; Seebohm, Vinogradoff, J. R. Green, &c.

[6] For more details upon this subject, see *Nineteenth Century*, December 1891.

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to his family, as well as the *fred*, or fine for breach of peace, which had to be paid to the community. Interior quarrels were easily appeased in this way. But when feuds broke out between two different tribes, or two confederations of tribes, notwithstanding all measures taken to prevent them,[7] the difficulty was to find an arbiter or sentence-finder whose decision should be accepted by both parties alike, both for his impartiality and for his knowledge of the oldest law. The difficulty was the greater as the customary laws of different tribes and confederations were at variance as to the compensation due in different cases. It therefore became habitual to take the sentence-finder from among such families, or such tribes, as were reputed for keeping the law of old in its purity; of being versed in the songs, triads, sagas, &c., by means of which law was perpetuated in memory; and to retain the law in this way became a sort of art, a 'mystery,' carefully transmitted in certain families from generation to generation. Thus in Iceland, and in other Scandinavian lands, at every *Allthing*, or national folkmote, a *lövsögmathr* used to recite the whole law from memory for the enlightening of the assembly; and in Ireland there was, as is known, a special class of men reputed for the knowledge of the old traditions, and therefore enjoying a great authority as judges.[8] Again, when we are told by the Russian annals that some stems of North-west Russia, moved by the growing disorder which resulted from 'clans rising against clans,' appealed to Norman *varingiar* to be their judges and commanders of warrior *scholæ*; and when we see the *knyazes*, or dukes, elected for the next two hundred years always from the same Norman family, we cannot but recognise that the Slavonians trusted to the Normans for a better knowledge of the law which would be equally recognised as good by different Slavonian kins. In this case the possession of runes, used for the transmission of old customs, was a decided advantage in favour of the Normans; but in other cases there are faint indications that the 'eldest' branch of the stem, the supposed mother-branch, was appealed to to supply the judges, and its decisions were relied upon as just;[9] while at a later epoch we see a distinct tendency towards taking the sentence-finders from the Christian clergy, which, at that time, kept still to the fundamental, now forgotten, principle of Christianity, that retaliation is no act of justice. At that time the Christian clergy opened the churches as places of asylum for those who fled from blood revenge, and they willingly acted as arbiters in criminal cases, always opposing the old tribal principle of life for life

[7] See Sir Henry Maine's *International Law*, London 1888.

[8] Among the Ossetes the arbiters from three *oldest* villages enjoy a special reputation (M. Kovalevsky's *Modern Custom and Old Law*, Moscow, 1886, ii. 217, Russian).

[9] It is permissible to think that this conception (related to the conception of tanistry) played an important part in the life of the period; but research has not yet been directed that way.

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and wound for wound. In short, the deeper we penetrate into the history of early institutions, the less we find grounds for the military theory of origin of authority. Even that power which later on became such a source of oppression seems, on the contrary, to have found its origin in the peaceful inclinations of the masses.

In all these cases the *fred*, which mostly amounted to half the compensation, went to the folkmote, and from times immemorial it used to be applied to works of common utility and defence. It has still the same destination (the erection of towers) among the Kabyles and certain Mongolian stems; and we have direct evidence that even several centuries later the judicial fines, in Pskov and several French and German cities, continued to be used for the repair of the city walls.[10] It was thus quite natural that the fines should be handed over to the sentence-finder, who was bound, in return, both to maintain the *schola* of armed men to whom the defence of the territory was trusted, and to execute the sentences. This became a universal custom in the eighth and ninth centuries, even when the sentence-finder was an elected bishop. A germ of combination of what we should now call the judicial power and the executive thus made its appearance. But to these two functions the attributions of the duke or king were strictly limited. He was no ruler of the people—the supreme power still belonging to the folkmote—not even a commander of the popular militia; when the folk took to arms, it marched under a separate, also elected, commander, who was not a subordinate, but an equal to the king.[11] The king was a lord on his personal domain only. In fact, in barbarian language, the word *konung*, *koning*, or *cyning*, synonymous with the Latin *rex*, had no other meaning than that of a temporary leader or chieftain of a band of men. The commander of a flotilla of boats, or even of a single pirate boat, was also a *konung*, and till the present day the commander of fishing in Norway is named *Not-kong*—'the king of the nets.'[12] The veneration attached later on to the personality of a king did not yet exist, and while treason to the kin was punished by death, the slaying of a king could be recouped by the payment of compensation: a king simply was valued so much more than a freeman.[13] And when

[10] It was distinctly stated in the charter of St. Quentin of the year 1002 that the ransom for houses which had to be demolished for crimes went for the city walls. The same destination was given to the *Ungeld* in German cities. At Pskov the cathedral was the bank for the fines, and from this fund money was taken for the walls.

[11] Sohm, *Fränkische Rechts- und Gerichtsverfassung*, p. 23; also Nitzsch, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, i. 78.

[12] See the excellent remarks on this subject in Augustin Thierry's *Lettres sur l'histoire de France*, 7th letter. The barbarian translations of parts of the Bible are extremely instructive on this point.

[13] Thirty-six times more than a noble, according to the Anglo-Saxon law. In the code of Rothari the slaying of a king is, however, punished by death; but (apart from Roman influence) this new disposition was introduced (in 646) in the

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King Knu (or Canute) had killed one man of his own *schola*, the saga represents him convoking his comrades to a *thing* where he stood on his knees imploring pardon. He was pardoned, but not till he had agreed to pay nine times the regular composition, of which one-third went to himself for the loss of one of his men, one-third to the relatives of the slain man, and one-third (the *fred*) to the *schola*.[14] In reality, a complete change had to be accomplished in the current conceptions, under the double influence of the Church and the students of Roman law, before an idea of sanctity began to be attached to the personality of the king.

However, it lies beyond the scope of these essays to follow the gradual development of authority out of the elements just indicated. Historians, such as Mr. and Mrs. Green for this country, Augustin Thierry, Michelet, and Luchaire for France, Kaufmann, Janssen, W. Arnold, and even Nitzsch, for Germany, Leo and Botta for Italy, Byelaeff, Kostomaroff, and their followers for Russia, and many others, have fully told that tale. They have shown how populations, once free, and simply agreeing 'to feed' a certain portion of their military defenders, gradually became the serfs of these protectors; how 'commendation' to the Church, or to a lord, became a hard necessity for the freeman; how each lord's and bishop's castle became a robber's nest—how feudalism was imposed, in a word—and how the crusades, by freeing the serfs who wore the cross, gave the first impulse to popular emancipation. All this need not be retold in this place, our chief aim being to follow the constructive genius of the masses in their mutual-aid institutions.

At a time when the last vestiges of barbarian freedom seemed to disappear, and Europe, fallen under the dominion of thousands of petty rulers, was marching towards the constitution of such theocracies and despotic States as had followed the barbarian stage during the previous starts of civilisation, life took another direction. It went on on lines similar to those it had once taken in the cities of antique Greece. With a unanimity which seems almost incomprehensible, and for a long time was not understood by historians, the urban agglomerations, down to the smallest burgs, began to shake off the yoke of their worldly and clerical lords. The fortified village rose against the lord's castle, defied it first, attacked it next, and finally destroyed it. The movement spread from spot to spot, involving every town on the surface of Europe, and in less than a hundred years free cities had been called into existence on the coasts of the Mediterranean, the North Sea, the Baltic, the Atlantic Ocean, down to the

Lombardian law—as remarked by Leo and Botta—to cover the king from blood revenge. The king being at that time the executioner of his own sentences (as the tribe formerly was of its own sentences), he had to be protected by a special disposition· the more so as several Lombardian kings before Rothari had been slain in succession (Leo and Botta, *l.c.* i. 66–90).

[14] Kaufmann, *Deutsche Geschichte*, Bd. I. 'Die Germanen der Urzeit, p. 133.

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fjords of Scandinavia, at the feet of the Apennines, the Alps, the Black Forest, the Grampians, and the Carpathians, in the plains of Russia, Hungary, France and Spain. Everywhere the same revolt took place, with the same features, passing through the same phases, leading to the same results. Wherever men had found, or expected to find, some protection behind their town walls they instituted their 'co-jurations,' their 'fraternities,' their 'friendships,' united in one common idea, and boldly marching towards a new life of mutual support and liberty. And they succeeded so well that in three or four hundred years they had changed the very face of Europe. They had covered the country with beautiful sumptuous buildings, expressing the genius of free unions of free men, unrivalled since for their beauty and expressiveness; and they bequeathed to the following generations all the arts, all the industries, of which our present civilisation, with all its achievements and promises for the future, is only a further development. And when we now look to the forces which have produced these grand results, we find them—not in the genius of individual heroes, not in the mighty organisation of huge States or the political capacities of their rulers, but in the very same current of mutual aid and support which we saw at work in the village community, and which was vivified and reinforced in the middle ages by a new form of unions, inspired by the very same spirit but shaped on a new model—the gilds.

It is well known by this time that feudalism did not imply a dissolution of the village community. Although the lord had succeeded in imposing servile labour upon the peasants, and had appropriated for himself such rights as were formerly vested in the village community alone (taxes, mortmain, duties on inheritances and marriages), the peasants had, nevertheless, maintained the two fundamental rights of their communities: the common possession of the land, and self-jurisdiction. In olden times, when a king sent his vogt to a village, the peasants received him with flowers in one hand and arms in the other, and asked him—which law he intended to apply: the one he found in the village, or the one he brought with him? And, in the first case they handed him the flowers and accepted him; while in the second case they fought him.[15] Now, they accepted the king's or the lord's official whom they could not refuse; but they maintained the folkmote's jurisdiction, and themselves nominated six, seven, or twelve judges, who acted with the lord's judge, in the presence of the folkmote, as arbiters and sentence-finders. In most cases the official had nothing left to him but to confirm the sentence and to levy the customary *fred*. This precious right of self-jurisdiction, which, at that time meant self-administration and self-legislation, had been maintained through all the struggles; and even the lawyers by

[15] Dr. F. Dahn, *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker*, Berlin, 1881, Bd. I. 96.

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whom Karl the Great was surrounded could not abolish it; they were bound to confirm it. At the same time, in all matters concerning the community's domain, the folkmote retained its supremacy and (as shown by Maurer) often claimed submission from the lord himself in land tenure matters. No growth of feudalism could break this resistance; the village community kept its ground; and when, in the ninth and tenth centuries, the invasions of the Normans, the Arabs, and the Ugrians had demonstrated that military *scholæ* were of little value for protecting the land, a general movement began all over Europe for fortifying the villages with stone walls and citadels. Thousands of fortified centres were then built by the energies of the village communities; and, once they had built their walls, once a common interest had been created in this new sanctuary—the town walls—they soon understood that they could henceforward resist the encroachments of the inner enemies, the lords, as well as the invasions of foreigners. A new life of freedom began to develop within the fortified enclosures. The mediæval city was born.[16]

No period of history could better illustrate the constructive powers of the popular masses than the tenth and eleventh centuries, when the fortified villages and market-places, representing so many 'oases amidst the feudal forest,' began to free themselves from their lord's yoke, and slowly elaborated the future city organisation; but, unhappily, this is a period about which historical information is especially scarce: we know the results, but little has reached us about the means by which they were achieved. Under the protection of their walls the cities' folkmotes—either quite independent, or led by the chief noble or merchant families—conquered and maintained the right of electing the military *defensor* and supreme judge of the town, or at least of choosing between those who pretended to occupy this position. In Italy the young communes were continually sending away their *defensors* or *domini*, fighting those who refused to go. The same went on in the East. In Bohemia, rich and poor

[16] If I thus follow the views long since advocated by Maurer (*Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Deutschland*, Erlangen, 1869), it is because he has fully proved the uninterrupted evolution from the village community to the mediæval city, and that his views alone can explain the universality of the communal movement. Savigny and Eichhorn and their followers have certainly proved that the traditions of the Roman *municipia* had never totally disappeared. But they took no account of the village-community period which the barbarians lived through before they had any cities. The fact is, that whenever mankind made a new start in civilisation, in Greece, Rome, or middle Europe, it passed through the same stages—the tribe, the village community, the free city, the state—each one naturally evolving out of the preceding stage. Of course, the experience of each preceding civilisation was never lost. Greece (itself influenced by Eastern civilisations) influenced Rome, and Rome influenced our civilisation; but each of them began from the same beginning—the tribe. And just as we cannot say that our states are *continuations* of the Roman state, so also can we not say that the mediæval cities were a continuation of the Roman cities. They were a continuation of the barbarian village community, influenced to a certain extent by the traditions of the Roman towns.

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alike (*Bohemicæ gentis magni et parvi, nobiles et ignobiles*) took part in the election;[17] while the *vyeches* (folkmotes) of the Russian cities regularly elected their dukes—always from the same Rurik family—covenanted with them, and sent the *knyaz* away if he had provoked discontent.[18] At the same time in most cities of Western and Southern Europe, the tendency was to take for *defensor* a bishop whom the city had elected itself; and so many bishops took the lead in protecting the 'immunities' of the towns and in defending their liberties, that numbers of them were considered, after their death, as saints and special patrons of different cities. St. Uthelred of Winchester, St. Ulrik of Augsburg, St. Wolfgang of Ratisbon, St. Heribert of Cologne, St. Adalbert of Prague, and so on, as well as many abbots and monks, became so many cities' saints for having acted in defence of popular rights.[19] And under the new *defensors*, whether laic or clerical, the citizens conquered full self-jurisdiction and self-administration for their folkmotes.[20]

The whole process of liberation progressed by a series of imperceptible acts of devotion to the common cause, accomplished by men who came out of the masses—by unknown heroes whose very names have not been preserved by history. The wonderful movement of the God's peace (*treuga Dei*) by which the popular masses endeavoured to put a limit to the endless family feuds of the noble families, was born in the young towns, the bishops and the citizens trying to extend to the nobles the peace they had established within their town walls.[21] Already at that period, the commercial cities of Italy, and especially Amalfi (which had its elected consuls since 844,

[17] M. Kovalevsky, *Modern Customs and Ancient Laws of Russia* (Ilchester Lectures, London, 1891, lecture 4).

[18] A considerable amount of research had to be done before this character of the so-called *udyelnyi period* was properly established by the works of Byelaeff (*Tales from Russian History*), Kostomaroff (*The Beginnings of Autocracy in Russia*), and especially Professor Sergievich (*The Vyeche and the Prince*). The English reader may find some information about this period in the just-named work of M. Kovalevsky, in Rambaud's *History of Russia*, and, in a short summary, in the article 'Russia' of the last edition of *Chambers's Encyclopædia*.

[19] Ferrari, *Histoire des révolutions d'Italie*, i. 257; Kallsen, *Die deutschen Städte im Mittelalter*, Bd. I. (Halle, 1891).

[20] See the excellent remarks of Mr. G. L. Gomme as regards the folkmote of London (*The Literature of Local Institutions*, London, 1886, p. 76). It must, however, be remarked that in royal cities the folkmote never attained the independence which it assumed elsewhere. It is even certain that Moscow and Paris were chosen by the kings and the Church as the cradles of the future royal authority in the State, because they did not possess the tradition of folkmotes accustomed to act as sovereign in all matters.

[21] A. Luchaire, *Les Communes françaises*; also Kluckohn, *Geschichte des Gottesfrieden*, 1857. L. Sémichon (*La paix et la trève de Dieu*, 2 vols., Paris, 1869) has tried to represent the communal movement as issued from that institution. In reality, the *treuga Dei*, like the league started under Louis le Gros for the defence against both the robberies of the nobles and the Norman invasions, was a thoroughly *popular* movement. The only historian who mentions this last league—that is, Vitalis—

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and frequently changed its doges in the tenth century)[22] worked out the customary maritime and commercial law which later on became a model for all Europe; Ravenna elaborated its craft organisation, and Milan, which had made its first revolution in 980, became a great centre of commerce, its trades enjoying a full independence since the eleventh century.[23] So also Brügge and Ghent; so also several cities of France in which the *Mahl* or *forum* had become a quite independent institution.[24] And already during that period began the work of artistic decoration of the towns by works of architecture, which we still admire and which loudly testify of the intellectual movement of the times. 'The basilicæ were then renewed in almost all the universe,' Raoul Glaber wrote in his chronicle, and some of the finest monuments of mediæval architecture date from that period: the wonderful old church of Bremen was built in the ninth century, Saint Marc of Venice was finished in 1071, and the beautiful dome of Pisa in 1063. In fact, the intellectual movement which has been described as the Twelfth Century Renaissance[25] and the Twelfth Century Rationalism—the precursor of the Reform[26]—date from that period, when most cities were still simple agglomerations of small village communities enclosed by walls.

However, another element, besides the village-community principle, was required to give to these growing centres of liberty and enlightenment the unity of thought and action, and the powers of initiative, which made their force in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. With the growing diversity of occupations, crafts and arts, and with the growing commerce in distant lands, some new form of union was required, and this necessary new element was supplied by the *gilds*. Volumes and volumes have been written about these unions which, under the name of gilds, brotherhoods, friendships, *minne*, *artels* in Russia, *esnaifs* in Servia and Turkey, *amkari* in Georgia, and so on, took such a formidable development in mediæval times and played such an important part in the emancipation of the cities. But it took historians more than sixty years before the universality of this institution and its true characters were understood. Only now when hundreds of gild statutes have been published and studied, and their relationship to the Roman *collegiæ*, and the earlier unions in Greece and in India,[27] is known, can we maintain

describes it as a 'popular community' ('Considérations sur l'histoire de France,' in vol. iv. of Aug. Thierry's *Œuvres*, Paris, 1868, p. 191 and *note*).

[22] Ferrari, i. 152, 263, &c.

[23] Perrens, *Histoire de Florence*, i. 188; Ferrari, *l.c.*, i. 283.

[24] Aug. Thierry, *Essai sur l'histoire du Tiers Etat*, Paris, 1875, p. 414, *note*.

[25] F. Rocquain, 'La Renaissance au XIIe siècle' in *Etudes sur l'histoire de France*, Paris, 1875, pp. 55–117.

[26] N. Kostomaroff, 'The Rationalists of the Twelfth Century,' in his *Monographies and Researches* (Russian).

[27] Very interesting facts relative to the universality of gilds will be found in

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with full confidence that these brotherhoods were but a further development of the same principles which we saw at work in the *gens* and the village community.

Nothing illustrates better these mediæval brotherhoods than those temporary gilds which were formed on board ships. When a ship of the Hansa had accomplished her first half-day passage after having left the port, the captain (*Schiffer*) gathered all crew and passengers on the deck, and held the following language, as reported by a contemporary:—

'As we are now at the mercy of God and the waves,' he said, 'each one must be equal to each other. And as we are surrounded by storms, high waves, pirates and other dangers, we must keep a strict order that we may bring our voyage to a good end. That is why we shall pronounce the prayer for a good wind and good success, and, according to marine law, we shall name the occupyers of the judges' seats (*Schöffenstellen*). Thereupon the crew elected a Vogt and four *scabini*, to act as their judges. At the end of the voyage the Vogt and the *scabini* abdicated their functions and addressed the crew as follows:—'What has happened on board ship, we must pardon to each other and consider as dead (*todt und ab sein lassen*). What we have judged right, was for the sake of justice. This is why we beg you all, in the name of honest justice, to forget all the animosity one may nourish against another, and to swear on bread and salt that he will not think of it in a bad spirit. If anyone, however, considers himself wronged, he must appeal to the land Vogt and ask justice from him before sunset.' On landing, the Stock with the *fred*-fines was handed over to the Vogt of the sea-port for distribution among the poor.[28]

This simple narrative, perhaps better than anything else, depicts the spirit of the mediæval gilds. Like organisations came into existence wherever a group of men—fishermen, hunters, travelling merchants, builders, or settled craftsmen—came together for a common pursuit. Thus, there was on board ship the naval authority of the captain; but, for the very success of the common enterprise, all men on board, rich and poor, masters and crew, captain and sailors, agreed to be equals in their mutual relations, to be simply men, bound to aid each other and to settle their possible disputes before judges elected by all of them. So also when a number of craftsmen—masons, carpenters, stone-cutters, &c.—came together for building, say, a cathedral, they all belonged to a city which had its political organisation, and each of them belonged moreover to his own craft; but they were united besides by their common enterprise, which they knew better than anyone else, and they joined into a body united by closer, although temporary, bonds; they founded the gild for the building of the cathedral.[29] We may see the same till now

'Two Thousand Years of Gild Life,' by Rev. J. M. Lambert, Hull, 1891. On the Georgian *amkari*, see S. Eghiazarov, *Gorodskiye Zekhi* ('Organisation of Transcaucasian Amkari') in *Memoirs* of the Caucasian Geographical Society, xiv. 2, 1891.

[28] J. D. Wunderer's 'Reisebericht' in Fichard's *Frankfurter Archiv*, ii. 245; quoted by Janssen, *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, i. 355.

[29] Dr. Leonard Ennen, *Der Dom zu Köln, Historische Einleitung*, Köln, 1871, pp. 46, 50.

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in the Kabylian *çof*:[30] the Kabyles have their village community; but this union is not sufficient for all political, commercial, and personal needs of union, and the closer brotherhood of the *çof* is constituted.

As to the social characters of the mediæval gild, any gild-statute may illustrate them. Taking, for instance, the *skraa* of some early Danish gild, we read in it, first, a statement of the general brotherly feelings which must reign in the gild; next come the regulations relative to self-jurisdiction in cases of quarrels arising between two brothers, or a brother and a stranger; and then, the social duties of the brethren are enumerated. If a brother's house is burned, or he has lost his ship, or has suffered on a pilgrim's voyage, all the brethren must come to his aid. If a brother falls dangerously ill, two brethren must keep watch by his bed till he is out of danger, and if he dies, the brethren must bury him—a great affair in those times of pestilences—and follow him to the church and the grave. After his death they must provide for his children, if necessary; very often the widow becomes a sister to the gild.[31]

These two leading features appeared in every brotherhood formed for any possible purpose. In each case the members treated each other as, and named each other, brother and sister;[32] all were equals before the gild. They owned some 'chattel' (cattle, land, buildings, places of worship, or 'stock') in common. All brothers took the oath of abandoning all feuds of old; and, without imposing upon each other the obligation of never quarrelling again, they agreed that no quarrel should degenerate into a feud, or into a law-suit before another court than the tribunal of the brothers themselves. And if a brother was involved in a quarrel with a stranger to the gild, they agreed to support him for bad and for good; that is, whether he was unjustly accused of aggression, or really was the aggressor, they had to support him, and to bring things to a peaceful end. So long as his was not a secret aggression—in which case he would have been treated as an outlaw—the brotherhood stood by him.[33] If the relatives of the wronged man wanted to revenge the offence at once by a new aggression, the brotherhood supplied him with a horse to run away, or with a boat, a pair of oars, a knife and a steel for striking

[30] See *Nineteenth Century*, December 1891.

[31] Kofod Ancher, *Om gamle Danske Gilder og deres Undergång*, Copenhagen, 1785. Statutes of a Knu gild.

[32] Upon the position of women in gilds, see Miss Toulmin Smith's introductory remarks to the *English Gilds* of her father. One of the Cambridge statutes (p. 281) of the year 1503 is quite positive in the following sentence: 'Thys statute is made by the comyne assent of all the bretherne and sisterne of alhallowe yelde.'

[33] In mediæval times, only secret aggression was treated as a murder. Blood-revenge in broad daylight was justice; and slaying in a quarrel was not murder, once the aggressor showed his willingness to repent and to repair the wrong he had done. Deep traces of this distinction still exist in modern criminal law, especially in Russia.

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light; if he remained in town, twelve brothers accompanied him to protect him; and in the meantime they arranged the composition. They went to court to support by oath the truthfulness of his statements, and if he was found guilty they did not let him go to full ruin and become a slave through not paying the due compensation: they all paid it, just as the *gens* did in olden times. Only when a brother had broken the faith towards his gild-brethren, or other people, he was excluded from the brotherhood 'with a Nothing's name' (*tha scal han maeles af brödrescap met nidings nafn*).[34]

Such were the leading ideas of those brotherhoods which gradually covered the whole of mediæval life. In fact, we know of gilds among all possible professions: gilds of serfs,[35] gilds of freemen, and gilds of both serfs and freemen; gilds called into life for the special purpose of hunting, fishing, or a trading expedition, and dissolved when the special purpose had been achieved; and gilds lasting for centuries in a given craft or trade. And, in proportion as life took an always greater variety of pursuits, the variety in the gilds grew in proportion. So we see not only merchants, craftsmen, hunters, and peasants united in gilds; we also see gilds of priests, teachers of primary schools and universities, gilds for performing the passion play, for building a church, for developing the 'mystery' of a given school of art or craft, or for a special recreation—even gilds among beggars, executioners, and lost women, all organised on the same double principle of self-jurisdiction and mutual support. For Russia we have positive evidence showing that the very 'making of Russia' was as much the work of its hunters', fishermen's, and traders' *artels* as of the budding village communities, and up to the present day the country is covered with *artels*.[36]

These few remarks show how incorrect was the view taken by some early explorers of the gilds when they wanted to see the essence of the institution in its yearly festival. In reality, the day of the common meal was always the day, or the morrow of the day, of election of aldermen, of discussion of alterations in the statutes, and very often the day of judgment of quarrels that had arisen among the brethren,[37] or of renewed allegiancy to the gild. The common meal, like the festival at the old tribal folkmote—the *mahl* or *malum*

[34] Kofod Ancher, *l.c.* This old booklet contains much that has been lost sight of by later explorers.

[35] They played an important part in the revolts of the serfs, and were therefore prohibited several times in succession in the second half of the ninth century. Of course, the king's prohibitions remained a dead letter.

[36] The chief works on the *artels* are named in the article 'Russia' of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, p. 84.

[37] See, for instance, the texts of the Cambridge gilds given by Toulmin Smith (*English Gilds*, London, 1870, pp. 274–276), from which it appears that the 'generall and principall day' was the 'eleccioun day;' or, Ch. M. Clode's *The Early History of the Guild of the Merchant Taylors*, London, 1888, i. 45; and so on. For the renewal

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—or the Buryate *aba*, or the parish feast and the harvest supper, was simply an affirmation of brotherhood. It symbolised the times when everything was kept in common by the clan. This day, at least, all belonged to all; all sate at the same table and partook of the same meal. Even at a much later time the inmate of the almshouse of a London gild sat this day by the side of the rich alderman. As to the distinction which several explorers have tried to establish between the old Saxon 'frith gild' and the so-called 'social' or 'religious' gilds—all were frith gilds in the sense above mentioned,[38] and all were religious in the sense in which a village community or a city placed under the protection of a special saint is social and religious. If the institution of the gild has taken such an immense extension in Asia, Africa, and Europe, if it has lived thousands of years, reappearing again and again when similar conditions called it into existence, it is because it was much more than an eating association, or an association for going to church on a certain day, or a burial club. It answered to a deeply inrooted want of human nature; and it embodied all the attributes which the State appropriated later on for its bureaucracy and police, and much more than that. It was an association for mutual support in all circumstances and in all accidents of life, 'by deed and advise,' and it was an organisation for maintaining justice—with this difference from the State, that on all these occasions a humane, a brotherly element was introduced instead of the formal element which is the essential characteristic of State interference. Even when appearing before the gild tribunal, the gild-brother answered before men who knew him well and had stood by him before in their daily work, at the common meal, in the performance of their brotherly duties: men who were his equals and brethren indeed, not theorists of law nor defenders of some one else's interests.

It is evident that an institution so well suited to serve the need of union, without depriving the individual of his initiative, could but spread, grow, and fortify. The difficulty was only to find such form of federation as would permit the unions of the gilds without interfering with the unions of the village community, and to fede-

of allegiance, see the Jómsviking saga, mentioned in Pappenheim's *Altdänische Schutzgilden*, Breslau, 1885, p. 67. It appears very probable that when the gilds began to be prosecuted, many of them inscribed in their statutes the meal day only, or their pious duties, and only alluded to the judicial function of the gild in vague words; but this function did not disappear till a very much later time. The question, 'Who will be my judge?' has no meaning now, since the State has appropriated for its bureaucracy the organisation of justice; but it was of primordial importance in mediæval times, the more so as self-jurisdiction meant self-administration. It must also be remarked that the translation of the Saxon and Danish 'gild-bretheren,' or 'brödræ,' by the Latin *convivii* must also have contributed to the above confusion.

[38] See the excellent remarks upon the frith gild by J. R. Green and Mrs. Green in *The Conquest of England*, London, 1883, pp. 229–230.

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rate all these into one harmonious whole. And when this form of combination had been found, and a series of favourable circumstances permitted the cities to affirm their independence, they did so with a unity of thought which can but excite our admiration, even in our century of railways, telegraphs, and printing. Hundreds of charters in which the cities inscribed their liberation have reached us, and through all of them—notwithstanding the infinite variety of details, which depended upon the more or less greater fulness of emancipation—the same leading ideas run. The city organised itself as a federation of both small village communities and gilds.

'All those who belong to the friendship of the town'—so runs a charter given in 1188 to the burghesses of Aire by Phillip, Count of Flanders—'have promised and confirmed by faith and oath that they will aid each other as brethren, in whatever is useful and honest. That if one commits against another an offence in words or in deeds, the one who has suffered therefrom will not take revenge, either himself or his people . . . he will lodge a complaint and the offender will make good for his offense, according to what will be pronounced by twelve elected judges acting as arbiters. And if the offender or the offended, after having been warned thrice, does not submit to the decision of the arbiters, he will be excluded from the friendship as a wicked man and a perjuror.[39]

'Each one of the men of the commune will be faithful to his con-juror, and will give him aid and advise, according to what justice will dictate him'—the Amiens and Abbeville charters say. 'All will aid each other, according to their powers, within the boundaries of the Commune, and will not suffer that anyone takes anything from any one of them, or makes him pay contributions'—do we read in the charters of Soissons, Compiègne, Senlis, and many others of the same type.[40] And so on with countless variations on the same theme.

'The Commune,' Guilbert de Nogent wrote, 'is an oath of mutual aid (*mutui adjutorii conjuratio*) . . . A new and detestable word. Through it the serfs (*capite sensi*) are freed from all serfdom; through it, they can only be condemned to a legally determined fine for breaches of the law; through it, they cease to be liable to payments which the serfs always used to pay.'[41]

The same wave of emancipation ran, in the twelfth century, through all parts of the continent, involving both rich cities, like the Italian republics, and the poorest towns. And if we may say that, as a rule, the Italian cities were the first to free themselves, we can assign no centre from which the movement would have spread. Very often a small burg took the lead for its region, and big agglomerations accepted the little town's charter as a model for their own. Thus, the charter of a small town, Lorris, was adopted by eighty-three towns in south-west France, and that of Beaumont became the model for over five hundred towns and cities in Belgium and France. Special deputies were dispatched by the cities to their neighbours to obtain a copy from their charter, and the constitution was framed upon

[39] *Recueil des ordonnances des rois de France*, t. xii. 562; quoted by Aug. Thierry in *Considérations sur l'histoire de France*, p. 196, ed. 12mo.

[40] A. Luchaire, *Les Communes françaises*, pp. 45–46.

[41] Guilbert de Nogent, *De vita sua*, quoted by Luchaire, *l.c.*, p. 14.

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that model. However, they did not simply copy each other: they framed their own charters in accordance with the concessions they had obtained from their lords; and the result was that, as remarked by an historian, the charters of the mediæval communes offer the same variety as the Gothic architecture of their churches and cathedrals. The same leading ideas in all of them, and the same infinitely rich variety of detail.

Self-jurisdiction was the essential point, and self-jurisdiction meant self-administration. But the commune was not simply an 'autonomous' part of the State—such ambiguous words had not yet been invented by that time—it was a State in itself. It had the right of war and peace, of federation and alliance with its neighbours. It was sovereign in its own affairs, and mixed with no others. The supreme political power could be vested entirely in a democratic forum, as was the case in Pskov, whose *vyeche* sent and received ambassadors, concluded treaties, accepted and sent away princes, or went on without them for dozens of years; or it was vested in, or usurped by, an aristocracy of merchants or even nobles, as was the case in hundreds of Italian and middle European cities. The principle, nevertheless, remained the same: the city was a State and, what it usurped by, an aristocracy of merchants or even nobles, as was the case perhaps still more remarkable, the inner life of the city and the democratism of its daily life depended but little upon what may be called the political form of the State.

The secret of this seeming anomaly lies in the fact that a mediæval city was not a centralised State; it hardly could be named a State as regards its interior organisation, because the middle ages knew no more of the present centralisation of functions than of the present territorial centralisation. Each group had its share of sovereignty. The city was usually divided into four quarters, or into five to seven sections radiating from a centre, each quarter or section roughly corresponding to a certain prevailing trade or profession, but nevertheless containing inhabitants of different social positions and occupations, nobles, merchants, artisans, or even half-serfs; and each section or quarter constituted a quite independent agglomeration. In Venice, each island was an independent political community. It had its own organised trades, its own commerce in salt, its own jurisdiction and administration, its own forum; and the nomination of a doge by the city changed nothing in the inner independence of the units.[42] In Cologne, we see the inhabitants divided into *Geburschaften* and *Heimschaften* (*viciniæ*), *i.e.* neighbour gilds, which dated from the Franconian period. Each of them had its judge (*Burrichter*) and the usual twelve elected sentence-finders (*Schöffen*), its Vogt, and its

[42] Lebret, *Histoire de Venise*, i. 393; also Marin, quoted by Leo and Botta in *Histoire de l'Italie*, French edition, 1844, t. i. 500.

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greve or commander of the local militia.[43] The story of early London before the Conquest—Mr. Green says—is that 'of a number of little groups scattered here and there over the area within the walls, each growing up with its own life and institutions, gilds, sokes, religious houses and the like, and only slowly drawing together into a municipal union.'[44] And if we refer to the annals of the Russian cities, Novgorod and Pskov, both of which are relatively rich in local details, we find the section (*konets*) consisting of independent streets (*ulitsa*), each of which, though chiefly peopled with artisans of a certain craft, had also merchants and landowners among its inhabitants, and was a separate community. It had the communal responsibility of all members in case of crime, its own jurisdiction and administration by street aldermen (*ulichanskiye starosty*), its own seal and, in case of need, its own forum; its own militia, as also its self-elected priests and its own collective life and collective enterprise.[45]

The mediæval city thus appears as a double federation: of all householders united into small territorial unions—the street, the parish, the section—and of individuals united by oath into gilds according to their professions, the former being a produce of the village-community origin of the city, while the second is a subsequent growth called to life by new conditions.

To guarantee liberty, self-administration, and peace was the chief aim of the mediæval city; and labour, as we shall presently see when speaking of the craft gilds, was its chief foundation. But 'production' did not absorb the whole attention of the mediæval economist. With his practical mind, he understood that 'consumption' must be guaranteed in order to obtain production; and therefore, to provide for 'the common first food and lodging of poor and rich alike' (*gemeine notdurft vnd gemach armer vnd richer*[46]) was the fundamental principle in each city. The purchase of food supplies and other first necessaries (coal, wood, &c.) before they had reached the market, or altogether in especially favourable conditions from which others would be excluded—the *preempcio* in a word—was entirely prohibited. Everything had to go to the market and be offered there for everyone's purchase, till the ringing of the bell had closed the market. Then only could the retailer buy the remainder, and even then his profit should be an 'honest profit' only.[47] Moreover, when

[43] Dr. W. Arnold, *Verfassungsgeschichte der deutschen Freistädte*, 1854, Bd. ii. 227 *seq.*; Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Koeln*, Bd. i. 228–229; also the documents published by Ennen and Eckert.

[44] *Conquest of England*, 1883, p. 453.

[45] Byelaeff, *Russian History*, vols. ii. and iii.

[46] W. Gramich, *Verfassungs- und Verwaltungsgeschichte der Stadt Würzburg im 13. bis zum 15. Jahrhundert*, Würzburg, 1882, p. 34.

[47] When a boat brought a cargo of coal to Würzburg, coal could only be sold in retail during the first eight days, each family being entitled to no more than fifty basketfuls. The remaining cargo could be sold wholesale, but the retailer was

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corn was bought by a baker wholesale after the close of the market, every citizen had the right to claim part of the corn (about half-a-quarter) for his own use, at wholesale price, if he did so before the final conclusion of the bargain; and reciprocally, every baker could claim the same if the citizen purchased corn for re-selling it. In the first case, the corn had only to be brought to the town mill to be ground in its proper turn for a settled price, and the bread could be baked in the *four banal*, or communal oven.[48] In short, if a scarcity visited the city, all had to suffer from it more or less; but apart from the calamities, so long as the free cities existed no one could die in their midst from starvation, as is unhappily too often the case in our own times.

However, all such regulations belong to later periods of the cities' life, while at an earlier period it was the city itself which used to buy all food supplies for the use of the citizens. The documents recently published by Mr. Gross are quite positive on this point and fully support his conclusion to the effect that the cargoes of subsistences 'were purchased by certain civic officials in the name of the town, and then distributed in shares among the merchant burgesses, no one being allowed to buy wares landed in the port unless the municipal authorities refused to purchase them. This seems—he adds—to have been quite a common practice in England, Ireland, Wales and Scotland.'[49] Even in the sixteenth century we find that common purchases of corn were made for the 'comoditie and profitt in all things of this. . . . Citie and Chamber of London, and of all the Citizens and Inhabitants of the same as moche as in us lieth'—as the Mayor wrote in 1565.[50] In Venice, the whole of the trade in corn is well known to have been in the hands of the city;

allowed to raise a *zittlicher* profit only, the *unzittlicher*, or dishonest profit, being strictly forbidden (Gramich, *l.c.*). Same in London (*Liber albus*, quoted by Ochenkowski, p. 161), and, in fact, everywhere.

[48] See Fagniez, *Etudes sur l'industrie et la classe industrielle à Paris au XIIIme et XIVme siècle*, Paris, 1877, p. 155 *seq.* It hardly need be added that the tax on bread, and on beer as well, was settled after careful experiments as to the quantity of bread and beer which could be obtained from a given amount of corn. The Amiens archives contain the minutes of such experiences (A. de Calonne, *l.c.* pp. 77, 93). Also those of London (Ochenkowski, *England's wirthschaftliche Entwickelung, &c.*, Jena, 1879, p. 165).

[49] Ch. Gross, *The Guild Merchant*, Oxford, 1890, i. 135. His documents prove that this practice existed in Liverpool (ii. 148–150), Waterford in Ireland, Neath in Wales, and Linlithgow and Thurso in Scotland. Mr. Gross's texts also show that the purchases were made for distribution, not only among the merchant burgesses, but 'upon all citsains and commynalte' (p. 136, *note*), or, as the Thurso ordinance of the seventeenth century runs, to 'make offer to the merchants, craftsmen, *and inhabitants* of the said burgh, that they may have their proportion of the same, according to their necessitys and ability.'

[50] *The Early History of the Guild of Merchant Taylors*, by Charles M. Clode, London, 1888, i. 361, appendix 10; also the following appendix which shows that the same purchases were made in 1546.

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the 'quarters,' on receiving the cereals from the board which administrated the imports, being bound to send to every citizen's house the quantity allotted to him.[51] In France, the city of Amiens used to purchase salt and to distribute it to all citizens at cost price;[52] and even now one sees in many French towns the *halles* which formerly were municipal *dépôts* for corn and salt.[53] In Russia it was a regular custom in Novgorod and Pskov.

The whole matter relative to the communal purchases for the use of the citizens, and the manner in which they used to be made, seems not to have yet received proper attention from the historians of the period; but there are here and there some very interesting facts which throw a new light upon it. Thus there is, among Mr. Gross's documents, a Kilkenny ordinance of the year 1367, from which we learn how the prices of the goods were established. 'The merchants and the sailors,' Mr. Gross writes, 'were to state on oath the first cost of the goods and the expenses of transportation. Then the mayor of the town and two discreet men were to name the price at which the wares were to be sold.' The same rule held good in Thurso for merchandise coming 'by sea or land.' This way of 'naming the price' so well answers to the very conceptions of trade which were current in mediæval times that it must have been all but universal. To have the price established by a third person was a very old custom; and for all interchange within the city it certainly was a widely spread habit to leave the establishment of prices to 'discreet men'—to a third party—and not to the vendor or the buyer. But this order of things takes us still further back in the history of trade—namely, to a time when trade in staple produce was carried on by the whole city, and the merchants were only the commissioners, the trustees, of the city for selling the goods which it exported. A Waterford ordinance, published also by Mr. Gross, says 'that all manere of marchandis *what so ever kynde thei be of* . . . shal be bought by the Maire and balives which bene commene biers [common buyers, for the town] for the time being, and to distribute the same on freemen of the citie (the propre goods of free citisains and inhabitants only excepted).' This ordinance can hardly be explained otherwise than by admitting that all the exterior trade of the town was carried on by its agents. Moreover, we have direct evidence of such having been the case for Novgorod and Pskov. It was the Sovereign Novgorod and the Sovereign Pskov who sent their caravans of merchants to distant lands.

[51] Cibrario, *Les conditions économiques de l'Italie au temps de Dante*, Paris, 1865 p. 44.

[52] A. de Calonne, *La vie municipale au XVme siècle dans le Nord de la France*, Paris, 1880, pp. 12–16. In 1485 the city permitted the export to Antwerp of a certain quantity of corn, 'the inhabitants of Antwerp being always ready to be agreeable to the merchants and burgesses of Amiens' (*ibid.*, pp. 75–77 and texts).

[53] A. Babeau, *La ville sous l'ancien régime*, Paris, 1880.

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We know also that in nearly all mediæval cities of Middle and Western Europe, the craft gilds used to buy, as a body, all necessary raw produce, and to sell the produce of their work through their officials, and it is hardly possible that the same should not have been done for exterior trade—the more so as it is well known that up to the thirteenth century, not only all merchants of a given city were considered abroad as responsible in a body for debts contracted by any one of them, but the whole city as well was responsible for the debts of each one of its merchants. Only in the twelfth and thirteenth century the towns on the Rhine entered into special treaties abolishing this responsibility.[54] And finally we have the remarkable Ipswich document published by Mr. Gross, from which document we learn that the merchant gild of this town was constituted by all who had the freedom of the city, and who wished to pay their contribution ('their hanse') to the gild, the whole community discussing all together how better to maintain the merchant gild, and giving it certain privileges. The merchant gild of Ipswich thus appears rather as a body of trustees of the town than as a common private gild.

In short, the more we begin to know the mediæval city the more we see that it was not simply a political organisation for the protection of certain political liberties. It was an attempt at organising, on a much grander scale than in a village community, a close union for mutual aid and support, for consumption and production, and for social life altogether, without imposing upon men the fetters of the State, but giving full liberty of expression to the creative genius of each separate group of individuals in art, crafts, science, commerce, and political organisation. How far this attempt has been successful will be best seen when we have analysed in the second part of this paper the organisation of labour in the mediæval city, the relations of the cities with the surrounding peasant population as well as with other cities, the intellectual, industrial, and artistic progress realised, and the causes which finally brought these wonderful organisations to decay.

P. Kropotkin.

[54] Ennen, *Geschichte der Stadt Köln*, i. 491, 492, also texts.

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THE FARCE OF 'UNIVERSITY EXTENSION'

ONCE upon a time an adventurous housemaid attended a course of lectures upon Greek Tragedy. She was persuaded thereto by the promise of a University Education. She counted among her accomplices twenty-three private governesses, ten employés, and four artisans. In this august society she solved the difficulties of Æschylus, she marvelled at the perfection of Sophocles, she mingled her tears with the 'soft droppings' of Euripides. Her enterprise is neither wholly pathetic nor wholly farcical, but the humour of it is grim enough, and if you think that she might have enjoyed her 'night out' to better purpose, what condemnation shall you find severe enough for those who trapped her within the lecture-hall? Greek Tragedy and a housemaid! How monstrous the association! Yet it is one of the romances of modern life that remains unwritten, and, alas! none but the housemaid herself could write it. The platitudes of the lecturer are familiar to the world, but the wise man would gladly surrender them all in exchange for the housemaid's whispered comment. Did she thrill when she heard Sophocles recited in his native English? Did she puzzle over a choral ode as she set her mistress's table or scrubbed the doorstep? Or did she (a far worse danger) reproach the honest man whose company she kept with lack of culture, because he had not laid the foundations of a University Education by feigning an interest in a literature he could not understand?

These questions will possibly go unanswered to the end of time, and the story is chiefly interesting because it symbolises the method of University Extension. For twenty-one years have the missionaries of cheap culture travelled the country up and down. For twenty-one years have they vaunted their 'thoroughness' (a quality continually claimed for their 'Work'), and now that the system has reached its majority and celebrated the festival with a demand for State-aid, its pretension deserves a candid examination. It was born of a well-warranted desire to send forth lecturers into the provinces, to organise, under better auspices, the penny readings which once were popular. The enterprise bore the modest title of 'Local Lectures,' and no dishonour was done the University which gave it birth. The inventors

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hoped to lighten the leisure of idle young ladies, and, perchance, to catch by the way some anxious inquirer who should be led by the entertainment to the pursuit of knowledge. But no sooner was the scheme devised than the shallow optimism of democracy expressed itself in a blind enthusiasm. No more was heard of Local Lectures. It was 'a really national movement, impelled by latent forces.' It was compared to that ancient revival which once peopled the universities with students and gave them a fresh ideal of learning. Though even partisans confessed that women of leisure composed 'at least half the audiences,' and that the system was devised to 'attract large numbers,' such phrases as 'national higher education,' 'high degree of educational thoroughness,' 'serious study,' were always upon the tongues of the priesthood. And thus, after the approved habit of missions, the movement grew, and with its growth increased the boastfulness of its promoters. A centre—such is the jargon—regaled itself one term upon land-surveying, and then elected to knock off, in twelve lectures, the ancient classical drama. The incongruity left the Extenders unabashed: a committee was still permitted to choose the subject for its centre, and if Shakespeare got sandwiched between electricity and Praxiteles, what did it matter? The folly was proudly perpetrated in the name of a University, as if miscellaneous information shared one property with mud, that if a mass of it be thrown, some, at least, has the chance of sticking. Now, there was no harm in this cheapening of culture. On the contrary, it met with an undeniable success. Many were persuaded to profess an interest in such topics as before had left them callous, and the more intelligent were set upon some bypath in their search for knowledge. But the Universities remained at their own firesides. Not a breath of their spirit was wafted into the provinces. Not a single habit fostered by learning was taught to the victims of this new-invented debauch. Indeed, it is impossible to consider the 'Movement' without recognising that from the beginning it has trodden learning under foot, that it has violated every principle of sound research or amiable culture that Oxford and Cambridge are pledged to respect.

Lord Playfair, in a lately published address, expressed his horror at an ancient invitation to deliver a single lecture upon chemistry. The discourse followed others of its kind upon 'Wit and Humour,' 'The Devil (with illustrations),' and 'The Heavenly Bodies.' The absurdity is flagrant and obvious, yet the moral drawn by Lord Playfair that University Extension is a far nobler enterprise than the Mechanics' Institute is wholly without warrant. At the very moment when aid is begged from the Government, it is proposed to substitute for the longer course of study, once imperative, a series of short, sharp sprints. Each province of human knowledge shall thus be exhausted in three lectures, that the suburban intellect be not fatigued by the steady contemplation of one insoluble

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mystery. A slice of chemistry shall be placed delicately between twin crusts of Gothic Architecture and the Reign of the Stuarts, and seasoned with a sorry pinch of Hellenism. Where, then, is our University Ideal? Where the superiority of the modern mission to the old-fashioned penny reading? Not even the lantern-slide is forgotten, and if a piano be needed for accompaniment, nothing but lack of money is likely to exclude it. Indeed, a pleasant pastime has been from the first the aim and ambition of lecturers. When Canon Browne tells you that the 'teaching was to be of the University type,' you turn to the records and marvel exceedingly. The Universities were established to provide an opportunity of thorough and continuous research. To enjoy their privileges, the student must first equip himself with such elementary knowledge as shall render instruction a possibility. Moreover, he is expected to devote himself with some constancy and intelligence to one branch of learning, which he chooses not because it suits the whim of his companions, but because it chimes with the humour of his own brain. His teachers, again, are not orators, but scholars, elected to instruct after years of tedious specialism. And what do we find for the characteristics of University Extension? No continuity, but a persistently restless change of interest; no thoroughness, but a hasty contentment with the easiest smattering. It is not the University that dictates the course, but the local committee, at whose feet the University kneels with cap in hand. Last session, perhaps, it was history that engrossed the people's mind. This session, an agitator, more voluble than the rest, insists upon Polycleitus; forthwith the Stuarts are forgotten, and the Doryphorus (in plaster or photograph) is sent off to astonish Kilburn. True, the privileges of a vague affiliation are promised to such as pursue a continuous course; but the desire of change is beyond the love of affiliation, and that class which supplemented a hasty examination of land-surveying by a feigned study of Aristophanes would seem neither singular nor ridiculous to the friends of Extension. How, in brief, can a system debased by a free and varying choice be either thorough or continuous? How can the easy path of discursive 'culture' be mistaken for the arduous ascent which leads to discipline and to scholarship? Moreover, the published evidences of superficiality and restlessness are incontrovertible. One lecturer regrets that his course upon electricity is rendered difficult because his pupils have not even an elementary knowledge of algebra and trigonometry, and urges the students (doubtless against their will) to lend their attention to one subject at a time. Others confess that their lectures are but a beginning, whose usefulness depends upon the energies of the initiated. In fact, the reports issued from time to time at Oxford and Cambridge, make ample, if involuntary, confession that no lecture is delivered, no course devised, which is not a patent contradiction to the worthy purpose of a University. But one document is within the reach of all,

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whose serious approval by the authorities is an abundant condemnation. By far the most popular lecturer who has carried the shining benefits of his University into the benighted provinces is Mr. R. G. Moulton. Unhappily, he has left us, and Chicago now claims him for her own. But before he deserted his native land he preached the gospel of the Attic Drama to thousands who knew not the shape of Greece upon the map. His own experience 'had given him ample evidence that the *bulk* of the literary element in ancient drama could be intelligently grasped by modern audiences, and students unacquainted with the Greek and Latin languages!' *Καὶ γὰρ ταλάντῳ μουσικὴ σταθμήσεται.* Wherefore he went forth upon his quest patronised by the University, which most properly exacts the knowledge of one Greek book from its meanest student. To artisans and housemaids he carried the message of Sophocles and Aristophanes. Appointed by the Senate, he stimulated Newcastle, Sunderland, and Doncaster to a false admiration in a single year. The tedium of exposition was lightened by 'interpretative recitals,' which reminds you of Lord Playfair's bugbear of the Mechanics' Institute: 'Wit and Humour with Comic Songs.' There was no question of studying the originals, and even the orthodox translations were esteemed too tedious for those who were enjoying a University Education in the country. 'Persons having little time for reading actual plays,' says Mr. Moulton, 'might read accounts of them in Blackwood's *Ancient Classics for English Readers.*' Thus, then, is the vaunted ideal of thoroughness made a reality Those students to whom superficiality is a vice unknown may acquire a knowledge of the ancient drama, preserving meanwhile their innocence of Latin and Greek! And lest the reading of the plays in the English of Plumptre and Potter be too heavy a tax upon their 'thoroughness,' they may cheat themselves into a passing acquaintance by the aid of Blackwood's hand-books! Meanwhile, a course of English reading which shall touch the fringe of Attic tragedy is not to be despised; and the undergraduate of our new and improved University is recommended to preface his 'thorough and elastic' research with the perusal of Kingsley's *Heroes* and Mr. Lewis Morris's *Epic of Hades.* Why, indeed, with the *Epic of Hades* on its table, should Newcastle or even Doncaster trouble itself with the ancient drama? The answer is simple: to provide Mr. Moulton with a class. 'Taking my experience as a whole,' writes this Xavier of the intellect, 'I should rank the ancient classics second only to Shakespeare and Goethe as an *attractive* subject for lectures.' Attractive, of course, are the ancient classics, because when studied in Kingsley's *Heroes* and the cultured page of Mr. Lewis Morris they provide a finer pomp and circumstance at a lower figure even than Goethe or the Elizabethans. But Mr. Moulton's cup is not without bitterness. He cannot suggest a short cut to the knowledge of Aristophanes 'until more translations

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adapted to modern taste are made accessible.' Why does he not bowdlerise the *Lysistrata* himself, and prove that the Attic comedy has neither obstacle nor horror for the most ignorant of Puritans?

Now, it is idle to pretend that Mr. Moulton's teaching is 'of the University type.' Nor has it aught in common with 'a national movement impelled by latent forces.' Its one simple merit is its power of attraction, and Learning is dishonoured when she stoops to attract. But that no flaw be left in the indictment, a champion of the system has enumerated the qualifications 'needed to make a successful University Extension lecturer.' 'He should be able to speak fluently in public, and have the power of putting the principles of his subject clearly and attractively before his audience.' He must also be a man of tact and sympathy, and should possess the 'art of conducting a class so as to induce the students to ask questions freely, and put their difficulties to him.' That is to say, he should enjoy the gifts of the stump orator or the Parliamentary candidate. Not a word is said of scholarship or research. A fluent tongue is above learning; a persuasive tact is more precious than insight. Is this cheap-jack popularity also the aim of the Universities, or were the Local Lectures infamously named when they acquired their more dignified and seductive title? But that the title may be something more than a sham, Oxford and Cambridge have devised summer festivals for their victims. The invention was Oxford's, one is pleased to reflect, but Cambridge has welcomed the invention with a lamentable zeal. For three weeks at a time the Universities are invaded by a mob of intellectual debauchees, whose ambition is far greater than their stomach, and who sit them down to an orgy of information which is warranted to leave the stoutest with a mental dyspepsia. The learning of all the ages is crammed into a fortnight. Browning is mixed with physiology. Plato is served up with chemistry for a sauce. Tea and college beer complete the havoc wrought by ceaseless floods of facile eloquence, and the distended ones return to their homes battered beyond recognition, and firmly convinced that they have enjoyed in three weeks all the privileges of a University career. No sooner are they gone, than they publish the most ingenuous and pathetic accounts of the benefits received. But you are told not a word of the consequent headaches, of the moral torment which follows an attempt to acquire a hundred sciences beyond the reach of the untrained intellect. The doctor, over greedy for operations, chronicles as cured every case that leaves the hospital, accounting it as nothing if the patient returns home but to die. So the University Extender exults in the hapless ones who attend his ministrations, and sheds not a tear over the brains diseased with the stifling study of unknown tongues. And who shall estimate the dishonour done to the invaded University, which should be the resort of a leisured culture? Can they be held guiltless who, with no better motive than the desire

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to do good, at once deceive the People and convert their cloistered colleges into so many Crystal Palaces of cheap and easy learning?

The perversion of the movement was due to an unreasoning optimism. 'I have enjoyed the privileges of a University,' murmurs the saddened Radical, 'why should not Tom, Dick, and Harry share my privilege?' And forthwith the Radical persuades himself that superficiality and thoroughness are identical, that Mr. Moulton and the Greek drama are convertible terms. Now, morality is capable of twists so strange that deception appears a generous virtue, and the man who gives the people the stone of a hand-book for the bread of culture does not hesitate to babble of national movements and the universality of learning. He recks not of the double injustice inflicted upon the teacher and the taught. The man in the street, who has not the proper habit of scholarship, is overwhelmed with confused information. 'Which do you prefer,' once said a workingman to me, ''Omer or Hossian?' And when my astonished silence gave him encouragement, 'Hossian's my man,' he continued, 'he's much better at nature'! Straightway I recognised a victim of Extension, and reflected how far honester a citizen would he have been had he attempted to understand only such topics as were within his reach! Hypocrisy is accounted a sin on all hands. Why, then, should we view with complacency that intolerable cant, first cousin to hypocrisy, which is an affectation of unattainable knowledge? And if the taught are outraged, the teacher, who should know better, is without excuse. His fault springs from his incapacity to face facts. So wild is his admiration of the People, that he will not understand the People's limitations. He is ready upon the slippery ground of sentiment to believe that knowledge is the heritage of all, and to offer degrees (with the aid of Government) to those for whom education is a casual pastime. The University, which the past gives him in trust for the future, he will degrade to the level of a Board School. He will pack his college courts with the neurotic children of easy cramming; he will beat out what once was called learning so thin that the *Ancient Classics for English Readers* appear original authorities, and electricity is studied without the rudiments of mathematics. His craze for uniformity may some day be gratified, and, levelling himself down, he may become as ignorant and optimistic as his dupe of to-day. Once it was the fashion for the decent navvy to pride himself that he had no book-learning. To-day he is anxiously scraping acquaintance with the masterpieces of Greek literature, and the end will not come until his instructor, pleading for pardon, confesses that he also relies upon translations, and promises that henceforth it shall be criminal to read Aristophanes in the original.

But why should our Universities exist if the unlettered are given their share in the privileges and patronage of learning? Not even

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scholarship, unless it be kept apart, can withstand the pitiless encroachment of the voter. The devotion of learned men, such as Mr. Munro, will be accounted a sin when a quick course of three lectures is sufficient to exhaust every subject from *Sordello* to Astronomy. The Universities have long been democratic in the only honourable sense. Oxford and Cambridge never closed their doors upon a sincere student. There is none with the real temperament of learning that does not find a generous welcome within their walls. But you might as well aspire to make every man a painter or a poet as hope to send genuine knowledge into the country upon the backs of popular lecturers. Moreover, it is Mahomet's duty to go to the mountain; and if the desire of learning be sincere, the aspirant will suffer no check in the road from a Board School to a Trinity Fellowship. On the other hand it is a truth that learning, if it come not unbidden, is an unworthy encumbrance. One can imagine a society where ignorance is a positive virtue, and learning only begins to be valuable when its practical uselessness is freely recognised. Already we have so far democratised politics that the ignorant man is deemed best qualified to ruin his country. But he may ruin his country well enough without the intervention of Oxford or Cambridge. The Board School and the County Council are sufficient for the manufacture of voters, and the universities need not take account of what Mr. John Morley believes to be 'the very highest form of practical energy—the governing of the country!' And if this particular form of energy has been vulgarised beyond redress, at least it should be possible to keep art and literature from the public greed. The masses see with despair that there are men better instructed than themselves, and straightway they ask a short cut to instruction. Nor are there ever wanting those who will pretend to give what it can never be within their power to bestow. It is largely a matter of snobbery, for the Democrat, proud in the conviction that all men are equal (whereas it is a truth, as Carlyle said, that all potatoes are not equal), insists that he has as well-established a right to knowledge as the student who has spent his life in the pursuit. Yet unless they perish in the common struggle for equality, literature and art must remain aristocratic and exclusive unto the end of time. 'Literature alone,' says Mr. John Morley, 'will not make a good citizen; it will not make a good man.' And there is none that has the welfare of literature in his heart that does not rejoice in literature's incompetence. It lives, indeed, only for its votaries. The People never had, and never can have, the smallest interest in its privileges and penalties. To improve the mind or the morals is no part of its business, and it were the honest course to tell the housemaids and artisans of England that learning lies for ever beyond their reach. But it is the habit of the democracy to find grand names for small enterprises, to elevate a

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tiny practice into a colossal theory. Now, the penny reading is not necessarily vicious. It is only when a cheap smattering masquerades as a serious education, when an ancient University degrades itself by truckling to a greedy optimism, that dishonour is done both to teacher and to taught. And if only Extension ceased to commit its sins in the name of Oxford and Cambridge, and contrived to pay after the manner of Music-Halls and other popular enterprises, none would complain of its shallowness or remember its existence. But its triumph, under the false pretence of a serious education, will inevitably and righteously involve in ruin the Universities, whose titles and dignities its victims presume to filch.

CHARLES WHIBLEY.

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BEHIND THE SCENES OF NATURE

IMAGINATION may be helped to realise unfamiliar aspects of Nature by working out various hypotheses concerning the ordinary senses. If we assume that some one of those with which the world at large is at present endowed had been left out of the scheme of things from the beginning, we shall feel at once how different a place the world we are acquainted with would have been for a race of people thus imperfectly qualified to observe it. Perhaps it would hardly be possible to think of the human race as carrying on civilised existence at all without the sense of sight; but no very violent effort of imagination is required in picturing to the mind a state of things under which the human eye would have been merely qualified to receive impressions of light, without having the power of discriminating between those different rates of vibration which express differences of colour. A race to which differences of light and shade would have been the only optical phenomena conceivable, would have been able to carry on a great many pursuits of physical existence, and in many directions to exercise intelligence as completely as we do now. But amongst such people, any few here and there who happened to be endowed, as an unusual gift, with the faculty of perceiving colour would be regarded by their companions as guilty (to say the least) of very gross affectation in professing to regard the tints of a flower as more agreeable to the eye than the colour of a lump of clay. The colour-discerning minority, going a step further, and professing to be able to distinguish claret from sherry by merely looking at them, would be offending the common-sense of the majority even more deeply, and laying themselves open to grave suspicion as to the healthiness of their understanding. Or, granting optical faculties in full perfection, let our hypothetical race be launched on its career without the sense of hearing. That deficiency would cripple the advance of intellectual culture very seriously, and language would hardly have attained its present flexibility without having been guided to its finer improvements by the tones of the voice. But still people could live, and eat, and work though they were all deaf, and though they could never conceive methods of intercommunication, except those that had to do with the touch or the sight. Amongst

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them, rarely gifted persons endowed with the missing sense, would soon be in serious disgrace with the public opinion of their friends. If two such persons professed to be able to communicate with one another where a high opaque barrier intervened between them, everyone would know that they were either telling lies, or making use of concealed mirrors by means of which to reflect each other's signs. If they predicted the arrival of a waggon about to appear round some corner, it would be self-evident that they were either in collusion with the driver, or trusting to the chapter of accidents for a vindication of their prophecy, under circumstances highly discreditable to their candour and their morals.

Those of us who are earnestly engaged with the exploration of certain aspects of Nature which, in a familiar phrase, we may describe as 'behind the scenes' of that manifested universe with which we are all acquainted, are very much in the position that would be occupied by the unusually endowed persons in such a race of humanity as either of those we have imagined. By the large majority of the busy crowd, intent on everyday concerns, people whose senses are awakened to aspects of Nature that have no relation to the usual avenues of perception, are generally regarded as either impostors or the victims of hallucination. Amongst the better-endowed themselves, the incredulity of their companions is almost more ludicrous than irritating. Although still a small minority as compared with the whole, those persons who exercise what occult students generally call the 'astral senses' in varying degrees, are sufficiently numerous to confirm one another's observations and reports. For them the existence of this region behind the scenes of Nature—more technically described as the 'astral plane'[1]—is as certain a fact as the existence of France for those who have been to Paris, while, for all rational contemporaries intelligent enough to profit by their evidence, the existence of the astral plane is as certain, let us say, as that of Kamtschatka for the inhabitants of Great Britain at large. People, indeed, who cling to the belief that there are no other phenomena in reserve for human cognition except those of the physical plane, must in the present day guard their ignorance with persistent care in order to maintain their opinions.

But, meanwhile, inquirers who are alive to the fact that mysteries of some kind certainly lie behind the plane of physical manifestation, are often but imperfectly acquainted with the extent to which that aspect of Nature has actually been explored, still less with the conclusions concerning it that are definitely formulated in the school of super-physical inquiry with which I am especially connected. A

[1] The term does not imply that this aspect of Nature has anything to do with the stars. It is not a very well chosen term, but has been extensively used by mediæval writers on occult science, and has been too generally adopted during the modern revival of research in that department of knowledge to be conveniently displaced now.

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systematic explanation, therefore, of some leading characteristics of the astral plane as viewed in the light of the discoveries reached by theosophical investigation may help to clear up a good many otherwise cloudy conceptions.

I will not pause long on the brink of that explanation to go over the evidence available at the present day, for anyone who cares to read, concerning the bare fact that abnormal aspects of Nature are perceptible to some persons, and have a real existence. The literature of mesmerism for a hundred years, before a degraded form of that branch of occult science proved more acceptable to the world under the title of Hypnotism than the broader discovery out of which it sprang, was saturated with evidence concerning the achievements of clairvoyance. Men of science, both in this country and abroad, have carried out investigations relating to the phenomena of genuine 'mediumship,' and have arrived at conclusive certainties that prove the reality of other forces in Nature besides those recognised by the physicist, acting in harmony with intelligence external to embodied consciousness. The writings of Crookes, A. R. Wallace, and Zollner, fortified by those of many other equally qualified observers, make all denials of that broad conclusion as absurd as the historical African's disbelief in ice. The Psychic Research Society has not, perhaps, done so much as it might have done under a better impulse, but at any rate it has made the fact of telepathy, or the communication of thought from mind to mind through other channels than those of the senses, a certainty for what it is worth. The tone of all-round incredulity on the subject of psychic phenomena at large professed by commonplace newspaper writers is merely so much homage to a prejudice that it pays to flatter, but which everyone who takes a loftier view of life must despise. The foremost thinkers of this generation, at least, are breaking the shell of materialistic conceit which cramped the intelligence of their immediate predecessors. Everyone whose higher instincts can be stimulated by the promise of definite knowledge concerning other states of being is alert with expectation. The enormous mass of that literature which is enabled by its character most quickly to reflect new currents of sympathy, is palpitating with eagerness to utilise the 'supernatural' for the purposes of fiction; and as regards the great majority of those whom I care to address, a laborious argument to prove the existence of a region of activity and objective life that may fairly be described as behind the scenes of Nature would be superfluous and out of date. The public need of the moment is not for a demonstration of abnormal facts, but for an interpretation of facts accumulating so rapidly around us that great numbers of people becoming aware of them are grievously liable to be the prey of misconceptions concerning their meaning.

As for the interpretations on which I want now to enter, those

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who know most of the advantages which theosophical methods confer upon psychic research will perhaps be best inclined to consider them with attention. But they are merely offered here, at all events, as *a view* of the whole subject which a great many earnest students and inquirers conceive to be reasonable, and in harmony with known facts; and which some persons, at all events, possessing faculties appropriate to investigations of the kind, report to be the sound and correct view of phases of Nature with which they are acquainted. That which we who believe it a duty to promulgate our discoveries are anxious to secure from others who are alive to the importance of the whole inquiry, is simply consideration for our statement as a working hypothesis, if they cannot regard it as anything more. Does this scheme of things account for and fit in with experience? Does it seem to make sense of a heterogeneous body of phenomena in a scientific and satisfactory way? If that were the actual state of the facts, would it answer some otherwise unanswerable problems of life, and help to solve any of the painful riddles of the earth? If so, surely it is worth comprehending, to the end that it may be checked by further observation as time goes on.

Above all things, it is important in endeavouring to comprehend the nature of the astral plane, to bear in mind that it is *not* that 'next world' for which, along some lines of inquiry, it may so easily be mistaken. It has a good deal to do with the consciousness of human beings after death; but the old-fashioned conception that after death states of humanity are hopelessly ruled off from our comprehension or approach, is one of the misconceptions soonest dissipated by the exercise of those finer qualities which bring within the observation of living beings aspects of Nature beyond the range of the ordinary five senses. The next world of ordinary imagination is so completely out of touch with the visible world that the wonder is humanity, deaf and blind to its characteristics, should be able to retain faith in its existence. Appreciation of the astral plane, however small a part that may play in the ultimate destinies of the human soul, need not be a matter of blind faith with any of us. As the teaching concerning its characteristics furnished by the most qualified observers becomes more widely spread than hitherto, all who are observers in any degree whatever will be enabled to check and verify some part of the explanation given in theosophical books.

The illustration with which I started conducts the mind to an exactly accurate comprehension of the way in which the generally imperceptible phenomena of the astral plane are, nevertheless, around us at every moment of our lives, ready to brighten into objective existence for persons who have developed certain interior senses latent in every human being, though cultivated as yet only amongst a comparative few; for no one must allow himself to think of the astral plane as though it merely contributed some occasional

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and abnormal phenomena to a world consisting, as regards the bulk of its phenomena, of the physical matter with which our normal senses are familiar. The astral plane is, to begin with, a phase of Nature as extensive, as richly furnished, as densely populous as the physical earth. It is in one sense a counterpart presentment of that physical earth under different conditions. There is no natural feature of the earth—no tree, or mountain, or river—there is no artificially constructed feature of the physical earth—no building, or manufactured thing of any kind—but has its astral counterpart as certainly as any morsel of magnetised iron has its two poles; and the astral counterparts of physical objects are often far more persistent in their character than the physical objects themselves, so that when these last may have passed away in the process of decay altogether, the pictures they leave behind them on the astral light (the pervading medium of the astral plane) will remain there for immeasurable periods of time. Thus it will come to pass that in the streets of a busy modern city the astral senses of an adequately qualified observer will be able to see, not merely the buildings that are actually standing, but the reflection, as it were, of those that have crumbled in bygone ages, and the moving pictures of former inhabitants who once sojourned amongst them. In the very act of constructing any material object, the finer astral matter related to that he uses is unconsciously moulded by the workman; and every carpenter, for instance, who makes a wooden box, however little he may be aware of doing so, is at the same time making by the energy of his mind an astral counterpart of that which he is producing on the physical plane by the energy of his fingers. A very silly argument, that some old-fashioned exponents of materialistic ignorance have sometimes brought to bear upon the 'ghost' question, has been this. 'I might, perhaps, be ready to tolerate the idea of a man's ghost, but you must not ask me to tolerate the ghost of a coat and trousers.' Scientific inquiry carried on behind the scenes of Nature soon enables us to realise that not only is there a 'ghost'—or, to use a better term, an astral counterpart—of every coat and trousers that ever existed, but of every shop-window and paving-stone, and every market-cart or hansom cab, or atom of matter in whatever form it may be thought of. When in pursuit of real knowledge we must beware of being warned off truth by a determination to believe in nothing mysterious which is not also poetical. Wonderful though it be in some of its characteristics, the astral plane when fully understood will be found as prosaic in its details as the physical plane itself. Perhaps, indeed, when we get deep enough down into the details of the subject, we shall find nothing in the heavens above or in the deep seas more poetical in its perfection than the constitution of a molecule; and that sort of poetry is most assuredly present wherever we carry on a study of the mysteries of Nature. For the moment,

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however, I am more concerned with an exposition of fact than with the inner beauty of the commonplace.

That subtle medium in which the pictures of the astral light are developed is material and objective to the senses qualified to deal with it, but it is none the less plastic under the influence of forces which do not as a general rule control physical matter. To an extent to which very few people in ordinary life have any means of realising, human thought is an efficient agency in dealing with the matter of the astral plane. 'Thoughts are things,' as a great occult writer has remarked, and in varying degrees, according to the energy of the thought, its mind-pictures are moulded into objective realities on the astral plane, and contribute very largely to the confusion that ensues for the untrained observer of its multifarious phenomena.

Powers of a finer kind than those which simply enable a person to see on the astral plane are required to enable him to sift out those of its phenomena which have been due to what, from our present point of view, we might call real or natural forces, from those which are, in the way I describe, contributed by the thinking of mankind.

The familiar mesmeric experiment of throwing a mind-picture on to the consciousness of a sensitive, who will then describe the mesmerist's thought as though it were an objective reality, is an instance of the confusion to which I am now referring; and observers of the astral plane have great reason to regret that at this stage of human evolution thought-influences are poured into the astral plane in terrible volume by thinkers who are concerned with anything rather than with beautiful or beneficent creation. The hatred, malice, and cruelty, the thirst to do evil to enemies, and aspirations of every degraded kind which rage through the fevered physical world, are constantly taking shape in distressing ways on the astral plane of Nature, where every one of them finds some too receptive medium for its impress. The evil thoughts of men do not merely take shape as painful records of malevolence, but actually unite themselves with some forms of life with which the astral plane is teeming. For, to understand it a little further, let the reader realise that just as its scenery and decorations, so to speak, are co-extensive with those of the material world, and mixed in inextricable confusion with phenomena of even greater abundance, so also its life is as full, as varied, as diverse as that which on the physical plane extends along the whole range of creation from the amœba to the elephant—far more varied in one way, because the outward aspects of great kingdoms of elemental creatures, roughly corresponding on the astral plane to the lower animal world of ordinary life, are not stereotyped in species that any natural history could classify, but fluctuate in their external forms under the ever-varying influence of those thought-energies which weld themselves but too readily with the nature of the life concerned. One of the best-known facts concerning the astral plane for all those

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whose development enables them to range its wonders has to do with the disagreeable and hostile forms of life which are generally encountered on its threshold.

I say 'on its threshold,' for it may be regarded as a region of Nature into which a human being is qualified, under some conditions, to pass even more completely than by the exercise of those senses of which I have hitherto spoken. In his normal state as a waking human being, if those senses are acute, anyone may perceive the phenomena of the astral plane around him; but if his occult development has proceeded further, and that interior focus of consciousness, so ill-understood, which constitutes the real mind, and is by no means immovably rooted in the flesh and bones, is enabled to escape for a time from its usual material imprisonment, and focus itself in a different vehicle from that adapted to the conditions of the physical plane, then the occult investigator can do much more than perceive the appropriate phenomena immediately around him. He then comes into true relations with the phase of Nature he has entered, so that he can range through it at pleasure, availing himself of those laws under which the transfer of consciousness on the astral plane from place to place is accomplished by a simple effort of will. Under the conditions now contemplated the astral observer is altogether out of the body, altogether on the astral plane—himself perceived as well as perceiving, and as likely to be assailed in one way or another by the creatures corresponding to the wild beasts and reptiles of our own life, as he would be liable to attack from such creatures when ranging an African jungle. There are, however, ways and means by which his security can be insured—very simple ways and means, having nothing to do with weapons or armour, but arising from the great principle that, on the astral plane, the human will-force is more powerful than that of inferior life-forms, so that no human being in that region can ever really be in peril unless he is too much terrified to use his own strength.

Enormously varied and abundant as the so-called 'elemental' population peculiar to the astral plane will thus be seen to be, humanity contributes very largely to the aggregate phenomena of consciousness which it exhibits. For though this curious and bewildering region is very far from constituting in any complete sense 'the next world' to which religious faith looks forward, it is, nevertheless, a phase or state of being through which, however swiftly in some cases, every human being must pass on his way to higher spiritual conditions after death. Modern civilisation has concerned itself so little with inquiries of this character that people are content to let the mind remain a perfect blank as regards what actually takes place when the soul is first set free from the body at death, even though faith in some ulterior spiritual condition may be fairly well established. But Nature is as methodical and regularly

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progressive in her treatment of the soul as in her dealings with the growing body of a child. In a body or vehicle of appropriate matter derived, indeed, in a great degree from the astral emanations of the dying body, the soul finds itself clothed on the astral plane, and there, for a while, it stands a complete being, with all its principles, or faculties, or states of consciousness about it, not even having lost touch with the earth-life it is leaving, although for a while, in most cases, dazed and bewildered by the translation to a new plane of consciousness. Sometimes the forces inherent in the more spiritual portion of the soul thus set free from physical incarnation will quickly hasten another process, which leads to a new transition. The real entity then passes on into states of being more exalted than those having to do with the astral plane, and immeasurably better calculated to provide for its spiritual happiness and welfare. But when this happens, then the vehicle which it occupied on the astral plane, whether for a brief or prolonged period, is in turn left behind, exactly as the physical body is left behind on the plane of matter. And this ethereal body or vehicle disintegrates very slowly, partially animated for a long time by some remnants of the old lower consciousness, so that the untrained explorer behind the scenes of Nature is often apt to mistake it for the departed entity, whose familiar outward shape it may continue to wear. A moment's reflection will show how numerous must be the astral phantasmagoria contributed to the bewildering phenomena of astral Nature by the deaths of the myriad human creatures who are constantly passing from one phase of existence to another. Then it does not always happen that the separation of the higher spiritual part of the entity takes place at once. It may be delayed for periods considerably longer than an ordinary physical lifetime, when the lower attractions of the consciousness are very strong. And thus it is not by any means to all of the ex-human inhabitants of the astral plane that the occultist applies the much-misunderstood and too often quoted expression, 'shells.' The term 'shell' is applicable merely to the astral dead body in process of disintegration.

Again, when death has taken place prematurely—that is to say, by violence, before the time had come for the natural separation of the higher and lower principles—the whole being on the astral plane is spellbound there for a time, unable to work out its loftier spiritual destinies, a condition of things eminently comfortless for the individual concerned, and, in cases where his inclinations towards the acquaintances of the physical life he has left behind are hostile or revengeful, one that is calculated to set up some very disturbing influences in the lives of those against whom his malevolent impulses are directed. Certainly, it also happens that on the astral plane human agencies of a benevolent character are also operative, many of the still living explorers of that region—adequately advanced

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along the path of spiritual development, leading towards a higher evolution than that which humanity around us presents at the present day—being themselves actively engaged on the super-physical planes, in work for the service of their fellow-creatures, though the nature and value of their service is ill-appreciated as a rule, and altogether unrecognised by the great majority of ordinary men and women.

As time goes on, of course, the faculties by means of which living people can recognise phenomena of the astral plane, and enter into conscious relations with the varied population it includes, will be greatly developed and strengthened. Nor is the practical occult teaching assimilated in the world during the last ten years by any means neglectful of those precise exercises and efforts which may be employed to stimulate the dormant astral senses, and bring the determined investigator into relations with the ethereal aspect of the world around us. But, at the same time, nothing is further from the prescriptions of occult teaching than a hasty eagerness to cultivate the faculties which open up the astral plane to observation. The ordinary mortal, plodding through a commonplace existence, without suspecting the unseen universe around him, is to all intents and purposes unnoticed by its inhabitants. He may come within the observation of persons who were interested in him during life, and have since passed on; but there is nothing about him to excite either the attention or the malevolence of the formidable part of the astral population. Let him, on the other hand, once succeed in penetrating this region in consciousness, and he takes his place amongst the obvious phenomena thereof, however little he may comprehend them. If there are any weak places in his armour (so to speak)—latent vices in his nature in affinity with those disagreeable forms of astral life to which such vices on the part of humanity at large have, in a certain sense, given birth, these will at once assail him, and put his courage very severely to the test. Unless the more spiritual side of his interior being is greatly in the ascendant, he will be apt to come off badly in such encounters, to suffer disastrously both in nerve, and perhaps in reason, on the plane of his ordinary physical life. Unhappily, it no doubt occurs that some explorers of the astral plane, by no means spiritualised as to their higher nature, may, nevertheless, be so indomitable in will that by mere strength they secure their own safety. In the long run it may be that such persons are more to be pitied than those who are roughly handled. If their strength, growing in advance of their loyalty to the cause of spiritual good, enables them to handle, for ignoble or selfish purposes, the powers of the astral plane which thus they conquer, they stand in grave peril of being hurried from one stage to another in the direction of spiritual evil. But for the present I am not concerned with any attempt to condense into a few pages an interpretation of the infinite possi-

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bilities awaiting humanity in the direction either of that evolution, or of the loftier kind to which occult study, properly appreciated, ought to point. This profoundly interesting but very confused and bewildering region of Nature which I have been endeavouring to describe, is that which lies immediately behind the scenes of physical manifestation; but behind that again there lie infinitudes of spiritual possibility, the correct interpretation of which would be a far greater task, and for even the faintest cognition of such phases or aspects of our highly complex world, faculties far rarer even than those to which astral phenomena are perceptible must be called into play.

Meanwhile, the general advance of human intelligence in the first instance will not have to do with these higher planes of being, but with that which I have been endeavouring to describe. To some extent, the modern world is in touch with it already. Many obscure mysteries of Nature which the last few generations, even more densely matter-blinded than ourselves, have turned from with contempt, are now engaging serious attention. The astral plane is the 'borderland' —or rather the ocean beach, on which the psychic inquirers of this end of the century are busily collecting shells. Such uninstructed groping as, for the most part, modern inquiry is content with, will never interpret any phenomena of the astral plane in a coherent or intelligible way, but it will render (for those who have eyes to see it has already rendered) the reality of that plane a demonstrated fact for modern knowledge. Only by those who can, so to speak, look down upon it from above—from the heights of a superior evolution—will its confusing presentments and potentialities be correctly comprehended. Theosophical students may not always be much better armed themselves than the giddiest explorers of psychic research, but they at least have the immense advantage of being tolerably grounded in theory before they plunge into the domain of experiment. They resemble the chemical student, who first of all acquaints himself by study with the results of previous investigation, and proceeds with his laboratory work on the foundation of a knowledge thus accumulated. Too often modern inquirers, endeavouring to make their way behind the scenes of Nature, might more fitly be compared to a would-be chemist who, without having read a line on the subject, should surround himself with all the resources of a laboratory, and set to work mixing his materials at random, or cooking them in crucibles, to see what would happen. That young chemist would be probably disposed of in a short time by some unforeseen catastrophe; and it sometimes happens that the psychic researcher who ignores the work of his predecessors is confronting consequences that will hardly in the long run be any less serious.

The reflection might seem to discredit the judgment of occultists who attract attention to the subject, and thus, perhaps, awaken zeal for personal effort among people who may be qualified in some

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respects, though not in all, to transcend the limitations of physical life. But in all directions the thing is being done, however blindly and clumsily. It is no longer possible for the masters of occult knowledge to keep back their secrets altogether, lest the present generation should come to grief by acquiring them prematurely. So, on the whole, it has seemed best to let in some clear light on a region of inquiry that the curiosity of the next century will certainly no longer neglect. With this clear light has come the teaching that has shown how small in themselves and worthless relatively are the mere faculties and privileges of the astral plane, wonderful and interesting though they are, even in themselves, no doubt. The possible achievements of spiritual evolution dwarf the interests and the motives of astral development. But these, to begin with, may lessen, for those whose higher senses are expanding, the commanding importance of mere mundane ambitions; and with the scientific illumination of occult Nature that has been provided by modern theosophic writings the clue has also been given to the methods of personal development, through which the aspirant to real spiritual progress may attain to a higher place in the scale of creation. To whoso avails himself of this the astral plane becomes in due season an inheritance he can subdue and make use of; not an objective result in itself, but a mighty instrument in his hands, subserving his loftier evolution.

A. P. SINNETT.

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A PART OF A GHOST

A MYSTERY

Now I do not believe in 'ghosts'—*i.e.* generally—I do not credit all the stories I have read or heard concerning the appearances visible, if not tangible, of the departed, nor, indeed, the great majority of those tales I have listened to in times gone by; but I do not feel called upon to affirm that all such exhibitions of *revenants* are impossible, nor do I take it upon myself to declare that I have no faith in 'fairies,' and to deny that they can be and have been seen on occasion in suitable places. The accounts in works of high authority of the doings of warlocks and witches are received by me with a respect the nature and depth of which I do not care to analyse. The web of that stuff of 'which dreams are made' furnishes abundant material for the poet, the dramatist, and the novelist to this day. In the literature of every people there is evidence of the belief, universal in the early ages of the world, in the existence of spirits, good and bad, in supernatural visitations and influences, and in the agencies of elves, goblins, djins, afreets, and the like on the every day—and night—affairs of men's lives and fortunes. These agents cannot be called 'beings;' if they be 'creatures,' it would be difficult to determine how or why they were created. Some of them were powers of the air, of the water —Ariels or Undines, who could use physical force to effect their ends when they pleased. Who can draw the frontier lines of the kingdom of the lemures—the inhabitants of the land of nightmares—or determine the borders of the shadowy realms whence came the ghosts who 'squeaked and gibbered in the Roman streets' ere Cæsar fell, the visions which spoke most audibly as they passed in dreadful procession before the agonised Richard in his tent on Bosworth field? At all events I shall not attempt to do so; I only mention some of them to point out that when they did appear it was in their *entirety*. They did not throw off fragments! or dislocate their limbs—like the skeletons in the '*danse Macabre*' at Maskelyne and Cook's.

Now my story relates to a part of a spirit or of a ghost, if there be a difference between the two, and I shall at once proceed to tell it, and to leave it to you, my readers, to form your own opinion concerning the mystery. Some thirty years ago a friend of mine, still

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alive and pretty hale and hearty, was paying a round of visits on the east coast far north in the Highlands. It so happened that he was detained on his way to the house of one of his friends by an accident to his carriage, which compelled him to leave his servant and luggage behind him, and to continue his journey in the 'machine' of the country inn over a very bad road, so that he arrived at his destination late at night, to the discomfiture of his host, who, not expecting him when dinner time had passed, had invited a neighbouring squire to occupy the room that had been reserved for the visitor, 'and he turned in before you arrived to-night, so I must ask you, my dear fellow, to put up with a makeshift in a spare room, which we are making as comfortable as we can. It is a little high up, though for a man who has been up Mont Blanc that does not matter I hope, eh? But there are some other little drawbacks. The clock in the turret above makes a confounded clicking! There is no bell in the room; but if your man does not turn up I will send my valet to you early, and we will rig you up for the deer drive all right in the morning.'

After supper, and a short adjournment to the billiard room for a pipe, my friend gladly accepted the proposal of his host to show him his room. It was, indeed, very high up—for the castle was one of the old keep-like buildings, dating from the fifteenth century, which are not uncommon in the Highlands and on the Borders. The laird led the way. Corridor and staircase were traversed and mounted till a corkscrew flight led to a narrow landing, which was lighted up by the blazing fire in the bedroom, of which the door stood open to give a warm welcome to the stranger.

'Here we are! You will find everything ready for you—papers and letters that arrived by last post this evening. Pleasant dreams and good night!' And now I will let my friend tell what happened.

When my host left me, he said, I had a look all round. 'Decidedly better than camping out in any tent I know of.' It was a square low room, tapestried all round. One side was occupied by a grand old four-poster with heavy curtains; a large chest of drawers and dressing table were opposite; two old-fashioned arm-chairs, and the letters and papers of which the laird spoke were spread out on the table; night dress and slippers before the fire—all very snug and bright. The tapestry on the walls was faded and stained, but it was entire, and it had evidently been transferred from some other room to cover the nakedness of the stone walls, which it had been cut to fit. I could make nothing of the subjects—naked mostly—Diana and Actæon perhaps—or Bacchus and Ariadne—or it might be Adam and Eve. A horrible croaking and grating noise up the chimney was, it seemed, the preliminary of the beat of the clock, which in a querulous, wheezy fashion struck twelve o'clock. I looked over my letters—nothing important—undressed and tumbled into bed. It was delightfully soft, and the sheets were cool and sweet. I was tired and I was

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soon asleep—at least I think I was—when I felt something touch me. The impression was distinctly like a small hand, very cold, drawn slowly across my face. It awoke me, if I was asleep, instantly. I sat up in bed and called out, 'Hallo! who is there?' No answer. The room was lighted up clearly by the fire. I could see nothing. What could it have been? The silk tassel of a bell-pull pendent from the top of the four-poster caught my eye. Perhaps it was that? I lay down and flopped about on my pillow, and the bell-rope swayed and the tassel bobbed and swung to and fro, but it was far above my face. Besides it was not cold. 'Could it have been a rat walking across my face? Ugh! But no! the thing was cold and damp.'

Then it occurred to me that there were some very frolicsome young gentlemen among the smart people staying in the castle—I had left three or four in the billiard room—and it was just possible that they might end off their evening by playing a practical joke on the late arrival, a species of amusement then very much in vogue, in common with 'sells' and other atrocities. The thought made me furious. I got up, lighted a candle, looked under the bed first, and proceeded to make an examination of everything in the room. The tapestry was continuous, as I have said, round the room; but it was detached at one place, and raising it up there, I perceived a door in the wall opposite that which led to my room from the landing at the top of the staircase. I tried to open the door, but it was locked from the outside. I thought I heard whispers and something like a laugh, which confirmed my notion, and I addressed the imaginary culprits in very strong language: 'If you don't let me go to sleep, I swear I will keep you there for the night whoever you are! Do you hear?' No answer. I pulled over the table and placed it against the door; to it I added the arm-chairs, the dressing table. washhand stand, &c., and then, having barred the exit to my satisfaction, I returned to bed and awaited events. I listened intently. Half an hour passed, not a whisper. Not a sound save the click clack of the clock. It was half-past one. Perhaps it was that tassel after all? I may have jumped up in my sleep! It *was* the tassel! I *fancied* it was cold. And so cogitating I passed at last into dreamland, where I abode for a brief moment. In my old campaigning days I was roused by the slightest touch. No noise would awake me save 'réveille,' 'boot and saddle,' or the like. But, indeed, no human hand, death cold as it was, could have been more definite than that which I felt now—four fingers and thumb passed lightly across my face from right to left. The fire still burned brightly. 'This is disgraceful! You are paltry cads to play these tricks; but by Heavens you shall account to me for it all, be sure.'

I jumped out of bed in a towering rage. I was not in the least

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terrified, but I was very angry, for I still believed I was being subjected to a stupid practical joke. It was past three o'clock, and it seemed inconceivable that people, young or old, would be wasting the hours so foolishly. But they must be somewhere about. I listened once more outside the barricaded door; then I bethought me that there might be some communication from the balcony. Raising the window I looked out, and perceived that the door I had been closing up so carefully opened out on a flight of stone steps which terminated in the courtyard. Equipping myself in dressing-gown and slippers, I opened my bedroom door, and descended the corkscrew staircase to the first corridor—it was the bachelor quarter. A long vista of boots and shoes outside the bedroom doors suggested that their owners were in bed; the *spiritus asper* from inside indicated that they were asleep. There was no other sound. I retraced my steps to my room and securely locked my door. I examined my face in the glass well. Savage and serious, that was all. Excited certainly, but no fever, no wildness in the eye. I replaced the table before the fire, on which I piled fresh peat and wood, drew one of the armchairs alongside it, and *pour me distraire*—for I really was what Americans call 'a little wild'—I opened my letters, tried to read, made memoranda, and listened to the iron tongue of the clock—Sam Ward's 'deadly auctioneer,' who 'counts the moments one by one!'—till, at what time I know not, being in a heavy slumber, I knew *the* hand had been across my face! No room for doubt! The touch lingered there! '*Something*,' whatever it was, had resolved I should not sleep—or sleeping, that I should soon be awakened—in that room. I would abandon the field! It is cowardly to fly if there is an enemy to encounter, but here I had no chance. Pulling on shoes, stockings, and nether garments, I wrapped myself in the dressing-gown, unlocked my door, gave a look around, and with a pious wish for the welfare of my persecutors I stole forth, candle in hand, descended the staircase flight after flight till I reached the billiard room. The white cover on the table would be an excellent quilt. I took it off, and with the cushions made myself a comfortable couch on one of the sofas. Worn out by a long journey and by these constant alarms, I ceased to trouble myself with angry speculations and sank at last into a profound sleep. It was a short one! I was awakened this time by a piercing scream. As I started up in mortal horror I saw a figure in white vanishing from the room! It was broad daylight! The sun was streaming brightly in on my couch through the window. The early housemaid had come in to open the shutters, perceived a prostrate form in shroud-like white on the sofa, screamed, and vanished!

It was seven o'clock; I walked to the open window and looked out. There was a strip of garden a few feet below, through which a path led down to the river, which I saw sparkling in the

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sunshine; the air was fresh and the morning fair, and so I stepped out on the lawn, and taking the path which led temptingly through the garden I came to a boat-house on the bank. Inside were stored punts, canoes, cobles, and a roomy launch, which I proceeded to make my headquarters, piling up the cushions in the lockers so as to form a luxurious couch, on which I lay awake pondering on the situation. 'Here at all events I shall escape the persecution, whatever it was.' And what could it be but a shameful device of some malignant night-walker? I reasoned out the whole question with myself till nature asserted herself despite my awful warnings, and once more my heavy eyelids closed in slumber.

I was awakened by and by, but it was not by a cold hand. The laird was shaking me by the shoulder with all his vigorous might: 'You have given us all such a fright! What has happened? My servant found your room in the greatest disorder when he went up to you this morning. However, I thought you might have gone out for an early stroll, though you were badly provided for it. Your servant arrived at eight o'clock, and I sent one of the men with him to look for you. At breakfast time my daughter told the housekeeper one of the maids had been frightened out of her wits by a white figure in the billiard room this morning; presently comes in a report that one of the gardener's boys had seen a wild-looking man in a strange dress making for the river as he was going to his work. So we all turned out to look for you. What the deuce does it all mean? It is near ten o'clock—just time to get back, dress, breakfast, and start for our shoot. We drive the woods at eleven o'clock.'

Clothed, if not altogether in my right mind, I went to the breakfast room, where the daughter of the house was waiting for me alone at the tea table.

'A thousand pardons for keeping you! I really am ashamed of all the trouble I have given you.'

'It is we who should be ashamed of putting you into that wretched room where you could not sleep. Was it the clock kept you awake?'

'Well, no! I don't think it was the clock.'

'What, then, do you think it was—the strange bed?'

'It is hard to say—a stupid joke that must have kept some one busy all night.'

'A joke? I don't understand you.'

'Some one thought it good fun and worth his while to draw something like a glove stuffed with ice across my face whenever I went to sleep, and——'

She dropped the cup and sat staring at me with a strange expression. 'Like a hand? How dreadful! Pray have you told my father about it? I am so sorry for it.' She paused and looked at me earnestly.

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'No, not yet! I am more grieved than I can say to be the cause of all this trouble, but I shall find out all about it by and by.'

'Have you ever heard any story about this place before you came here? Perhaps——' she stopped, and then with great earnestness exclaimed, 'I am sure it was not done to annoy you! not done by any one in the castle! Long ago there were odd noises heard there, it is said; but the steward before the present one lived in the room, and indeed it was often used for a visitor when the house was full for the night. Oh! I am very sorry you had to sleep—try to sleep there, I mean—last night.'

Her agitation was extreme. I was glad when I was told the guns were ready. But it set me thinking. It was very curious. Why was she so sure that none of the guests had plagued me—that it was not a joke? Why was her father embarrassed, and indeed displeased, when I told him as we were returning from the day's shooting that I intended to find out if any of the party in the castle were engaged in the joke?

'No! I must beg of you as a great favour not to speak to any of them, or to allude to the matter at present. They are my guests, and I am responsible for them. I can assure you not one of them had anything whatever to say to the "joke," as you call it. You will have no further visitations, I promise you, and I hope you will make up, by a good night's rest in another room, for the owls or bats that molested you in the turret.' That icy hand! Owls or bats!

When I was dressing for dinner that night my old soldier servant, who was as arrant coward in the case of ghostly enemies as he was gallant in the field, observed, 'It's well, sir, they've changed the room on you! I would have been afeered to have took up your hot water in the dark! I heard all about it from the butler in saycret, but it's as much as their places is worth to say a word in the servants' hall.'

'Of what, Pat?'

'Oh, then, and it's your honour knows! I'd rather not spake till we're out of the castle.'

I felt bound by the wishes of my host and his fair daughter not to allude to the subject whilst I was an inmate of the castle then, and when years afterwards I was told the story connected with the place I listened to it under a promise that I would refrain from giving any account of my experiences in the turret till a period of time, which has now elapsed, should have passed over my head.

Some 300 years ago there was enacted in that turret room a cruel deed. The Earl of Strathfillan, who had just come of age, had been summoned home from Sweden by his mother, who had arranged a marriage for him with an heiress, who would bring to the decaying house much-needed wealth. He had been sent by her two years before to her brother, who held a high position in the Court of Gustavus, from the evil influences which convulsed Scotland and filled the land with

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violence and bloodshed during the reign of unfortunate Mary; and it was with infinite impatience she awaited his arrival to present him to the bride who was to restore the fortunes of Strathfillan; delighted too at the impatience her son manifested, in the letter which announced his departure, to see her dear face and the old place again. But in those days posts and packets were slow, or at all events uncertain. There were long delays, and the Countess presently began to notice that Helen Stewart, the lovely and penniless girl whom she had sheltered under her roof when her father, Lord Auchintyre, fell at the battle of Pinkie, seemed to know a great deal, in some mysterious way, about the movements of Lord Strathfillan, her cousin. Helen Stewart knew when the young lord had seen King Eric, when he was to meet his uncle, and how he was to journey from the camp to the Court at Helsingfors, while she, his loving, anxious mother, had most meagre tidings. So the Countess watched, and one fine day, when a carrier from Inverness brought a mail to the castle, she had the packets and letters brought to her room, and came upon most tender, loving epistles addressed to 'My only sweetheart and dearest love, Helen,' signed 'Your ever loving Angus.' She rushed to the girl's room, the tapestried turret, blind with rage. 'You false, scheming hussy! Beggar that you are! how dare you? You to be the wife of Strathfillan! But I will spoil your game. Off you go this instant to your aunt's charge at Montpelier. In an hour, do you hear?'

Helen Stewart—pale, proud, and defiant—stood with folded arms.

'Never!' she exclaimed. 'I swore to Angus that I would never leave this castle of his till he returned to make me its mistress. In the eye of Heaven we are man and wife!'

The old woman's fury knew no bounds.

'You shall go this instant, hussy! See if you do not!'

At her summons half a score of gillies entered the room.

'Take Mistress Helen Stewart down to the court, and let her be brought at once, when her pack is ready, to the convent at Beauly. You had better, Helen, obey at once.'

'No, aunt, I'll keep my vow!'

The gillies advanced to seize her. Helen rushed to the door which opened on the steps to the court, seized the bolt, and sought to force it back. The savage old châtelaine, drawing a poniard from her belt, chopped at the wrist of the girl as she grasped the handle of the door with such force that the keen blade nearly severed the wrist. The servants bore the poor victim, bleeding to death, to the court; in moving her the hand dropped on the floor! Helen Stewart never left the castle alive. Then came remorse—too late. Angus of Strathfillan was lost at sea in the great storm in which so many vessels were wrecked on the coast of Caithness in the same year.

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The Countess of Strathfillan was tried and found guilty of wounding 'to the effusion of blood,' but a great lady had little to fear from the sentence of a court of law at a time when Scotland was convulsed with the bloody feuds between the partisans of Mary and her ferocious nobles, and justice was not done.

She was allowed to escape to France, and was finally pardoned by the Regent Murray. But the story of the death of her niece was handed down, and the castle was regarded with superstitious fear among the people, who believed the falling fortunes of the house were associated with Helen Stewart's fate. The castle was deserted for several generations by the family, but on the suppression of the rising of 1745 the representative of the line made it his residence. The room in the tower was occupied occasionally; now and then it was said that those who were quartered there were subjected to unpleasant visitations, but these were by no means invariable. I cannot solve the mystery of my own experience. I received afterwards, from each of the gentlemen at the castle, his assurance, on his word of honour, that he had not left his room on the night when I was subjected to the ordeal. I shall certainly never forget 'the Dead Hand.'

W. H. Russell.

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THE WAR-CHESTS OF EUROPE

THE Continent of Europe offers the aspect of a huge armed camp; all the leading Powers are straining their military and financial resources to the utmost to outflank each other. Notwithstanding these colossal armaments, the Governments and sovereigns are prolific in peaceful assurances, and they are probably sincere, being aware to what consequences a great war might lead in the present circumstances; it would be a cataclysm such as the modern world has not seen, and this reflection keeps the sword in the scabbard. Unfortunately these repeated litanies do not add much to the confidence of the nations, for many reasons of conflict subsist, and passions are often stronger than cool reasoning. As a striking example of this tendency we may quote the sneering comments with which the friendly utterances of the King of Italy towards France, in an interview with M. Calmette in March last, were received by nearly all French papers. 'Let Italy disarm first and renounce the Triple Alliance,' was the answer. In the same way a late article of the *Figaro*, purporting to be an interview with a French general, now revealed to be the Marquis Gallifet, who was represented as advocating disarmament, which would be a blessing to France, was declared 'a scandal;' the affair was brought forward in the Chamber, and the Minister of War denied that the general could have uttered such absurdities. 'Our duty,' he said, 'is to go wherever you send us, to have us killed if you command it; to do our best, but not to chatter upon these things.'

Such facts do not look hopeful for the partisans of disarmament. M. Jules Simon has lately proposed in the *Contemporary Review* (May) that all Governments should bind themselves by a solemn international treaty to reduce military service to one year, which would much lessen the tribute of men and money. An anonymous author of the same Review, in the June number, in an article 'Halt,' acknowledges that this change, which would turn the armies into a militia, is impossible, because Germany has only now, after much resistance, reduced the term of service to two years, and because Russia would reply that her moujiks could not be turned into soldiers in less than three years. But the same author thinks it possible to put

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a stop to armaments by an international agreement 'that until the close of the present century no Power will increase the sum of money annually devoted to military and naval expenditure beyond the maximum war budget of the current year.' It is easy to see that this proposal, for which the author appeals to the Pope, the Emperor of Russia, and the English democracy, is in fact quite as impossible as M. Simon's plan, for no great Power would be prepared to bind its hands in this way.

No, all systems of international checks against bloated armaments are futile; disarmament comes only when it imposes itself by exhaustion, as it did in 1815, after the great Napoleonic wars, and until that is the case the Power for war remains the great test of the strength of States. Besides, our author is, as we shall show, very imperfectly informed about the most important question, the finances of the different States. For a war such as we have contemplated in the present sound finances are indispensable, and we therefore shall have to consider the state of the war-chests of the principal countries likely to be involved in war, leaving outside the English finances, which may be discussed by a more competent British author.

I

We begin by considering the financial condition of the States forming the Triple Alliance. Doubtless of the three Italy is in the worst situation. After twenty-four years of peace that kingdom finds itself at the verge of bankruptcy, simply because it has been living too fast. It was but natural that after its final constitution the Government had to do much in order to retrieve what had been neglected under the former despotic *régime*. But it has done its work, good in itself, in too great a haste, as the ordinary receipts from taxation prove, which were in round numbers:

1871	966,000,000 lire
1873	1,046,000,000 „
1882	1,302,000,000 „
1892	1,531,000,000 „
1893	1,601,000,000 „

which represents an increase of more than 30 per cent., and of 38 l. to 50 l. per head. Moreover, these sums are mostly levied by indirect taxes, which principally fall upon the lower classes; the monopoly of salt raises its price to 350 l. per ton, 30 centimes per lb., so that the consumption per head decreased in 1888–92 from 22 lbs. to 14 lbs. The duty on petroleum is higher than the original price of the article, one pound of sugar costs 80 c. The duty on corn was 70 l. per ton of wheat and 115 l. for flour, which raises the general price of corn correspondingly, and weighs particularly on the working classes,

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living upon bread and polenta. Nor is this all: the local taxes, which in 1881–91 rose from 606,000,000 l. to 769,000,000 l., fall again chiefly on articles of consumption and dwellings; even the small towns have their excise (*dazio*). Notwithstanding these rapidly increasing taxes, they were insufficient to cover the ordinary expenses. In 1877 the Finance Minister, Magliani, had succeeded to re-establish the equipoise of the budget, and at the same time to abolish the grievous grist tax, and we then find a series of years with a surplus differing from 7,000,000 l. to 50,000,000 l. But from 1887–8 the deficits again begin and go on swelling, so that that of 1893–94 is estimated at 170,000,000. One of the principal items of extraordinary expenditure is that of railway deficiencies, the State being obliged to cover the deficit, which amounts to about 200,000,000 l. a year. As with the railroads, the false parliamentarism, according to which every member tries to get most for his district at the charge of the State, has damaged the administration; numberless functionaries were appointed and badly paid. But the greatest charge upon the budget were the army and navy. This has nothing to do with Italy's accession to the Triple Alliance. Crispi, in a speech in the Senate (March 1890), officially declared that he had only accepted office in 1887 after having convinced himself that the Treaties of Alliance were purely defensive, and therefore did not incite Italy to armaments. But it seems rather illogical if, he continued, 'the twelve army corps and the fortifications are the simple consequence of our own military organisation and the votes of Parliament, and their sole object is to defend our rights and our frontiers.' The minister had probably forgotten that shortly before he urged 'that the military strength of Italy should be brought to such a point as to enable her, in case of war between her neighbours, to put in her word and impose her wishes' (*framettersi ed imporsi*), a proposition which was strongly condemned by the Marquis Alfieri as opposed to Italy's real interests (*Fanfulla*, March 28, 1890).

The real cause of the increased armaments was not the Triple Alliance, which in itself was a sufficient defence of Italian rights, but the wish to rival the military establishments of the greater Powers, in order to play a more prominent part in international politics. What large sums these armaments absorbed is shown by the average numbers of the army and navy budgets. They were:

	Army	Navy	Total
1872–74 . .	175,000,000	33,000,000	208,000,000
1877–81 . .	204,000,000	41,000,000	245,000,000
1882–86 . .	236,000,000	64,000,000	300,000,000
1889–90 . .	279,000,000	119,000,000	398,000,000
1893–94 . .	237,500,000	98,000,000	336,000,000 *

* Besides 10,000,000 l. for extraordinary expenses.

Now Crispi was quite right in saying that Parliament itself had voted this increased outlay, but it did so only because the Finance Minister,

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Magliani, who, in consequence of his hitherto successful administration, enjoyed unbounded confidence, declared that this new expense could be borne without jeopardising the equipoise of the budget, an assertion which proved to be a grievous error. The deficits had to be covered by new loans; the national debt of the kingdom rose within the 23 last years of peace by about 4 milliards. It was in 1872 8,426 milliards; 1882, 11,774 milliards; 1892, 12,123 milliards, so that now the interest absorbs 582 millions, more than one-third of the whole revenue, not counting the floating debt of about 700 millions, and the communal debts, which from 901 millions in 1881 rose to 1,208 millions in 1889 (this year being the last public statement).

Such a policy necessarily had a damaging influence on the economical condition of the country; it is true that the mercantile marine went up from 1,270,000 tons in 1881 to 1,430,000 tons in 1892, and the sea trade from 3,880,000 tons to 6,720,000; the foreign commerce from 1½ milliards in 1872 to 2½ milliards in 1885; but, not satisfied with such progress, the Italian manufacturers demanded and obtained an ample protection by heavy duties on the imports of foreign goods. This was a total reversion of Cavour's policy, who knew well that Italy, lacking iron and coal, could never become a really industrial State, but had in the main to rely upon the products of her soil, and therefore the great statesman was a staunch free-trader.

But it is agriculture, the development of which ought to have formed the principal solicitude of Government, that has suffered most deeply under this retrograde policy; the mortgages upon landed property have risen from 11,755 millions in 1881 to 15,948 millions in 1892; yet, according to the official statistics, 5,600,000 hectares of the total amount of 29,600,000 are uncultivated. Admitting that a large part of this land consists of rocks, downs, and swamps, so that the agricultural minister reduces that number to 2,200,000 hectares, it is certainly very large. Besides, the cultivation of landed property is very imperfect; the amount it yields is only 4,736,705 hectolitres, so that Italy, with three-fourths of the French population, produces 3 milliards less of agricultural products than France; the average yield of the hectare is 11 hectolitres, in France and Germany 25. This explains the astounding fact, that a fertile country, as Italy certainly is, imports corn to the value of 146,500,000 l., yet the duty upon foreign corn has now been raised from 5 l. to 7 l.

This unfortunate condition is explained by the fact that, with the exception of the north and of Toscana, the large estates prevail, which are cultivated not by the proprietors, but by farmers or administrators, who, little caring for improvements, seek to get as much as they can from the soil and principally to depress agricultural wages. The consequence is that the agricultural labourer, oppressed by taxation, and having no prospect of becoming a small proprietor, emigrates.

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According to the official *Statistica della emigrazione italiana* of December 1893, a million of inhabitants have left definitively the country within the years 1885–92.

Finally, we must mention the unfortunate state of the currency. Since 1866 Italy had only paper money with forced course; in 1881 the revenue had so much improved that Magliani thought it possible to re-establish a metallic currency, and for that purpose made a loan of 600,000,000 l., of which 491,000,000 l. were paid in in gold, but the bad financial management, the corrupt administration of banks, the constant loans of the Government, and the unfavourable balance of trade soon drove out not only the dearly purchased gold, but even the small silver pieces, which went to the other countries of the Latin monetary union, so that now Italy is again under the exclusive *régime* of inconvertible bank-notes with a gold premium of 10 per cent.

The present ministry of Crispi deserves credit for having told the truth about the financial situation of the country, which, by its predecessors, was always disguised; but the way in which it intends to re-establish the equipoise of the budget can scarcely be approved, for it principally consists in imposing 73,000,000 l. of new taxes upon an already overtaxed population, and he has carried this plan reducing some of the proposed internal taxes, whilst he has insisted upon the iniquitous reduction of interest of all Italian securities, even when they are the property of foreigners—a distinct breach of trust.

Economies are to be made, indeed, principally in lessening the cost of administration, and for this purpose Crispi obtained exceptional powers for a Government commission, as experience has shown that it is impossible to pass such reductions in Parliament on account of the opposition of local interests. But he and the Ministers of War and the Navy declared that no reduction of the cost of the army and navy was possible without endangering the safety of Italy. Now we perfectly admit that 12 army corps cannot be sustained at a less cost than that which Crispi requires; but he has not explained why 12 army corps are necessary when formerly 10 were deemed sufficient; and when he declared that Italy could not incur a second Lissa, it may be asked, was that battle lost by the insufficient number of ships, or not rather by the incapacity of Admiral Persano, whose big iron-clads were routed by the old frigates of Tegethof? As neither Austria nor Germany has ever demanded a certain contingent of the Italian army, we ask whether it is not much more in the interest of these two allied States to be able to count upon a smaller but efficient army and navy and sound finances to manage them.

Crispi has got his new taxes, but he will not abolish the deficit, because already the existing imposts yield constantly much less than in former years, and because he does not seem even to think of the

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true means of improving the economical condition of the country.[1] As long as this policy is followed up we have no hope for Italy.

As to the financial condition of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, we have first to remember that it is a dual monarchy, both parts of which are independent States, and have in common only a budget for the army, navy, and the foreign relations, to which Austria contributes 70 per cent. and Hungary 30 per cent., certainly too little for its financial resources. This common budget amounts for 1894 (Law of June 22, 1893) to 147,925,992 florins, of which 129,459,228 florins fall upon the army, and 12,577,680 florins on the navy. This sum is certainly not over large, but both parts are saddled with a heavy debt: first there is a common one of 2,824,000,000 florins, the charge on which, principally due to unfortunate wars, is 128,133,415 florins; Cisleithania further has to pay for her special debt 149,600,000 florins of yearly interest, Hungary 100,700,000 florins. This is certainly a heavy burden, and both parts had for years to struggle with considerable deficits, but in recent times the financial situation has much improved. In Hungary the deficit was principally due to lavish expenditure and bad administration, but the country has great resources; the public property alone in domains, forests, mines, railways, &c., is estimated at 2,313,000,000 florins, and with a better administration the revenue gradually rose, so that the deficit has now turned into a surplus of about 30,000,000 florins. The great drawback to Hungary's prosperity is the ruthless suppression of the different nationalities by the Magyar reigning minority, which amounts to only 7½ millions of a total population of 17½ millions. Of the other nationalities only the Croats enjoy fixed rights; over all the rest the Magyars rule supreme, and tend to magyarise them as much as possible. The consequences are constant internal strifes and a large emigration of the oppressed races, which form the most thrifty and wealthy part of the whole population.

Austria proper, Cisleithania, has also greatly to suffer from national contests. Here the Germans, with 8,461,997, form the majority, but there are 14 millions of other nationalities represented in the Reichsrath of Vienna, which carry on a constant war against each other, greatly embittered by the ten years' administration of Count Taaffe, who tried to play out one against the other, but in fact favoured the Slavs, and particularly the Czechs. At last this shifting policy broke down, and the present coalition ministry of Prince Windischgraetz promises to do much better. One of its principal members, Herr von Plener, the Finance Minister, has at once put forward a reform of taxation. We cannot enter into the details of the proposed measures; suffice it to say that they tend principally to equalise the burden of

[1] Only at the last moment he has brought forward a bill for ameliorating the condition of landed property in Sicily, but it meets with the strongest opposition.

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taxation and to introduce an income tax, the yield of which will be probably 20 million florins, this sum being destined to reduce gradually the existing other direct taxes. At the same time he eagerly pursues, in unison with Hungaria, the aim to abolish the reign of paper money, under which the monarchy has suffered since 1848, and to introduce a gold currency, a difficult enterprise which can only be gradually achieved, but the beginnings of which promise well. As a decided success may be finally mentioned the Austrian administration of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which, under the able leadership of Herr von Kallay, has turned this country, which under Turkish government was torn up by internecine struggles, into a prosperous and self-sustaining province.

The leading Power of the Triple Alliance, Germany, is also the strongest both in her army and in her finances. For the military side of the question we advise to consult Colonel Maurice's excellent book, *The Balance of Military Power in Europe*, which, written in 1888, is still true; we may only add that since it was published the German army, by the act of October last, which reduced the term of service to two years, but sanctioned an increase of 70,000 men, is stronger to-day than ever before. But financially also Germany is fully prepared for war. To begin with, she has her 'Kriegsschatz,' a war-treasure of 120,000,000 marks (6,000,000*l.*), lying in coined gold in the Julius Tower at Spandau. Besides this fund Germany has another one in the 'Reichsinvalidenfonds.' After the French war a fund of 561,000,000 marks was set apart, consisting of first-class bonds, the interest of which was applied to the payment of military pensions. The expense for this purpose is constantly decreasing by deaths, whilst the interest remains the same, and in the budget of 1893–4 figures for 24,672,078 marks. In case of need it would be easy to turn the bonds into ready money, amounting to about 500,000,000 marks, and to transfer the pensions to the budget charges. Secondly, Germany has not a large debt, like all other great States; in a budget of 1,035,000,000 its interest absorbs only 67,000,000. It is true that this debt has been amassed within a short time, for until 1876 the Empire had no debt at all, and the loans, incurred since, were mostly made for extraordinary military expenses; it is also true that such borrowing cannot go on for ever; nevertheless the insignificance of the debt as it stands now is a great advantage compared with the indebtedness of France or Russia. The debts of the single States are equally comparatively small; nominally, indeed, we find considerable sums; the Prussian debt, for instance, is 6,243,773,430 marks, with an annual expense of 243,192,188 marks; but this sum is more than counterbalanced by income of productive public property; so the State railways, in the last fiscal year 1893–4, yielded an income of 358,947,572 marks, 41,300,000 more than the year before, and con-

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siderably more than the interest of the whole debt; domains and forests give 45,723,294 marks net, mines, iron- and salt-works, 19,362,462. The same is the case with most of the other German States; in the Bavarian budget, for instance, of 328,300,000 marks we find a net income from public property of 60,822,929 marks. The Empire itself has indeed little productive property, viz., the railways of Alsace-Lorraine, which yield about 21,000,000, and the share of the State from the income of the Imperial bank, 7,100,000; all the other expenses rest on taxes and matricular contributions of the single States. The relation of these two items of income is rather complicated. The Empire draws its principal revenue from indirect taxes: customs, tobacco, sugar, salt, brandy, and beer taxes. Even these are not all Imperial taxes: Bavaria, Würtemberg, Baden, have maintained by the treaties constituting the Empire their own taxes on beer and brandy, and only the latter was made some years ago an Imperial tax; moreover, in order to carry his protectionist reform of the tariff of the 15th of July, 1879, Prince Bismarck admitted the so-called Franckenstein clause, according to which, of the produce of customs and the tobacco tax only 130,000,000 marks go to the Imperial Exchequer, whilst the surplus is distributed among the single States in the measure in which they pay matricular contributions. This most unfortunate proceeding entangled the financial relations of the Empire and the single States: according to the constitution the latter had to pay matricular contributions only so far as the income of Imperial taxes was insufficient to meet the expense; now they get from the Empire the above-named surplus, but have to pay back a large part of it in the form of matricular contributions. In the first years that surplus, to be divided amongst them, considerably surpassed the contributions, but with the swelling of the expenses it became the reverse, so that in 1893–4 Prussia had to pay 211,000,000 of matricular contributions. This system endangers the solidity of the finances of the single States, as they never know beforehand how much they have to pay to the Imperial Exchequer; therefore, after the last Army Bill, which increased the military expense by 60,000,000 m., the Government brought forward a Bill tending to procure 100,000,000 more to the Imperial Exchequer by increased indirect taxation, of which 40,000,000 should be distributed amongst the single States. These proposals were, however, not carried in the last session of the Reichstag, which only consented to a higher stamp duty on exchange transactions, but rejected the stamps on receipts, and delayed the discussion of the tobacco duty in committee, so that no result was arrived at. Both factors of the legislature acted unwisely; no English minister could have proposed an additional outlay of 3,000,000*l.* without indicating the means by which it should be met. The German Government, in doing so, left the important financial question in the dark, and the consequence was that

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the matricular contributions were raised to an abnormal amount. The Reichstag, on the other side, should have adopted the proposed tobacco tax, which was a perfectly rational one. The income from the present tax, about 11,000,000 marks, is insignificant compared with that of other States. The monopoly which Prince Bismarck formerly wanted to introduce was acknowledged as impossible; the English system of forbidding the culture of tobacco and of levying a high duty on the imported article is equally out of the question for Germany, where that culture is so extensive that its forcible extinction would be a grievous loss to the national production; so the only way to get a higher revenue from tobacco is that proposed by the Government: to tax the fabricated article and to raise the duty on foreign products. This system, as the examples of the United States and Russia show, is perfectly feasible, and in both countries yields a considerable revenue. The tax proposed by the Government was far lower than the American; it would scarcely have enhanced the price of the commonest cigar from 5 to 6 pfennigs. However, the interested dealers in tobacco raised such a storm against the Government proposal that it influenced the greater part of the members of the Reichstag. The Bill, somewhat modified in its details, will be brought in again next session, and will, as we hope, be carried. On the other hand, the intention of the Government to secure 40,000,000 from new taxes on the single States must be abandoned: these have no right to expect a revenue from the Empire; but it is evident that its growing expenses must be met by additional taxation. The indirect German taxes are very slight compared with those of other States; so, for instance, the beer tax in all North German States in 1891–2 only yielded 30·3 millions, 0·80 pfennigs per head; whilst Bavaria, which has retained her much higher malt tax, raised, with a population of 5,500,000, a revenue of 30·7 millions, and yet the consumption rose from 210·7 litres per head in 1880–1 to 219·4 litres in 1891–2. The corresponding rise in the North German States was 62·2 to 87·9 litres; nevertheless the Reichstag declined a proposition to double the beer tax for the North German Union—which would not have reached the Bavarian tax, and would have yielded certainly 50 millions. These observations show that there remains much room for increased taxation without undue pressure. Germany is certainly not so rich a country as England or France, but during the last thirty years its wealth has greatly increased; proofs of this are to be found in the reformed Prussian income tax, which introduced self-declaration of the taxpayers, the result of which was a surplus of more than 60 millions. The income from mobile capital is 911·7 millions, that from landed property 755·3 millions, from commerce, trade, and mining, 982·8 millions, and that from all other productive employments, 594·9 millions; whilst in 1891–2, before the reform, the corresponding amounts

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were estimated at 584, 307, 651, and 751 millions. The average value of all the mining output in Germany was, in 1876–80, 437·6 millions of marks; in 1890, 725·6 millions. That of iron rose in the same period from 123·4 millions to 267·6 millions, the trade of the seaports from 16 million registered tons to 26 million. The finances of a country thus progressing can certainly be pronounced to be sound, and showing an elasticity which will be able to meet even a considerably increased expenditure.

II.—Russia and France.

It is rather difficult to form a correct opinion on the financial condition of an autocratically governed empire like that of Russia, where little reliance can be placed in the official publications. It must be acknowledged that the Government hitherto has rigidly observed its obligations towards its foreign creditors, yet English capitalists have sold nearly all their property invested in Russian securities, and this for the simple reason that the finances of a country which goes on borrowing annually, even in times of profound peace, deserve no confidence. The Germans have followed, and France, having bought most of these bonds, is now the foremost creditor of Russia, the sum-total of her securities in French hands being estimated at no less than 5 milliards of francs.

From 1872 to 1882 Russia more than doubled her debt. In 1872 the debt payable in gold was 105,000,000*l.*; in 1882, 189,000,000*l.* The internal debt payable in paper had risen within this period from 230,000,000 roubles to 2,730,000,000. This is explained by the Turkish war; but since 1882 there have been continuedly new loans. On the 1st of January, 1893, a Russian journal, the *Novosti*, computed the total debt at 1,426,472,133 roubles in metallic currency, and 2,511,273,579 roubles in paper, by which 226,146,192 roubles were absorbed in a budget of about 900,000,000 roubles.[1] The inconvertible bank-notes amounted to 855,000,000 roubles, with a cash reserve of only 211,500,000 roubles, and this sum was increased in 1892 by 150,000,000 roubles. The late Finance Minister, M. Vishnegradski, was working hard to ameliorate the financial condition and to raise the course of exchange, which had fallen below two-thirds of par. But he did so by very questionable means; in a report of 1885 Mr. Kennedy, then secretary of the English Embassy at St. Petersburg, expressed his opinion that the limit of taxation was practically reached. He was right according to Western principles; but Vishnegradski undertook to squeeze out considerably more from the country, by applying the harshest measures for collecting arrears

[1] The *Statesman's Manual* for 1892, p. 875, estimates the gross amount of the Russian debt at 5,521,791,220 roubles, which, according to the present rate of exchange, would be about equal to 550,000,000*l.* sterling. All the above-given dates do not refer to Finland, which has a separate budget and a gold standard.

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and by enforcing the payment of the present heavy taxes. The result of this method is shown in an able report of Mr. Law, commercial attaché to the English Embassy (Foreign Office, 1892, Table VII.). The arrears were then 89,000,000 roubles, and they have been increased beyond the arrears of 1892 by 120,000,000 roubles in consequence of the advances for the famine relief. With the prevailing penury it is evident that the liability entered into by the recipients to refund them cannot be realised. Mr. Law estimated that the peasants of the sixteen provinces alone, distressed by the famine, would be owing at the end of 1892 at least 250,000,000, not to speak of the considerable local taxes.

The second measure by which Vishnegradski tried to restore the equilibrium of the budget was the conversion of former loans into loans bearing lower interest. But at what conditions did he achieve this? According to Western notions a conversion consists in giving the creditor the alternative of being satisfied with lower interest or of taking back his capital. But Russia, in her conversions, while reducing the rate of interest, has vastly enlarged the capital and extended the period of the sinking fund from twenty-five to eighty-one and a half years. The result of the total of these conversions is that a capital of 508,500,000 roubles, at 5 per cent., was exchanged for one of 582,644,000 roubles at 4 per cent., an increase of 15 per cent. The reduction of interest is, in the first twenty-five years, 3,630,477 roubles annually, in all 90,761,925 roubles, while for the ensuing fifty-six and a half years 448,689,149 roubles more will have to be paid; for it is only in 1970 that the 4-per-cent. loans will be redeemed. Can such proceedings ameliorate the Russian finances? or is it not, rather, evident that a Government which consents to such terms shows that it must raise money at any price? Much was made by the Russian and French press of the brilliant result of these conversion-loans, the amount of the subscription being covered from two and a half to seven and a half times. But the bankers, who floated them at an enormous commission, did not keep them, and it is very questionable whether the investors who bought the bonds will not bitterly repent of it. Certain it is that a new loan of 500,000,000 frs. in 1893, largely as it was subscribed, was not taken by the public, and that, the market price going constantly down, the Finance Minister felt obliged to take back 200,000,000 in order to arrest a further decline. When he resigned he left to his successor, as the *Moscow Wjedomosti* of the 26th of September, 1892, acknowledged, a situation infinitely more embarrassed than that which he found on entering upon his functions. According to the report of the Comptroller of the Treasury of the 23rd of October, 1892, last year's (1891) ordinary revenue was 52,000,000 roubles less than in 1890. The extraordinary expenses, estimated at 63,500,000 roubles, amounted to more than 240,000,000 roubles, for which only 59,000,000

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roubles were available. The deficit of the famine year (1892–3) cannot have been less than 200,000,000 roubles The Russian budgets, as they are published, show always the most beautiful equipoise, if not a surplus; but in that of 1894 the surplus, given at 61,870,000 r., is in truth a deficit of 87,474,000 r., for the so-called surplus is obtained by treating fresh borrowed money as clear extraordinary income, without reckoning it as a debt on the opposite side amounting to an increase of 162,500,000 from last year's internal loan at 4½ and the remaining bonds of the unsuccessful 3-per-cent. loan in Paris. Deducting the profit of the conversion of the 6-per-cent. loan, the debt increased last year by 113,000,000 r. In curious contrast to these facts the Russians boast of the gold hoarded by the Finance Minister at home and abroad, the former alone amounting to 620,500,000 roubles. The alleged reason, that this gold is to cover the newly issued notes, is evidently a pretext, as these notes are as little convertible into cash as the old ones. The cause of this extraordinary policy can only be that the Government wishes to have a war-chest for sudden emergencies. The cost of the army and navy is stated in the budget for 1893 at 282,700,000 roubles, but it is evidently larger already, because Russia has to furnish her army with rifles of small calibre, of which about one-third may have been delivered, while the rest will not be ready before the end of 1896.

The subject of French finances is an intricate one, not for want of publicity, but because the budget is made up in a very complicated way. It consists of the ordinary revenue and expenditure, and a series of extraordinary special budgets, or *caisses*, which are mainly fed by loans. In 1885 the ordinary budget was 3 milliards, and the special budgets amounted to 700 millions; after that year the greater part of the special *caisses* was embodied in the ordinary budget, which for 1894 amounts to 3,439,020,623 frs., including the expense for Algeria and the colonies. The three principal items, in round numbers, are 1,297,646,834 fr. for the service of the public debt, including the dotations for the President and the two Chambers (13,171,720 frs.), which sum will, by the conversion of the 4½ debt, be reduced by 64 millions; 900 millions for the army and navy, and 1,250 millions for the administration, which, however, after deducting the cost for levying the taxes, management of the monopolies, &c., are really 850 millions. These are astounding numbers, if we consider that the budget of 1860 was only 1,900 millions, and after the war 2,500 millions. The greater part of this increase since 1875 was 250 millions more for the public debt, which now exceeds 30 milliards; 150 millions for public instruction; 400 millions more for the army and navy, which under the Empire required only 476 millions, administrative expenses, 300 millions. Such a swelling of the expenditure goes far to prove that this is greatly due to mismanagement. Admitting that the enormous outlay for the army and navy was

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necessary, and that much had to be done for public instruction, which, after the war, cost only 40 millions, the increase of the interest of the public debt (apart from the war contribution) since 1875 by 250 millions in twenty years of peace, and that of the administration by 300 millions, is enormous; but the expense for public works is still more considerable.

Formerly six great companies had in France a gigantic railway monopoly, which, after the Anglo-French Treaty of Commerce of 1861, reached the maximum of prosperity; with the return of Protection it lessened. The Government tried to get up a new net by helping companies by subsidies and constructing other lines itself, but most of these were unsuccessful, and had to liquidate; some were bought up by the State, others by the great companies, which would, however, build no new lines. In 1883 Freycinet entered into an arrangement with these companies which guaranteed to them their average dividends, and obliged them to build gradually new lines to the amount of 7 milliards, the State guaranteeing the interest of the invested capital after deducting the profits. This convention proved most unfavourable: the subsidies to be paid by the Government constantly rose, so that in all it has to pay, in 1894, 234 millions, and will have to pay in 1895, 260 millions. At the same time the income of the railways decreased: it was in 1889, 560 millions, and in 1893, with a larger net, 526 millions, which is partly due to the extension of canals, partly to the prevailing ultra-Protectionist system, by which French exports rapidly went back.

But this is not all; besides the floating debt, the interest of which is given at 21 millions, there exist large disguised debts, which, sooner or later, must be consolidated, and one of the first French financial authorities, M. Paul Leroy-Beaulieu, in his *Economiste Français*, already in April 1893 estimated that for this purpose a loan of 1,200 millions will become necessary.

On the whole, the condition of French finance is very bad, but it is owing principally to bad management. France is a wonderfully rich country: its annual *économies* are estimated at 2 milliards, its 3-per-cent. debt is above par, and the taxpayers, heavily as they are burdened, could certainly bear 500 millions more if the financial system and administration were rationally reformed and a sound commercial policy would be introduced, doing away with the barriers which the ultra-Protectionist party has raised, so that French exports are constantly diminishing.

To sum up the results of the foregoing considerations. Italy appears incapable of carrying on a war, except by foreign subsidies, for as to her own resources she would have nothing but paper-money or loans contracted at ruinous prices; besides, it is greatly to be doubted whether her army and navy are in an efficient state. Germany has the strongest army and a small but excellent navy; in

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both of them everything is ready for war to the minutest item: the reserves and the landwehr can be mobilised on the shortest notice, so that the war force of 2,549,918 men may take the field within ten days after order; and this formidable array is backed by 620,000,000 marks in cash and sound elastic finances. As to Austria-Hungary, there can be no doubt that a great war would throw back the monarchy into the régime of inconvertible bank-notes; however, it would stand its own and would weather a large storm as well or better than those of 1848 and 1866. Russia, besides her gold-treasure destined for a war in foreign parts where her notes are not accepted, would in case of need probably not scruple stopping payment of interest to her foreign creditors, and for the internal administration she would constantly increase her paper-money. As to France, however embarrassed her present financial condition may be, it will certainly not prevent her from going to war when the nation is determined upon doing so, or is dragged into it by improvident leaders, as was the case in 1870.

HEINRICH GEFFCKEN.

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IN THE TARUMENSIAN WOODS

STRANGE that reason should so often go astray, but that digestion should be unerring. So it is, though. The greatest minds have fallen into error. There is no recorded instance of even a congenital idiot having deceived his digestion. It may be, then, that after all reason is not the highest attribute of humanity.

Be that as it may, reason, in its eternal conflict with faith, seldom comes off so badly as when it encounters prejudice. So inveterate is prejudice and so shamefaced is reason, that one sometimes wonders whether faith and prejudice are not synonymous.

Few prejudices are so inveterate, and therefore on few questions is so little reason displayed, as on the subject of the Jesuits.

To be a member of the Society of Jesus conveys to many excellent people the impression that a sort of baccalaureate of lying, of chicanery, and of casuistry has been attained. It would seem that a Jesuit is a man perpetually, for no particular object, endeavouring to deceive the world, and even himself. Macchiavelli is his favourite author, Suarez his dearest study, and his political ideal that of Ezzelino da Romano, or Malatesta of Rimini. In history, when a king was murdered or dethroned, a queen poisoned, a conspiracy hatched, or a revolution attempted, the blame was thrown upon the Jesuits, with or without proof, in the same impartial way as it is now thrown upon the Anarchists. In both cases no doubt the desired result was attained, and a scapegoat acquired on which to lay the sins of others. Humanity dearly loves a scapegoat.

Nothing in all the Mosaic Dispensation appears to me to show more clearly the profound knowledge of the human heart possessed by its compiler than the institution of the sin-bearing quadruped. If the people were worth the sacrifice of the goat appears doubtful after a perusal of their history, and it might have been prudent, one would have thought, to hesitate before sacrificing the unoffending animal.

The Jesuits were said to be self-seekers in the Indies and schemers in Europe.

True, St. Francis Xavier was a Jesuit: and few, after reading his life, would accuse him of being a schemer or a self-seeker, and, after reading his hymn, I should imagine that the doubts of anyone would

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be removed. Still, perhaps he was the exception that proved the rule; though how exceptions prove rules has not been vouchsafed to us at present.

By a curious fatality, not only Catholics and Protestants, but also freethinkers, were united against them, and their only defenders were Rousseau, Raynal, Mably, and Montesquieu. Even Felix de Azara, impartial as he was on most matters, and amiable, as his celebrated dedication to his History of Paraguay clearly shows him to have been, became a violent partisan when writing of the Jesuits. That in Paraguay, at all events, the Jesuits were not all self-seekers and plotters, that they accomplished much good, endured great perils and hardships, and were the only people whose mere presence did not bring mortality amongst the Indians, I hope to try to prove at some length at the proper time and place. Meanwhile I have to deal with the adventures of one particular Jesuit, a kindly, honest, simple-minded man, whose lot was thrown in strange places, and who fortunately has preserved for us a record of his undertakings.

On the eve of St. John, but without chronicling the year, except more or less (*anno de* 1756 *mas o menos*), did he, so to speak, strike the Gospel trail from San Joaquin in Paraguay, accompanied by some Guarani neophytes; but this demands a little explication.

In the last century the Jesuits had gathered most of the Guarani Indians in Paraguay, and what has now become the Argentine province of Corrientes, into some thirty little towns or missions, known to the country people as 'capillas' (chapels), and extending from Guayrá, near the cataract of the Paraná, to Yapeyú, on the Uruguay. On this somewhat stony vineyard they worked unceasingly, instilling not only theology, but some tincture of civilisation, into the Guaranis.

The Tobás, the Guaycurús, the Mocobíos, then as now roamed the swampy wilderness of the Gran Chaco, the Great Hunting Ground (Chaco in Guarani signifies a hunting ground) of the remnant of the tribes who fled from Peru and Chile on the advance of Almagro and Pizarro, and from Bolivia and the Argentine Republic before Solís and the Mendozas, to wander in its recesses. In the little town of San Joaquin, called Taruma by the Jesuits, on account of the forests of taruma-trees which surrounded it, there dwelt the chronicler of the following little episode.

He was a member of the crafty, scheming Society of Jesus, it should be remembered, so that no doubt his writings had an esoteric meaning. From his youth he had been engaged in missionary work.

Like Moffat and like Livingstone, he burned with zeal to change the faith of men who had done him no previous injury, and, like them, having begun his labours, his humanity rose superior to his dogma. In those days no paragraphs in newspapers, no plaudits from a close-

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packed audience in Exeter Hall, at intervals of a year or two, no testimonials, no pious teas; nothing but drudgery amongst savages, but journeys, ridings by night and day, sleeping amongst swamps, fightings and preachings, and death at last of fever, or by Indian club or arrow.

For all reward, calumny and misconception, and a notice in the appendix of a book written by a member of the Society, in this wise:—

Padre Julian Lizardi, a Biscayan, caught by the Chiriguanos, tied to a stake, and shot to death with arrows.
Diego Herrera, pierced with a spear.
Lucas Rodriguez, slain at the altar by the Mocobíos.
Gaspar Osorio, killed and eaten by the Payaguás.

In those days a missionary, even a Jesuit, had to bear his cross; not that the missionary of to-day does not ascend his little Calvary, but still I fancy that the pebbles in the road are not so lumpy, and that the road itself is better fit for bicycles. Thrice had my Jesuit crossed the Pampas from Buenos Ayres to Mendoza, as he tells us. Often had he travelled amongst the Tobás and the Abipones; amongst the Guayurús, most turbulent of heathen, who extract their eyelashes to better see the Christians, and to slay them; their bodies painted many colours; worshipping no gods, except, perhaps, their horses, with whom they are more truly of one flesh than with their wives. In perils oftentimes amongst the Payaguás, 'those pirates of the Paraná, disdaining gods, destroying man, staining their faces with the juice of the caraguatá, a purple like that of Tyre; having a vulture's wing dependent from their ears; very hard of heart, and skilled in paddling a canoe, and striking fish with arrows, like themselves alone.'

Languages so hard as to appear impossible to Europeans, 'so do they snort and sneeze and cough their words,' had to be overcome; speaking both Guaraní and Mocobío, 'with the Latin and some touch of Greek and Hebrew.' Though brought up as a priest, he had become a horseman; riding with the Gauchos day and night, though, as he tells us, never quite so much at home upon a horse of Paraguay as on a horse of Europe; for it appears 'a horse of Paraguay' (and this I have observed myself, though not a Jesuit) 'is apt to shy and bound, and if the bridle be neglected, lift his head up in the air, and, arching his back, give with his rider (*dar con el ginete*) on the ground.'

Medio chapeton[1] *el padre*, as I think I see.

This was the sort of training a Jesuit missionary underwent in Paraguay, and for which it may be that Salamanca, Rome, Coimbra, or even Paris, fitted him but moderately.

San Joaquin itself could not have been a place of residence to be

[1] *Chapeton* is used by Spanish Americans for a new comer, and by inference a bad horseman.

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called luxurious. Like all the Jesuit missions in Paraguay, it must have been a little place built round a square, enclosing a bright green lawn; a kind of island lost in the sea of forest. A well-built church of stone in the Jesuit style of architecture, the college with its store-rooms for hides and wool and maté. On each side the church a date palm, waving like a bulrush. A long low row of wooden houses, with deep verandahs, thatched with palm leaves. An air of calm and rest and melancholy over the place, a sort of feeling as if you had landed (and been left) in Juan Fernandez. Sun and more sun, heat and more heat, and a whitish vapour stealing at evening time over the woods, wrapping the town in its folds, and giving the bell of the Angelus a muffled sound.

In the daytime women, in white clothes, with baskets on their heads of maize and mandioca, hair like horses' tails cut square across the forehead and hanging down their backs, clustered like bees in the centre of the square, and chattered Guaraní in undertones, like Indians always use. The men in white duck trousers, barefooted, and with cloaks of red 'bayetá,' lounged about, doubtless when the Jesuits were not looking; as they do to-day.

Before the houses, posts of heavy wood, to which from sunrise till sunset horses ready saddled stood fastened; horses which seemed to sleep, unless an unwary passer-by approached too near them, when they sprang back into life, snorting with terror, sat back upon their 'jáquimas,' causing their owners to leave their maté, and to bound like cats to quiet them, with cries of 'Jesus,' 'Ba eh picó,' and other things less fitting to record, even in Guaraní. Outside the town the forest stretching into distance. Forests of viraró, of urunday, taruma, araguay, and zamaú, of every strange and iron-hearted wood that Europe never hears of, even to-day. Trees which grow, and fall and rot, and spring up bound with llianas like thick cordage, and through which the bell-bird calls, the guacamayos flutter and tucanes dart; and where the spotted tiger creeps (that Jesuit of the jungle) beside some pool covered with leaves of the Victoria Regia.

The college itself, no doubt a cheerless place enough, dazzling with whitewash on the outside, and in the interior dark and heavy, with an aroma of tobacco-smoke to serve as incense. For furniture a 'catre' of wood, with strips of hide for bedstraps, or a white cotton hammock swung from an iron ring let into the beams. A shelf or two of books, chiefly on medicine or engineering or architecture; for your Jesuit was doctor, music-master, architect, and sometimes military instructor to the community. Two or three chairs, roughly cut out of solid wood and seated with stamped leather in the Spanish style; a table or two, a porous water-jar; in the corner the padre's saddle on a trestle, and on a nail a gun; for at times a Jesuit 'capilla' became a place to fight as well as pray in.

In the forests scattered families of Indians lived, remnants of

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tribes destroyed by small-pox or by wars; and it was the dream of every self-respecting, able-bodied Jesuit to find and mark these sheep wandering in the wilderness without a shepherd. What they underwent in hardships, lack of food, attacks of Indians, crossing swamps and rivers, by heat and cold, Guevara and Lozano, Ruiz Montoya and Father Dobrizhoffer, have set forth with pious pride, and more or less dog Latin.

News having come to San Joaquin that the trail of Indians had been crossed near to the town, he sallied forth, and having found and marked his sheep, compiled the following description, in which he tells, besides the story, what kind of man he was himself; and proves beyond a doubt that, following the words of Santa Teresa, he 'was only fit for God.'

On the eve of the Evangelist Blessed St. John the Baptist, I took a guide and entered the Tarumensian woods accompanied by some neophytes. I crossed the Rio Empalado, and having carefully explored all the woods of the river Monday Miní, and discovering at length on the third day a human footstep, we tracked it to a little dwelling where an old woman with her son and daughter, a youth and maiden of fifteen and twenty years, were dwelling.

Being asked where the other Indians were to be found, the mother replied that no one dwelt in the woods but herself, her son and daughter, and that all the rest had died of smallpox.

Perceiving us doubtful as to the truth of this, the son said, 'You may believe my mother, for I have looked for a wife up and down these woods for leagues, but never met a human being.'

Nature had taught the young savage that it was not lawful to marry his sister.

I exhorted the mother to remove to my town, where she would be more comfortable.

She declared herself willing to do so, but there was one objection: 'I have,' she said, 'three peccaries which I have brought up. They follow us wherever we go, and I am afraid, if they are exposed to the sun in a dry plain, unshaded by trees, they will soon die.'

'Pray be no longer anxious,' I said; 'I shall treat these dear little animals with due kindness. Lakes, rivers, and marshes will always be at hand to cool your favourites.'

Here I detect the cloven foot for the first and last time in this worthy man's career, for round San Joaquin there are no rivers or lakes, and I fear his anxiety to mark the sheep rendered him careless of the little peccaries.

Induced by these promises, she set out with us, and reached the town on the first of January.

No date is given, but I fancy in San Joaquin time was what they had most to dispose of.

And now it will be proper to give an account of the dwelling of the mother and her children. Their hut consisted of the branches of the palm-tree and their drink of muddy water.

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To this day the majority of huts in Paraguay are of palm-leaves, and for the muddy water, it grits yet (in dreams) between my teeth.

Fruits, antas,[2] rabbits and birds, maize and mandioca, were their food, a cloth woven of the leaves of the caraguatá their bed and clothing. They delighted in honey, which abounds in the hollow trees. The smoke of tobacco the old woman inhaled day and night through a reed. The son constantly chewed tobacco-leaves. The youth wore a cloak of caraguatá, reaching to the knees. The girl wore a short net by day, which she used as a hammock by night. This appearing to me too transparent, I gave her a cotton towel to cover her more effectually. The girl, folding up the towel, put it on her head; but at the desire of her mother wrapped herself in it. I gave the youth, too, some linen clothes to wrap himself in. Before putting on these he had climbed the trees, agile as a monkey, but his wrapper impeded him so that he could hardly move a step.

Whether my author thinks it an advantage that, of a happy climbing faun, he had made a being who could not move a step, I do not know. But 'all was conscience and tender heart' with him, for he observes immediately:

In such extreme need, in such penury, I found them, experiencing the rigours of the anchorites of old without discontent, vexation, or disease. The mother and son were tall and good-looking, but the daughter had so fine and elegant a countenance that a poet would have taken her for a nymph or dryad. She united a becoming cheerfulness with great courtesy, and did not seem at all alarmed at our arrival.

When one reads an account like this, and reflects that Cook, Cabeza de Vaca, de Bougainville, Columbus, and others, all unite in describing similar people; and when one has even seen it oneself, it seems a pity that villainous saltpetre should have been digged, more villainous whisky distilled, and that Bible peddling should have become a trade.

As this insulated family had no intercourse with any but themselves, their Guaraní was much corrupted. The youth had never seen a woman but his mother and his sister. The girl had seen no man but her brother, her father having been torn to pieces by a tiger before she was born. Not to go unattended [*sin compañero*], she had a little parrot and a small monkey on her arm.

The new proselytes were quickly clothed in the town, and food supplied them.

L'ultimo lasso! de' *lor* giorni allegri.

I also took care that they should take frequent excursions to the woods to enjoy the shade and pleasant freshness of the trees, to which they had been used, for we found by experience that savages removed to towns often waste away from the change of food and air, and from the heat of the sun, accustomed as they have been to moist, shady, and cool groves.

The same was the fate of the mother, son, and daughter.

One hardly knows whether to laugh or cry. Hamlet has put the folly of falling a-cursing in such a light that perhaps not to *raggionar* is best, but silently to pass.

[2] Tapirs.

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A few months after their arrival they were afflicted with a heaviness and universal rheum (*reuma universal*), to which succeeded pains in the eyes and ears and deafness. Lowness of spirits and disgust to food at length wasted their strength to such a degree that an incurable consumption followed. After languishing some months the old mother, who had been properly instructed (one feels relieved) in the Christian religion and baptized, delivered up her spirit with a mind so calm, so acquiescent with the Divine will, that I cannot doubt but that she entered into a blessed immortality.

I would fain hope so too, so that at least the unhappy sufferer had some practical set-off against the clothes and baptism which were her apparent ruin.

The girl, who had entered the town full of health and beauty, soon lost all resemblance to herself. Enfeebled, withering by degrees like a flower, her bones hardly holding together, she followed her mother to the grave, and, if I be not deceived, to heaven.

Again I hope the good and worthy muddlehead was right in his conjecture, though there is no mention of baptism or religious instruction in this case.

The brother still surviving was attacked by the same malady, but being of a stronger constitution overcame it. The measles, which made great havoc in the town [another blessing in disguise], left him so confirmed in health that he seemed beyond danger. He was of a cheerful nature, went to church daily [*pobrecito*], learnt the doctrines of Christianity with diligence, was gentle and compliant to all, and in everything discovered marks of future excellence. Nevertheless, to put his perseverance to the proof, I thought best to delay his baptism. At this time a rich and Christian Indian [*un Indio rico y cristiano*], who at my request had received the catechumen into his house, came and said to me: 'Father (*pai*), our wood Indian is in perfect health of body, but is a little astray in mind. He makes no complaints, but says sleep has deserted him: his mother and sister appearing to him every night and saying, "Suffer thyself to be baptized."'

I wonder a little at this, when they knew how fatal baptism had proved in their own case.

'We shall return to take thee when thou dost not expect it.' This vision, he says, takes away his sleep. 'Tell him,' I answered, 'to be of good cheer, for that the melancholy remembrance of his mother and sister is the cause of his dreams, and they, as I think [O Pai Yponá, were you not certain then?], are gone to Heaven, and have nothing more to do with this world.'

A few days after the same Indian returned, giving the same account. Suspecting there was something in it, I hastened to the house, and found him sitting up in bed. On my asking for his health, he answered, 'I am well and free from pain,' but that he could not sleep, from the vision of his mother and sister telling him to be baptized, and saying they were ready for him. This he told me prevented him from getting any rest. I thought it probable that this was a mere dream, and worthy of neglect. Mindful, however, that dreams have often been Divine admonitions, and oracles of God, as appears from Holy Writ, it seemed advisable in a matter of such moment to consult the security and tranquillity of the catechumen. Being assured of his constancy and of his acquaintance with the chief heads of religion by previous interrogation [*interrogatorios previos*], I soon after baptized him by the name of Luis. This I did on the 23rd of June, the eve of St. John, about the hour of ten in the morning, by the sand clock.

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On the evening of the same day, without a symptom of disease or apoplexy, he quietly expired.

This event, a fact well known to the whole town, and which I am ready to attest on oath, astonished everyone.

I should have only looked on it as certain to occur after the fateful effects of the previous treatment (and *interrogatorios*) on the mother and sister.

I leave my reader to form his own opinion, but in my own mind I could never deem the circumstance merely accidental. I attributed it to the exceeding compassion of the Almighty that these three Indians were discovered by me in the recesses of the woods; that they so promptly complied with my exhortations to enter my town and embrace Christianity, and that they closed their lives after receiving baptism. The remembrance of my expeditions to the Empalado, though attended by many dangers and hardships, is still most grateful to my heart; insomuch as it proved highly fortunate to the three wood Indians, and advantageous to the Spaniards. These last having been certified by me that no more savages (*sic*) remained, collected many thousand pounds of Yabu uráte, from which they derived an amazing profit.

This much of the Guaraní town of Taruma. If on this subject [says our pious author] I appear to have written too much, let the reader be told that I have passed over many remarkable things in silence.

The above history almost seems to show that there were Jesuits and Jesuits even in Paraguay.

Why has their rule, then, called forth such censure, and gained them such an evil reputation? Why have both Catholics and Protestants combined to write them down? It could not be their wealth in Paraguay, for at their expulsion, when all their colleges were ransacked, only a small sum was found. It could not be that the luxurious lives they led excited envy, for the little episode I have commented on is but one of many scattered through the lives of all of them, and recorded in various tongues from Latin to Guaraní. It may be that the viceroys feared an *imperium in imperio* in Paraguay; though how some thousands of such Indians as those who suffered baptism and death in the old priest's story could shake an empire is difficult to understand. It may have been that the Mission priests in Paraguay paid for the sins of Jesuit intriguers at the Courts of Europe. Theology does not, I think, reject vicarious punishment. Certain it is that mention of Paraguay and the Missions never fails to call forth talk of despotism and tyranny, and complaints of Indians turned to mere machines by the too paternal government of the Jesuits. This may have been so. It may have been that their scheme of government would not have satisfied Sir Thomas More, Karl Marx, or Plato. Still, there were then Indians to govern. Where are they now? Where are the thirty towns, the 80,000 or 100,000 inhabitants, the flocks and herds, the domestic cattle ('with wild ones innumerable'), spoken of in the report of the suppression of the Missions, by Buccarelli, Viceroy to Charles the Third?

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Where are the well-built churches, and the happy simple folk who worshipped in them, believing all things?

Take horse from Itapua, ride through San Cosme, the Estero, Neembucú, or San Ignacio Miní, and look for Indians, look for churches, look for cattle, or any sign of agriculture; you will find all dead, gone, desolate, deserted, or fallen to ruin. Sleep in the deserted towns, and perhaps, as I did, camping in the plaza of La Trinidad alone, my horse tied to a tuft of grass beside me, you may see a tiger steal in the moonlight out of the deserted church, descend the steps, and glide into the forest.

Azara and Bonpland say that the communistic rule of the Society rendered the Indians thriftless and idle; though this is difficult to reconcile with their further statement that they were well-nigh worked to death. The Indians themselves were not aggrieved at communism; for, in their petition to the Viceroy at the expulsion of the Jesuits, they complain of 'liking not the fashion of living of the Spaniards, in which no man helps the other.' It may have been that the Spanish settlers in Paraguay wanted the Indians to slave for them in their plantations, and that the Jesuits withstood them. But when the ruin of an institution or of an individual is decreed, reasons are never wanting. The Jesuits in Europe may have deserved their fate. In Paraguay, in spite of writers none of whom saw the Missions under their rule, the Jesuits did much good, mixed with some folly, as is incidental to mankind.

If only on the principle that a living dog is of more value than a dead king, the policy of isolation the Jesuits pursued was not a bad one, for it left them at least Indians to govern. Be all this as it may, I have no doubt that many learned men, skilled in the Greek and Latin (but not in Guaraní), have written and will write of the Jesuits in Paraguay, and prove to demonstration that it is fruit for self-congratulation that the Indians of the Missions are free and non-existent. Still, I sometimes wish that I had seen the Missions full of Indians, and stocked with cattle, instead of desolate and fallen into decay. And for the amiable and apostolic priest who told the story of his labours in the Tarumensian wilds, and chronicled in execrable Spanish the discovery, death, and baptism of his three victims, I have only one complaint to make, and that is, that he did not tell us if town life proved fatal to the three little peccaries.

R. B. Cunninghame Graham.

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DEATH AND TWO FRIENDS

A DIALOGUE

PERSONS: SCRIPTOR AND LECTOR

Lector. But do you really mean, Scriptor, that you have no desire for the life after death?

Scriptor. I never said quite that, Lector, though perhaps I might almost have gone so far. What I did say was that we have been accustomed to exaggerate its importance to us here and now, that it really matters less to us than we imagine.

Lector. I see. But you must speak for yourself, Scriptor. I am sure that it matters much to many, to most of us. It does, I know, to me.

Scriptor. Less than you think, my dear Lector. Besides, you are really too young to know. It is true that, as years go, you are ten years my senior, but what of that? You have that vigorous health which is the secret of perpetual youth. You have not yet realised decay, not to speak of death. The immortality of the soul is a question wide of you, who have as yet practically no doubt of the immortality of the body. But I—well, it would be melodramatic to say that I face death every day. The metaphor applies but to desperate callings and romantic complaints. To some Death comes like a footpad, suddenly, and presents his pistol—and the smoke that curls upward from his empty barrel is your soul.

To another he comes featureless, a stealthily accumulating London fog, that slowly slowly chokes the life out of you; without allowing you the consolation of a single picturesque moment, a single grand attitude. For you, probably, Death will only come when you die. I have to live with him as well. I shall smoulder for years, you will be carried to heaven, like Enoch, in a beautiful lightning—

> A simple child
> That lightly draws its breath,
> And feels its life in every limb,
> What can it know of Death?

That's you, my dear Lector, for all your forty years.

Lector. All the more reason, Scriptor, that you should desire a hereafter. You sometimes talk of the work you would do, if you

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were a robust Philistine such as I. Would it not be worth while to live again, if only to make sure of that *magnum opus*—just to realise those dreams that you say are daily escaping you?

Scriptor. Ah! so speaks the energetic man, eager to take the world on his shoulders. I know the images of death that please you, Lector—such as that great one of Arnold's, about 'the sounding labour-house vast of being.'

But, Lector, you who love work so well—have you never heard tell of a thing called Rest? Have you never known what it is to be tired, my Lector?—not tired at the end of a busy day (which means but the satiation of the appetite for work recuperating itself for next day's hunger)—but tired in the morning, tired in the Memnonian sunlight, when larks and barrel-organs start on their blithe insistent rounds. No, the man who is tired of a morning sings not music-hall songs in his bedroom as he dashes about in his morning bath. But will you never want to go to bed, Lector? Will you be always like the children who hate to be sent to bed, and think that when they are grown up they will never go to bed at all? Yet in a few years' time how glad they are of the stray chance of bed at ten. May it not be so with sleep's twin-brother? In our young vigour, driven by a hundred buoyant activities, enticed by dream on dream, time seems so short for all we think we have to do; but surely when the blood begins to thin, and the heart to wax less extravagantly buoyant, when comfort croons a kettle-song whose simple spell no sirens of ambition or romance can overcome—don't you think that then 'bedtime' will come to seem the best hour of the day, and 'Death as welcome as a friend would fall'?

Lector. But you are no fair judge, Scriptor. You say my health, my youth, as you waggishly call it, puts me out of count. Yet surely your ill-health and low spirits just as surely vitiate your judgment?

Scriptor. Admitted, so far as my views are the outcome of my particular conditions. But you forget that the condition I have been supposing is not merely particular, but on the contrary the most general among men. Was it not old age?—which, like youth, is independent of years. You may be young beyond your years, I may be old in advance of them; but old age does come some time, and with it the desire of rest.

Lector. But does not old age spend most of its thought in dwelling fondly on its lost youth, hanging like a remote sunrise in his imagination? Is it not its one yearning desire just to live certain hours of its youth over again?—and would the old man not give all he possesses for the certainty of being born young again into eternity?

Scriptor. He would give everything—but the certainty of rest. After seventy years of ardent life one needs a long sleep to refresh us in. Besides, age may not be so sure of the advantages of youth. All is not youth that laughs and glitters. Youth has its hopes, which

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are uncertain; but age has its memories, which are sure; youth has its passions, but age has its comforts.

Lector. Your answers come gay and pat, Scriptor, but your voice betrays you. In spite of you, it saddens all your words. Tell me, have you ever known what it is actually to lose anyone who is dear to you? Have you looked on death face to face?

Scriptor. Yes, Lector, I have—but once. It is now about five years ago, but the impression of it haunts me to this hour. Perhaps the memory is all the keener because it was my one experience. In a world where custom stales all things, save Cleopatra, it is all the better perhaps not to see even too much of Death, lest we grow familiar with him. For instance, doctors and soldiers, who look on him daily, seem to lose the sense of his terror—nay, worse, of his tragedy. Maybe it is something in his favour, and Death, like others, may only need to be known to be loved.

Lector. But tell me, Scriptor, of this sad experience, which even now moves you to name; or is the memory too sad to recall?

Scriptor. Sad enough, Lector, but beautiful for all that—beautiful as winter. It was winter when she of whom I am thinking died—a winter that seemed to make death itself whiter and colder on her marble forehead. It is but one sad little story of all the heaped-up sorrow of the world; but in it, as in a shell, I seem to hear the murmur of all the tides of tears that have surged about the lot of man from the beginning. There were two dear friends of mine whom I used to call the happiest lovers in the world. They had loved truly from girlhood and boyhood, and after some struggle—for they were not born into that class which is denied the luxury of struggle—at length saw a little home bright in front of them. And then Alice, who had been ever bright and strong, suddenly and unaccountably fell ill. Like the stroke of a sword, like the stride of a giant, Death, to whom they had never given a thought, was upon them. It was consumption, and love could only watch and pray. Suddenly my friend sent for me, and I saw with my own eyes what at a distance it had seemed impossible to believe. As I entered the house, with the fresh air still upon me, I spoke confidently, with babbling ignorant tongue. 'Wait till you see her face!' was all my poor stricken friend could say. Ah! her face! How can I describe it? It was much sweeter afterwards, but now it was so dark and witchlike, so uncanny, almost wicked, so thin and full of inky shadows. She sat up in her bed, a wizened little goblin, and laughed a queer, dry, knowing laugh to herself, a laugh like the scraping of reeds in a solitary place. A strange black weariness seemed to be crushing down her brows, like the 'unwilling sleep' of a strong narcotic. She would begin a sentence and let it wither away unfinished, and point sadly and almost humorously to her straight black hair, clammy as the feathers of a dead bird lying in the rain. Her hearing was strangely

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keen. And yet she did not know, was not to know. How was one to talk to her—talk of being well again, and books and country walks, when she had so plainly done with all these things? How bear up when she, with a half sad half amused smile, showed her thin wrists?—how say that they would soon be strong and round again? Ugh! she was already beginning to be different from us, already putting off our body-sweet mortality, and putting on the fearful garments of death, changing before our eyes from ruddy familiar humanity into a being of another element, an element we dread as the fish dreads the air. Soon we should not be able to talk to her. Soon she would have unlearnt all the sweet grammar of earth. She was no longer Alice, but a fearful symbol of mysteries at which the flesh crept. She was going to die.

Have you never looked ahead towards some trial, some physical trial, maybe an operation?—for perhaps the pains of the body are the keenest, after all. Those of the spirit are at least in some part metaphor. You look forward with dread, yet it is at last over. It is behind you. And have you never thought that so it will be with death some day? Poor little Alice was to face the great operation.

Next time I saw her she was dead. In our hateful English fashion, they had shut her up in a dark room, and we had to take candles to see her. I shall never forget the moment when my eyes first rested on that awful snow-white sheet, so faintly indented by the fragile form beneath, lines very fragile, but oh! so hard and cold, like the indentations upon frozen snow; the strange unaccountable terror when he on one side and I on the other turned down the icy sheet from her face. But terror changed to awe and reverence as her face came upon us with its sweet sphinx-like smile. Lying there, with a little gold chain round her neck and a chrysanthemum in the bosom of her nightgown, there was a curious regality about her, a look as though she wore a crown our eyes were unable to see. And while I gazed upon her, the sobs of my friend came across the bed, and as he called to her I seemed to hear the eternal Orpheus calling for his lost Eurydice. Poor lad!—poor maid! Here, naked and terrible, was all the tragedy of the world compressed into an hour, the Medusa-face of life that turns the bravest to stone. Surely, I felt, God owed more than He could ever repay to these two lovers whom it had been so easy to leave to their simple joys. And from that night to this I can never look upon my white bed without seeing afar off the moment when it too will bear the little figure of her I love best in the world, bound for her voyage to the Minotaur Death; just as I never put off my clothes at night, and stretch my limbs down among the cool sheets, without thinking of the night when I shall put off my clothes for the last time and close my eyes for ever.

Lector. But, my friend, this is to feel too much; it is morbid.

Scriptor. Morbid! How can one really *feel* and not be morbid? If one be morbid, one can still be brave.

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Lector. But surely, true-lover as you are it would be a joy to you to think that this terrible parting of death will not be final. We cannot love so well without hoping that we may meet our loved ones somewhere after death.

Scriptor. Hopes! wishes! desires! What of them? We hope, we *desire* all things. Who has not cried for the moon in his time? But what is the use of talking of what we desire? Does life give us all we wish, however passionately we wish it, and is Death any more likely to listen to the cry of our desires? Of course we *wish* it, wish it with a pathetic urgency which is too poignant to bear, and which the wise man bravely stifles. It would all be different if we *knew*.

Lector. But does not science even, of late, hold out the promise of its probability?—and the greatest poets and thinkers have always been convinced of its truth.

Scriptor. The promise of a probability! O my Lector, what a poor substitute is that for a certainty! And as for the great men you speak of, what does their 'instinctive' assurance amount to but a strong sense of their own existence at the moment of writing or speaking? Does one of them anywhere assert immortality as a *fact*—a fact of which he has his own personal proof and knowledge—a scientific, not an imaginative, theological fact? Arguments on the subject are naught. It is waste of time to read them; unsupported by fact, they are one and all cowardly dreams, a horrible hypocritical clutching at that which their writers have not the courage to forego.

Lector. Yet may not a dream be of service to reality, my friend? Is it not certain that people are all the better and all the happier for this dream, as you call it?—for what seems to me this sustaining faith?

Scriptor. Ah! at last you play your trump—the lie that I was waiting for, the lie that has bolstered up this immortality theory from the beginning. Happier? Some people, perhaps, in a lazy, unworthy fashion. But 'better'? Well, so long as we believed in 'eternal punishment' no doubt people were sometimes terrified into 'goodness' by the picture of that dread vista of torment, as no doubt they were bribed into it by the companion picture of a green unbounded Paradise; but, O my friend, what an unworthy kind of goodness, the mere mask of virtue! And now that the Inferno has practically disappeared from our theology, the belief in eternal life simply means unlimited cakes and ale, for good and evil alike, for all eternity. How such a belief can be moralising I fail to understand. To my mind, indeed, far from being a moralising belief, this belief in immortality is responsible for no inconsiderable portion of the wrong and misery of the world. It is the baneful narcotic which has soothed the selfish and the slothful from the beginning. It is that unlimited credit which makes the bankrupt. It simply gives us all eternity to procrastinate in. Instead of manfully eating our peck of dirt here and now, we leave it and all such disagreeables to the hereafter.

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He said, 'I believe in Eternal Life,'
As he threw his life away—
What need to hoard?
He could well afford
To squander his mortal day.
With Eternity his, what need to care?—
A sort of immortal millionaire.

Lector. I am glad to be reminded, Scriptor, that you are a poet, for the line of your argument had almost made me forget it. One expects other views from a poet.

Scriptor. When, my dear Lector, will we get rid of the silly idea that the poet should give us only the ornamental view of life, and rock us to sleep, like babies, with pretty lullabies? Is it not possible to make *facts* sing as well as fancies? With all this beautiful world to sing of—for beautiful it is, however it be marred; with this wonderful life—and wonderful and sweet it is, though it is shot through with such bitter pain, with such *certainties* for his theme, we yet beg him to sing to us of shadows!

And you talk of 'faith.' 'Faith' truly is what we want, but it is faith in the life here, not in the life hereafter. Faith in the life here! Let our poets sing us that. And such as would deny it—I would hang them as enemies of society.

Lector. But, at all events, to keep to our point—you at least *hope* for immortality. If Edison, say, were suddenly to discover it for us as a scientific certainty, you would welcome the news?

Scriptor. Well, yes and no! Have you seen the 'penny' phonographs in the Strand? You should go and have a pennyworth of the mysteries of time and space! How long will Edison's latest magic toy survive this popularisation, I wonder? For a little moment it awakens the sense of wonder in the idly curious who set the demon tube to their ears; but if they make any remarks at all, it is of the cleverness of Mr. Edison, the probable profits of the invention—and not a word of the wonder of the world! So it would be with the undiscovered country. I was blamed the other day as being cheaply smart because I said that if 'one traveller returned,' his resurrection would soon be as commonplace as the telephone, and that enterprising firms would be interviewing him as to the prospects of opening branch establishments in Hades. Yet it is a perfectly serious, and, I think, true remark; for who that knows the modern man, with his small knowingness, and his utter incapacity for reverence, would doubt that were Mr. Edison actually to be the Columbus of the Unseen, it would soon be as overrun with gaping tourists as Switzerland, and that within a year railway companies would be advertising 'Bank-holidays in Eternity'?

No! let us keep the Unseen—or, if it must be discovered, let the key thereof be given only to true-lovers and poets.

RICHARD LE GALLIENNE.

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THE LABOUR WAR IN THE UNITED STATES

It has for well on to half a century been one of the greatest boasts of the United States that they possess a self-reliant, a law-abiding, and an industrious people. When the Civil War was over, General Sherman challenged the world to show another case where 1,080,000 men laid down their arms at one and the same time and submitted themselves peaceably to the civil authority. This was, indeed, a circumstance in the history of the nation of which they had just reason to be proud. But the times were exceptionally propitious for such a remarkable manifestation. Industry had been neglected for many years. Agriculture had greatly suffered for lack of willing and competent labour. There was work for all to do, if only they cared to do it. Land was cheap and plentiful, manufacturing industry was ready to absorb an unlimited number of workers, with a system of State protection that stimulated and encouraged enterprise, and the country had achieved a victory over itself that braced up the people to strong, resolute, and sustained endeavour. From this point, indeed, we may date the commencement of that marvellous career of development that the United States have pursued during recent years—a career that has placed the country in the front rank of both agricultural and manufacturing nations, and has made it at once the wonder and the envy of the rest of the world.

Since that memorable period the population of the United States has considerably more than doubled. Its capacity for the production of commodities of every kind has, however, vastly more than doubled. Its agricultural produce has gone out into all the earth. Its manufactures have reached a state of development that causes the oldest countries in Europe to hide their diminished heads. The American people have not only achieved the front rank in agriculture, in mining, in the iron and steel industries, in mechanical industry, in the ownership and administration of railways, and in almost every other adjunct and evidence of material progress, but they have become far and away the richest people that have ever lived at any stage or epoch in the history of the world. In manufacturing

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industry they had embarked, at the date of the census of 1890, more than 1,305 millions sterling. In railway enterprise they had at the same date expended considerably over 2,000 millions sterling. In agriculture their possessions must be proportionately large, though less readily assessable. They have the largest output of any country on the face of the earth of all the principal minerals, both useful and noble. They have the largest foreign commerce, as measured by exports, except our own country; and they have a territory so varied in conditions of soil and climate as to be adapted for the growth of almost every commodity that they are likely to require. All this, and the bounding prosperity that has been built upon it during the last thirty years or more, has tended to raise hopes, expectations, and ambitions of the highest kind. The people have known such a long period of prosperity that they are but ill prepared for the adversity that countries, like individuals, must be equipped and ready to face.

Reverses, like offences, must needs come, however: for more than a generation the United States have had the experience of Dives, and they are scarcely prepared for the more bitter, if not less wholesome, experience of Lazarus. For the last twelve months the vaunted prosperity and stability of the country have appeared to be tumbling down like a house of cards. The prices of commodities, to begin with, have suffered such a fall as has never been known before in the history of any industrial people. Of the extent and the incidence of this collapse we shall have more to say by-and-by. The demand for all descriptions of produce has been seriously curtailed, partly owing to a glut of commodities, partly owing to a serious diminution of the purchasing power of the people. As a consequence, the output of iron, steel, minerals, mechanical products generally, and, indeed, of practically every one of the commodities that had previously appeared to respond to an almost unlimited demand, has seriously fallen off. The output of pig-iron, for example, fell from over nine million to less than six million tons a year. The production of steel has been reduced by nearly one half. The iron-ore mines of Lake Superior have in many cases been entirely closed, and they have been compelled to realise at prices below any that had ever before been known. Agriculture has shared in the general depression; and, as the next largest interest after agriculture, the railways have found it all but impossible to meet their obligations, except in a few special cases, while thousands of miles of line have passed into the hands of receivers.

It was only natural that these unusual phenomena should exercise a malignant and a disturbing influence upon both capital and labour. Of the two, it is not easy to say which has been most seriously hurt. Capital has disappeared 'like a snowflake on the river.' Companies and firms whose bonds were up to that time regarded as good for almost

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any emergency have turned their faces to the wall. The crop of failures has been unprecedentedly large, every interest having more or less suffered. But the function and the habit of capital is to 'learn to labour and to wait.' When it loses ground, it must patiently plod on until the ground has been recovered again, or, if it is wiped out entirely, it can only submit to the inevitable, and make way for other attempts to 'breast the blows of circumstance.' With labour, on the contrary, the end and the aim are more immediate. As a rule, labour only seeks to secure an adequate return at the moment, and if that return is not at once forthcoming, it loses patience and often revolts. Such is the condition of things in the United States at the present time. For many months past the areas of remunerative labour have been contracting, in all industries and occupations. In a great majority of cases the rate of wages has been reduced. This, of course, is almost entirely a new experience in a country where wages have been accustomed to advance in harmony with the general conditions of progress. But worse than this remains behind. With the closing of first one mine and then another, with the shutting-down of first one work and then another, throughout every industry and every State, the ranks of the unemployed have been steadily and surely recruited until they formed an army almost, if not quite, as large as that which American history so proudly extols as having returned to peaceful industry after the determining fight had settled the Civil War.

The recent strike of railway *employés* is simply an acute stage and development of a general and deep-seated disorder of the body politic. It has excited more attention than most strikes of the same kind, both because of its more general character, and because of the serious loss and inconvenience that the threatened general suspension of railroad transportation would inevitably entail upon the community as a whole. The agitation extended over many thousands of square miles of territory, and was quite as pronounced and serious in California as in Illinois, or any of the more Eastern States. It was, no doubt, bad enough to have incendiarism, train-wrecking, conflicts with the military, bloodshed and general chaos, as accompaniments of the struggle, but it was not any one of these things, nor even the whole of them combined, that excited such a profound and world-wide interest in its phases and progress. It was the dread that the railway business of the country would be suspended for an indefinite period, and that, as a consequence, the food supplies of the people would be interfered with to such an extent as to threaten, if not to actually produce, a famine. This result was, in truth, quite within the region of possibility. Happily, the worst is now over. The Federal Government for once has acted with a firm hand, and the crisis has been overcome; but the Labour War, while it lasted, threatened consequences the possible repetition of which cannot be regarded without anxiety.

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When a large mass of able-bodied men are unable to find work in a country where work has almost always been superabundant, it is not perhaps unnatural that they should be stirred to revolt. In the United States, however, there have been more than ordinarily urgent reasons contributing to bring about this result. In the first place, the cost of living is so much higher there than in any European country, that men out of work stand at a greater disadvantage in reference to the means of subsistence. In the next place, workmen are disposed nowadays to argue that the large fortunes of modern millionaires are made at their expense; and they see in Chicago more than they care to see of the rich becoming richer, if they do not also witness the not infrequent accompaniment of the poor becoming poorer. During several visits paid to the United States I have been struck with the very pronounced and almost socialistic views which many intelligent and reputable working-men have held on this subject. Nor is the reasoning entirely unsound. Much of the great wealth that has been accumulated by such men as Jay Gould, John D. Rockafeller, and others, has been built upon monopolies, or on attempts to create monopolies, in certain commodities, such as oil, coal, sugar, wheat, and other products. This system some years ago assumed such dimensions that strongly repressive laws were adopted to stop its further progress; and it is an understood thing that it was the trust system more than anything else that was responsible for the fall of the Republican and the rise of the Democratic party at the last election. People had begun to get seriously alarmed lest all the necessaries of life should become cornered, as petroleum had been by the Standard Oil Company, food-stuffs by the Cotton Seed Oil Company, sugar by the Sugar Trust, household coal by the Anthracite coal pool, and so with other articles of everyday consumption. The feeling was that, while this movement was most rampant, the Republican party did not grapple with it as they should have done, and the Anti-trust Act, which, on the motion of Senator Sherman, was passed for the suppression of trusts, was welcomed with as much eagerness and joy as the children of Israel showed when they were delivered from the scarcely worse bondage of Egypt. The trust system has been scotched, but not killed. The aftermath remains, and the people are by no means certain that they will not have to fight again the demons of cupidity and greed, which found their fitting expression in a movement that largely enriched the few at the expense of the many.

A more active and immediate source of trouble, however, is the prevailing depression of agricultural and manufacturing industry.

The special causes that have brought about the existing depression in American commerce and industry may be classified with more or less accuracy as under:—

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1. A superabundance of wheat and corn crops in all the principal countries of the world.

2. The decline in the value of silver, which has greatly widened the difference in value between silver and gold.

3. The destruction and depreciation of the enormous capital invested in railways, which, although standing at nominally over 2,000 millions sterling, would probably, if it had to be realised to-day, not command much more than one-third of that amount.

4. The capital lost in the booming of real estate, which weakened many capitalists and financial institutions, so that they were unable to withstand subsequent shocks.

5. Over-production of all commodities; and

6. The want of confidence resulting from the Baring failure.

It is natural that the agricultural interest should be depressed. Under the modern economy of business, agriculture depends very largely upon industry. When manufacturing industry is in a prosperous state, agricultural commodities of all kinds are in better request and at higher prices. When manufactures are at a low ebb, agriculture is a sympathetic sufferer; it has already been so in the United States to a much larger extent than is generally understood. During the last twelve months most descriptions of agricultural produce have touched a lower point than was ever known before. As between the average annual prices of 1891 and 1893 on the New York Produce Exchange, wheat has fallen 32 per cent., corn 30 per cent., oats 27 per cent.; and other commodities have mostly followed the same course, although not in all cases to the same extent. It is not altogether easy to realise what this means to the typical Western farmer, who has to pay exceptionally high wages, and still compete with the agriculturists of the low-wage countries of Europe and Asia.

So far as the railroad interest is concerned, there appears to have been a considerable amount of discontent that the advances made to labour and the general conditions of railway employment were not so satisfactory as in manufacturing industries. In so far as this is a just and reasonable grievance, it may be attributed to the intense competition for business of all kinds on the part of the railway corporations themselves. No country has had a more remarkable record than the United States, from the point of view of cheapening the cost of transportation. For a long series of years the railways had to compete fiercely against water competition and against one another until they had reduced the average transportation charge on the principal lines in 1892 to about one-half of what it had been twelve years previously. In the years 1890 and 1891, the average amount of money received by the railroads of the United States as a whole for the transportation of the 700 million tons of traffic carried on an average of each of those years was only ·93 cent, or ·46*d.* per ton

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per mile, which is understood to be about one-third of the average charge made in the United Kingdom for the same service, disregarding long-distance coal traffic. This extraordinary movement has been highly beneficial to the general public, but it has been disastrous to the railroad companies themselves. The net average return on the 2,200 millions sterling invested in American railways to-day does not exceed 2 per cent., which is about one-half of the net average return obtained on the railways built in the United Kingdom. Under such a state of affairs, it is not to be wondered at that railway labour was not so highly remunerated as it otherwise would have been, nor that railway enterprise appears to have suffered an almost complete collapse. The American experience, in point of fact, has proved that unbridled competition, however beneficial to the general public, is so adverse to the interests immediately concerned as to suggest whether, after all, there is not a good deal to be said for the English system of regulated monopoly.

Another serious source of trouble and danger to the industrial community of the United States is the irregularity that has prevailed over the last ten or twelve years in the building of new railroads, and the consequently large numbers that have been irregularly employed. In 1882, for example, 11,569 miles of new line were constructed, but in 1884 the mileage laid down was only 3,924 miles. Again, in 1887 12,878 miles of new railway were built, whereas the corresponding total for 1889 was only 5,184 miles, and for 1892 it was 4,089 miles. Everyone who knows anything about the construction of railways can realise more or less imperfectly what this means. It not only implies that 200,000 or 300,000 of the men who are ordinarily employed in building railways are working at high pressure at one time, while they can find no work at another; but it implies also a standing menace to both capital and labour throughout the country. These vast bodies of workmen are not all located at one spot. They are scattered up and down the country over an area of nearly three millions of square miles. They are constantly coming into contact with other labour, and influencing the conditions of work and wages for good or for evil throughout the whole mass. They are, of course, ready to accept other employment when it is offered, and generally they are prepared to cut under the existing rate of wages. This is held to be inimical to the best interests of labour as a whole, and causes other labour at one time to revolt, and at another time to act in sympathy with the unemployed. The rank and file of railway labour, it need hardly be said, is largely recruited from the unsettled and migratory classes. The best evidence of this fact that can be afforded is given in the following table, which I have compiled from the census records of 1880 and 1890, showing the numbers employed on and about railways in ten groups of States.

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Statement showing the Numbers of Railway Employés in the United States, according to Census Groups, in 1890 *and in* 1880

Group of States	1890	1880
New England	49,586	32,585
New York, &c.	208,921	126,495
Indiana, &c.	107,542	73,425
The Virginias, &c.	30,857	12,034
Kentucky, Tennessee, &c.	58,991	25,123
Illinois, Iowa, &c.	139,530	84,413
Nebraska, &c.	18,454	2,237
Kansas, Colorado, &c.	52,905	14,801
Louisiana, Texas, &c.	28,138	2,951
California, Oregon, &c.	29,728	9,529
Total	724,652	383,593

It appears from this summary that the numbers employed in railway labour had almost doubled between 1880 and 1890. Manifestly, a very large proportion of the total for the later year must have been quite unused to the business, and probably new to the United States, in the earlier period, which is substantial corroboration of our hypothesis.

Another trouble that has beset the United States has been the turbulent and unruly character of much of the emigrant population, and the growing restiveness of the native population, or immigrants of long residence, under the constant pressure of hordes of labourers who were generally ready to accept work of any kind at whatever wages they could command.

Comparatively few people have any idea of the extent to which this movement has leavened the whole lump of American industry. During the period 1870-93 the number of emigrants who entered the United States was 10,020,000, being about one-sixth part of the total population of the country. It would not be safe to apply to emigrant, although generally adult, labour the same rules and laws of population and dependents as are applicable to those who live under a more settled and stable condition of things. But if we assume that, instead of one bread-winner providing for a family of five, as is usual in European countries, each emigrant has to provide for only one other than himself, we have a total emigrant population,actual or dependent, of nearly one-third of the total population of the country.

Like other movements in this country of fits and starts, the movement of emigration varies greatly as between one year and another. The average annual influx in the ten years ending 1883 was 368,000, while in the next ten years it rose to 488,000. In the latter period, therefore, the influx of emigrants was 33 per cent. more than it had been in the former period. Taking the twenty-four years between 1870 and 1883—both years inclusive—the smallest influx was 138,000 in 1878, which coincided with a year of great business depression in both Europe and Amercia. But in 1893, which was also a year of

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exceptional, if not of unpredecented, depression, the number of emigrants rose to 503,000, which was more than three and a half times as much as the influx of 1878. This fact has undoubtedly had an important bearing on the present industrial situation in the United States. Many thousands of needy workmen have poured into the country from every other land—men whose hopes and anticipations as to securing at once remunerative labour have been grievously disappointed. The resident population had already found it hard enough to secure and retain employment. Their chances and prospects in this respect were certainly not improved by having more than half a million other labourers thrown upon the labour market, impelled as many, if not the most, of them were by the spur of sheer necessity to accept work at any price. It is true that the Government had previous to this date endeavoured to stem the tide of pauper emigration, as such, by making certain laws which compelled emigrants to prove that they had some resources; but those resources were fixed at such a low level that the law has not had much effect on the general course and tendency of events. Another recent feature of the emigration movement has been the larger influx of labourers from countries that are specially noted as being nurseries of sedition, disaffection, and anarchy. Italy, which exported only 5,759 of her sons to the United States in 1879, sent no fewer than 71,000 in 1893; Russia raised her contribution from 4,434 in 1879 to 37,000 in 1893; and Poland advanced from 489 in 1879 to 13,600 in 1893. We do not usually expect to find the German emigrant much of a firebrand, but we must, nevertheless, remember that Socialism has taken a considerable root in that country, and more so of late years. When, therefore, we add that the exodus from the *Vaterland* to the United States advanced from 34,600 in 1879 to 96,300 in 1893, we should be prepared to find that the latter figures will include a larger proportion of the combustible material that has at different times given so much trouble at home. Nor should we omit to note that Ireland, which has done so much to populate the United States during the last quarter of a century, has not ceased to pour into that country vast levies of the emigrant class, although not so much of late years as at some previous periods, the total for the four years ending 1893 having been 212,000, as compared with 271,000 in the four immediately preceding years. The question of whether the United States have, on the whole, benefited by this influx of foreign labour is one that we are not here concerned to discuss. It is quite probable that, without the emigrant, America would not have been in the highly developed, and on the whole very flourishing, condition in which it stands to-day, or has lately stood. Emigration has populated the country, has felled its forests, tilled its soil, developed its mines, reared its industries, and produced its wealth. But there is another aspect of the labour problem that presses for solution at a time like the present, and to which I shall now briefly allude.

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Owing to the great influx of emigrant, and generally of more or less pauper, labour into the United States, the country is subject to continual risk of disturbances from which more settled countries are comparatively free. A large proportion of this emigrant population is 'agin' all law and order. They owe allegiance to no sovereign and to no country. They have generally had a hard and difficult lot at home, and they have usually left their own land in order that they may establish in the country of their adoption a different order of things. *Coûte que coûte*, they array themselves on the side that appears most likely to promise immediate gain. If unemployed, or enjoying very inadequate earnings, they are not infrequently ready to go to greater extremes in the way of agitation than they would have been with other and more favourable circumstances. The emigrant is in many respects a superior person. The enterprise, the valour, the indifference to the *agréments* of life, and the other qualities of daring and endeavour that have led him to change his home, and seek for a new life in a world of which he generally knows next to nothing, are all liable to abuse under conditions that are every now and again likely to arise in all countries, but are more especially liable to occur under the transitory and kaleidoscopic conditions of life and growth that occur in a country like the United States.

It is manifest, then, that the United States have been, and are, in a special degree likely to remain subject to the constant recrudescence of the labour question. For the United Kingdom this problem has a greater and a more enduring interest than appears on the surface. The unceasing and almost unhealthy energy of the American people has already placed them in a position to reconcile their economic system with cheap production in many products that have hitherto been supposed to be almost of purely British growth. American agriculture had displaced English agricultural produce many years ago, and threatens to do so more and more. But the British manufacturer has recently been threatened with the same fate. In the iron, cotton, and other leading industries, American inventiveness, industry, and enterprise have brought American prices almost down to a European level. The cultivation of foreign markets, hitherto disregarded except for agricultural produce, has now become, for American manufacturers, a matter of the most pressing concern. Having filled to overflowing their own previously redundant order-books, they are now adjusting their costs so as to meet Britain in the principal markets of the world. If Britain and the United States are alike sufferers by the restiveness of labour, the competition which we dread may still be some way off, but if Britain were to have a monopoly of labour troubles like the coal strike of last year, this undesirable and ominous end could not be long delayed.

J. S. JEANS.

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THE PRESENT POSITION OF EGYPTOLOGY

When the genius of Champollion found the key to the secrets of old Egyptian writing, when he demonstrated to all who chose to give his wonderful *Précis* a fair hearing, that he had indeed deciphered long texts, not completely, but, as far as he went scientifically, both he and the learned world of his day must have thought the remainder of the task easy of accomplishment. The great man himself copied texts from Cairo to Wadi Halfa with the most unwearied industry; it seemed to require but a thorough analysis of these texts upon the principles he had laid down to make the reading of old Egyptian as certain as the reading of a Greek or Hebrew text. The men of his day must have been convinced that before the end of the century this work would be complete, and must have envied the lot of us who were to inherit the rich harvest of their labour. These anticipations have been only partially verified. The advance since Champollion's day has indeed been considerable, but still the texts which he could not translate are for the most part texts which are now only rendered with hesitation, or even at random. Plain historical statements he could make out; poems or moral treatises are still sealed books to those who are not satisfied with guessing, and require a strict grammatical analysis of each word and form in a sentence. Hieratic texts have still to be transliterated back into hieroglyphics in order to be read, and this process, difficult and uncertain on every page, shows how imperfectly we have acquired the old Egyptian language. When we come to the still more cursive Demotic, which ought to represent a language very like Coptic, we find with astonishment that, in spite of long parallel versions in hieroglyphics, and even in Greek, such as those on the Rosetta Stone, nobody has yet given any conclusive solution of its mysteries; for the solution of Revillout is rejected by Brugsch, that of Brugsch by Revillout; and though it is likely that each of them has grasped some of the methods of that cursive scrawl, there is as yet no book which could teach a student with any security how to decipher and translate a demotic document.

Shall we say, then, that Champollion's discovery was a failure? Far from it; any simple historical inscription which now turns up can

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be read with reasonable certainty. But when we come to compare his achievement with other inspirations which have made great minds strike out a path into the unknown, we cannot class it with such discoveries as those of steam or electricity, which make steady way, and are enlarged and promoted from year to year; it is rather like those in sociology or in linguistic, where the first master strikes out a luminous idea and writes a great book, which promises speedy results; but after his own generation has been dazzled by it, comes the criticism of the next; exceptions, and violations of his laws, are discovered; the large views which he stated with convincing clearness become misty and obscure; and men set themselves to rediscover in some new way, generally with poor and shabby minuteness, and with many modifications, what was once an accepted theory. We may cite as examples of such inchoate, but yet incomplete, discoveries the great *Wealth of Nations* by Adam Smith—a work which still stands out, and will ever stand out, as that of a pioneer, and the only book on political economy which displays its genius to every kind of intelligent reader. But among the specialists and the schools, this work of genius, which swayed all Europe in its day, is laid upon the shelf as an antiquated affair, superseded by the smaller and duller men who have pulled his system to pieces, and are offering us the fragments as a science most of whose first principles are still under dispute. So it is with that system of comparative grammar which Bopp constructed in a great work of which mere faint echoes reach the modern student. Since his day several successors have been set up and deposed, and various schools are still quarrelling over the residue of his once vast estate. One thing only is certain; while in Linguistic the Schleichers and Curtiuses, in Political Economy the Mills and Ricardos, dominate for a while and then pass away, nothing will ever destroy the just title to gratitude earned by the first pioneers, nor can we ever be deprived of the great enrichment of ideas which these everlasting benefactors of our race have bestowed upon us.

So it is with Champollion, and perhaps in a greater degree; for we say, with assurance, that his work was rather incomplete than erroneous, and the gaps which he left are to be filled up, not by the discovery of new principles, but by the further and better application of the methods he employed. He was the first to insist that Coptic was the high road to old Egyptian speech; and now every intelligent Egyptologist agrees that Coptic is the only road. But we must know more Coptic than he did, and know it better; we must copy more texts than he did, and copy them more accurately; above all, we must not pretend to understand what we are unable to analyse. The modern school, represented in Germany by Erman, Stern, &c., are quite alive to all this; they tell us constantly that they are quite at a loss, and that for the understanding of Egyptian philosophy and poetry our knowledge is quite insufficient. Their translations are

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full of gaps and queries; they seem to have fallen far short of the fluent renderings of Chabas, and E. de Rougé, and Lauth. But they are first of all grammarians; they know that without the basis of grammar all is vain and uncertain; and so far Egyptian grammar is still in its infancy.

But why is this so? Why cannot this language, like any other, be analysed into its fundamental laws? The answer is not far to seek. The mass of documents, which were long treated as homogeneous, are really separated by such vast lapses of time that we have specimens of the language in its archaic or primitive, its fully developed, and its decadent stages. It is far worse than if a student were to take Anglo-Saxon, with Elizabethan, and Victorian English, and endeavour to learn them concurrently. For be it remembered that the four great epochs of Egyptian history, from which the main body of our documents come, are the Old Empire, say 3400 B.C.; the middle, say 2000 B.C.; the new, say 1300 B.C.; the Ptolemaic, say 250 B.C. It is obvious to any student of language that during such intervals the speech of the people must have altered almost beyond recognition. Only within the last ten years has the severance of our texts according to these epochs been undertaken, and the modern German school is devoting itself specially to the study of the *Pyramid-texts*, the documents of the Old Empire, in which we find, if not by any means the earliest phase of Egyptian, at least a style archaic and simple as compared with the later epochs. The analysis of these early texts is now being prosecuted with great zeal; from them proceed such books as Erman's short grammar, which strives to put the learning of old Egyptian on a scientific basis.

But why not start from the most modern phase, the Ptolemaic inscriptions, and reason backward from them, seeing that here the help of the earliest Coptic texts should be very great? For early Coptic is only severed from late Ptolemaic Egyptian by two or three centuries, so that these two should be nearly the same language disguised in different scripts. The answer to this most reasonable question discloses the next great obstacle in the way of Egyptologists. The Ptolemaic texts written in hieroglyphics, which cover the majority of the extant temples in Egypt, are in the first place most difficult to read, on account of the immense variety of signs employed. Secondly, this wealth of writing contains as little matter as possible—generally nothing but pompous reiterations of titles and barren formulæ of encomium upon kings and gods. Thirdly, the language in which these inanities are expressed is so artificial that it differs almost as widely from Coptic as any phase of Egyptian. The demotic papyri which are business papers must be far closer to Coptic, and here the passage from Christian to pagan Egyptian ought to be possible. But then, as has been said already, demotic is not yet satisfactorily deciphered, or transliterated from the cursive form into the separate

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capitals of the older script. Hence no man has yet succeeded in passing from Coptic to Ptolemaic Egyptian, and it seems probable that the living epoch of Christian Egypt will more easily be brought to bear on the living organism of early Egypt than on the embalmed mummy of the Ptolemaic artists, whose myriad little signs seem but too often to be employed as mere decoration. Vast wall-spaces were to be furnished, as we furnish our houses with wall-papers, and so the artists produced long designs in picture-writing, without much regard to the sense.

Yet even so it cannot be denied that Coptic must throw light upon any stage of old Egyptian. But how stands it with the study of that language? Who, since the days of Amadeo Peyron and of Tattam, has made his mark in advancing the knowledge of it? While I am writing there is a new Coptic Grammar appearing in Germany, which will doubtless be a step in advance; but are our Egyptian scholars sound Coptic scholars, and do they possess not only a dictionary knowledge, but a feeling of the idiom and spirit of the language, such as is possessed by any good classical scholar regarding Greek or Latin? Recent controversies make us feel very doubtful whether the average knowledge of Coptic among Egyptian scholars is at all adequate. During the past year Professor Robert Atkinson, known in his university as a scientific linguist of the first order, has published in the *Proceedings* of the Royal Irish Academy criticisms upon the Coptic work of two professional scholars in that department. It does not require much knowledge of Coptic to learn from these trenchant articles that both scholars, esteemed by the world as high authorities, and bold enough to publish translations of Coptic texts, have not even a respectable knowledge of grammar; they are unable to divide their text into its component words, and produce versions only fit for ridicule. If such work were published on any language understood by the world of scholars, the authors of it would be silenced at once by the derision of their fellow-workers. But in Coptic these things seem to pass muster, and the honest critic who exposes them is looked upon by Egyptologists with uneasiness and dislike. For who knows on what Egyptian scholar the search-light of his grammatical analysis may next be turned? and if these things be done in the green tree of Coptic, where we have a whole version of the Bible to guide us, what is being done in the dry tree of old Egyptian, where there are myriad difficulties in addition to the mere learning of a systematic grammar and a new set of words? The third cause therefore why Egyptian studies are halting in their progress is the imperfect study and knowledge of Coptic. Until a scholar can write correct Coptic prose, and know by a trained instinct what is possible or not in that language, he will not be able to solve the riddles in old Egyptian idiom and style. These things are at last coming to the knowledge of men; there will

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grow up a new generation who will learn Coptic honestly; the old texts will be severed into their respective stages more and more accurately, and so even the next decade will show advances in this science greater than all that has been done since Lepsius' day.

But while the new school have been drawing careful distinctions of epochs as regards language, they have discovered that these epochs show great contrasts in the political and social ordering of the nation. The old idea that all Egyptian history was politically uniform, or rather politically of no interest, as presenting us with the dull sameness of a religious despotism tempered by occasional court conspiracies or invasions from without—this vague idea is giving way to a far different notion. We know now that there are few phases of monarchy or aristocracy in mediæval Europe which had not their counterparts in the long ages of the Pharaohs. There was absolute monarchy, feudalism, sacerdotal tyranny, the rise of adventurers like the condottieri of mediæval Italy—all sorts of government short of democracy in this land once thought so uniform and unchangeable. This explication of old Egyptian history, this introducing of life and character into the dead uniformity of the thirty dynasties, is due to Erman, whose fascinating book on Egypt has been translated, and should supplement, as he suggests, the older standard book of Wilkinson. The longer we study the subject, the more we learn to respect the care and patience with which Wilkinson worked; but it was the private life of the people which occupied him; the discovery of the political changes is due to the new German school.

So many intelligent people now go to Egypt, and so difficult is it in Egypt to obtain any information beyond the handbooks, that it may be well to give the substance of these new studies on old Egyptian politics in a short and plain review. For the handbooks, though very ably and carefully edited, lose themselves in details, and impress no general views on the student's mind.

The first point to be noted is the isolation of the great stages of Egyptian history between long centuries of obscurity and confusion which the general reader may omit as of no account. He need not be alarmed at the prospect of distinguishing the names and acts of the kings of thirty dynasties. Let him get into his head dynasties IV–VI, XI–XII, XVIII–XIX, after which Egypt soon comes into relation with Assyria, Judæa, Persia, and Greece; for the names of Shishak, Tirhaka, Necho, are familiar to us from childhood, and from Psammetichus onward the Greeks had access to Egypt, and could tell us of the wars with Persia, and the subjugations by Cambyses and Ochus. But to the modern traveller all these kings seem of little import in comparison with the Ptolemies, whose remains in modern Egypt meet us at every step, and are likely to mislead the unwary into the belief that he is contemplating old Egyptian work, when he is really looking at a Renaissance promoted by foreign sovrans. Yet

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these Ptolemies are mere modern history, and may be treated after the genuine antiquities of the land in an appendix.

Turning back to the three epochs denoted by figures above, we note with amazement that they are separated by vast periods of darkness, through which long lines of kings wander like Homer's shades in the wastes of asphodel, or like the procession in the visions of Macbeth. Their names and reigns are the proper object of learned research, but are as obscure in Egyptian as the later emperors in Byzantine history. The most enigmatical and interesting of these obscurities, from which the fourth dynasty suddenly stands out, is the first development of the race, and of that civilisation which stands before us as complete then—say 3400 B.C.—as it does 2000 years later in the days of Ramses. Artistically it stands even far higher. The Egyptians themselves only knew that the monarchy had been founded a few centuries earlier by Menes; they filled up the interval with three dynasties, of whom some actual remains are extant, showing that even back to Menes civilisation was there—hieroglyphic writing, sculpture, irrigation, architecture.

But how did it come there, and what came before it? To this unavoidable question—the human mind refuses to accept a great fact without its causes—there has hitherto been no answer. The state dress of the earliest kings, an apron of lion's skin and a fantastic head-dress, is very like that of an African savage. But what foreign influences were added, and when, to change him into a civilised monarch? Hitherto we have only answered this question by guesses. At last we are coming upon a piece of evidence which may aid us to the solution. During last winter Mr. Petrie found at Coptos, under the remains of the early dynasties, rude and primitive statues which he declares to be prehistoric. I have only seen unsatisfactory photographs of these strange figures, which are painted upon a badly modelled stone surface, somewhat like the earliest Greek work, and have ear-rings. The actual statues have gone to Gizeh. But here we may find, as Mr. Petrie believes, representations of the early Eastern foreigners who brought the arts of peace into Egypt.

But we have delayed too long our political sketch. The remains of the Early Empire, which we denote as dynasties IV to VI, and which was certainly older than 3000 B.C., are gathered about the pyramids, and consist almost exclusively in tombs which tell us of the life of their occupants. The Sphinx, and the granite temple in front of it, are silent in their majesty. The tombs, however, disclose to us that the political condition of dynasties IV to VI was a bureaucratic despotism, in which the king had acquired unlimited powers, was regarded as infallible, and not only commanded unlimited labour from the lower classes, but held in his hand all the dignities of the higher classes, whose nobility is a nobility of office, with titles as

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ceremonious as those of the Byzantine court. *Superintendent of the King's Works* seems to have been the highest of titles, as we might expect from such building kings as the constructors of the pyramids. There seems to have been no desire for foreign conquest till the end of the period, when Pepi (VI. d.), whose power reached to the cataract and into the Syrian desert, lights up the glory of his dynasty, which presently sets in gloom. It is now tolerably clear that separate officials, set over works in the provinces, had been acquiring local importance, and becoming local princes. Already they begin to despise the tombs under the shadow of the kings, and seek a resting-place at Abydos, the special sanctum of Osiris. So the great royalty of Chufu and Chefra passes into the hands of a number of local magnates, who, when the day breaks in upon them again at the opening of the second period (XI–XIIth dyn., circ. 2000 B.C.), show the appearance of an early feudal system, wherein the king, indeed, was suzerain, but his vassal chiefs almost independent, commanding their local militia, protecting and irrigating the lands of their dependents, and celebrating upon their tombs, not their duties to the king, but their merits towards the people under their own control. The majority of the poor people in each *nome* seem now to have been called after their local *nomarch*, not after the monarch, as of old; even dates are reckoned not by the year of the king, but by those of the local and hereditary governor.

All these interesting facts are drawn from the great storehouse of tombs at Beni-hassan, which represent the Middle Empire, just as the tombs of Saqqarah represent the Old. But there are also tombs at Siut showing that the separation into independent nomes, ruled by hereditary vassals, each supplied with its own troops, officials, treasury, and so forth, was common throughout Egypt. At the same time royal lands, royal taxes, and a whole system of imperial officials still existed. Nor did the local nobility despise accepting official titles, and even accumulating a dozen of them, as the nobility of modern Europe loves to accumulate orders, and functions about Court. But when the same personage has a crowd of high offices conferred upon him, it is of course under the condition of having the work done by somebody else; and so the tombs of Abydos disclose to us the existence of what we may call a middle class, lower officials who did the work of the Crown throughout the country, while the Lord High Almoners, and Lords-in-waiting, and Wardens of the Cinque Ports only enjoyed the dignities of office. No doubt precedence was as strict at the Court of the Pharaohs as in any mediæval monarchy, and the old official grandees, whose only nobility was their proximity to the king in his household, had transmitted these traditions to the new territorial magnates. We now have such titles as *Real next Friend of the King*, *Real Chief Priest*, *Real Lord Chief Justice*, &c., heaped upon a man, which shows clearly that some one else (perhaps

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even the man himself) enjoyed them as empty titles, or as the heirloom of some ancestor who had really done the king's work.

It was under these conditions, however, that the great centralised power of the sixth dynasty was dissipated, and we have only strings of royal names reaching across the 1000 years which separate it from the conclusion of the eleventh dynasty, when the kings began to reassert themselves as real sovrans. The great monarchs of the twelfth dynasty, Usertesens and Amenemhats, as they were called, tell us that they went out throughout the land, putting down frowardness, and rearranging the bounds of each province or *nome*. In other words, having obtained a sufficient military force, we know not how, being aided, no doubt, by the jealousies and quarrels of rival nomarchs, they reasserted their authority, coerced rebellious vassals, and founded a strong and central monarchy.

The evidences of their greatness are still before us. One of them, Amenemhat the First, with an engineering genius very different from that of our modern professionals, who seem unable to irrigate Lower Egypt without destroying Lower Nubia, led the Nile by a long canal into the Fayyum, so turning a great waste tract, with a salt lake below it, into a vast oasis, where 'the desert blossomed like a rose.' Another, Usertesen the Third, not only carried his victorious armies into Nubia, and obtained control of the precious gold-mines in the desert east of that country, but he has left us at Semneh, above the second cataract, a vast fort showing the resources of his power, and the permanent military protection of his frontier.

Yet when this splendid dynasty, regarded even by the literary men of after days as the classical period in Egyptian history, passed away, we sink again into an obscurity through which we grope in vain for evidences of internal decay, and can only infer from our knowledge of the Twelfth Dynasty that the feudal instincts of the nomes were too strong for the royalty, when it chanced to pass into feebler hands. But no other cause for the weakness of the succeeding dynasties than internal disintegration can be assigned, till we come to the invasion of the Hyksos, or Semitic tribes from the N.E.; and of course the prime cause of their success was the want of union in their opponents. The dominion of the Shepherd Kings is still a portion of the obscure periods, and the stray lights we receive from Hebrew history have not enabled us to explicate its perplexities. It is pretty certain that Abraham's Pharaoh was a Shepherd King, though we know for certain that such friendly inroads of Semite chiefs had been taking place for centuries, and we have from the tombs of Beni Hassan (XII d.) a fresco which might serve for an illustration of the Book of Genesis. Concerning Joseph's Pharaoh no man can tell for certain whether he was one of the last of the Shepherd Kings, or one of the national deliverers of the early eighteenth dynasty. There are features in the Book of Genesis which make either view

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possible, and therefore neither of them certain. If he was of Shepherd origin, why should he permit a shepherd to be called an abomination even in his Egyptian household? If he was one of the deliverers of Egypt from foreign occupation, why should he settle a tribe of foreigners in one of the richest borders of his country?

But these controversies must not detain us. We know that the third great period of old Egyptian history (XVIII–XIX) began with a national crusade, under Ahmes, against the Shepherd Kings of the Delta. This crusade started from Thebes, in Upper Egypt, and resulted not only in the expulsion of the strangers, but in the establishment of a strong military monarchy, as unlike that of the twelfth dynasty (to use Erman's illustration) as the Empire of Napoleon was from the Kingdom of St. Louis.

More important to the royalty than external conquest was the subjugation of the local magnates, the absorption of their estates into Crown land, and the establishment of a standing army, partly mercenary, to control all internal revolt. The whole population is regarded as in serfdom to the king. The titles of distinction are now again mere official posts in the Court, but now also for the first time chiefly military. While these titles were held by natives, we may be sure that from the earliest times most of the fighting was done by foreign mercenaries, for the native Egyptian is not a fighting man. And so the mercenary chiefs who fought for the Ramessids gradually increased in influence, and in due time (in the person of Shishak) wrested the dominion out of native hands. But at first the other great ally of the conquering kings claimed his reward. This was the priesthood of Amon, god of Thebes, who gradually absorbed the worship and the property of the other gods. As the nobles of the various nomes, so their gods were absorbed by the central power. How mediæval all this appears! A family of able sovrans obtains the alliance of the Church, and with its aid, coinciding with a national struggle against foreign domination, overthrows the nobles or feudal chiefs, who had submitted to that domination, and so sets up a Holy Egyptian Empire.

The conquests of these kings extended from the Euphrates to Khartoum. The eldest son of the king is called prince and governor of Cush. The occupation of Palestine and Syria leads to that long duel between the powers of Mesopotamia and of Egypt, in which the Jews are between hammer and anvil, and which terminates in the occupation of Egypt first by the Assyrians, then by the Persians. But while these military consequences were far off, the pressing danger to the new monarchy lay in the demands of the priesthood. Even the Christian Church has been at times insatiable of power, and of wealth as an instrument of power. The Egyptian ecclesiastics had no traditions of poverty or simplicity to check them. They demanded, as the price of the favour of Amon, temples, estates, gold, slaves,

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taxes. How early the kings must have felt this pressure appears from the strange religious reform of Amenoph the Fourth, who abolished the worship of Amon, erased the god's name from official use, and even deserted the great capital, the home of the God, for a new palace (Tel-el-amarnah). But his descendants were powerless against the great organisation of the priests; his reforms were reversed, his name cursed, and the Ramessids, small and great, are dutiful servants of Amon, and lavish patrons of the priesthood. The temples about Karnak show what they did in architecture, but the extant list of the gifts[1] bestowed on temples during the reign of Ramses the Third exceeds the bounds of all reasonable belief, and shows that at least the third of all the resources of Egypt must have been absorbed by the established religion. And yet Ramses the Third was still a vigorous king, a respectable conqueror, a worthy descendant of his great ancestors. With the later kings of his name—nine more are enumerated—royalty degenerated into that melancholy condition which was described by the priests to Diodorus as ideally perfect, when the king could not rise up or lie down, eat, drink, sleep, walk, write, without the prescription of the priest of Amon to direct him. After a few generations of *rois fainéants*, the priests got tired of this indirect rule, and actually ascended the throne, like the Popes of Rome. This ecclesiastical sovranty, which probably regarded the interests of the endowed religion as far more important than those of the nation, was overthrown by the Libyan condottiere Shishak (Sheshonk), from whose time onward the unfortunate country became the prey of home adventurers and of foreign invaders—the only gleam of national sunshine being Psamtik and his family (XXVI d.)—till all the oriental conquests were swallowed up by Alexander, and the Ptolemies began their famous rule in a Hellenized Egypt.

To write the history of these Macedonians, leavened with Greek, and presently even with native influences, is a task which Egyptian and Greek historians have each regarded as beyond their province with the solitary exception of Sharpe, whose meritorious book was written before the new lights began to be thrown upon this once brilliant but now obscure period. We know vastly more now, but even now the historian hesitates to commit his views to the public, when there is a likelihood every year that important additions will be made to our knowledge. While I am writing these pages, I have under my hand a new text brought by Mr. Petrie from Egypt, which is a blue-book of the regulations of the sale and taxing of oil and wine, more elaborate and more complete than all documents of the kind we have ever discovered. It dates from the later years of the second Ptolemy. Any Ptolemaic history published this spring must have missed this important help to understanding the administration of the Macedonian dynasty. Whenever a really thorough Coptic

[1] Cf. Erman, *op. cit.* pp. 405, 599.

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scholar arises, who attacks the systematic decipherment of the myriad demotic papyri, which contain all the daily records of business during this period, we shall be able to supplement the gaps, and solve the riddles, which make our Greek papyri so fascinating, but so disappointing a study.

The task I had undertaken was indeed partly to stimulate this new line of attack among Egyptologists, but chiefly to show the reader that, while hunting for stages in language, recent scholars have stumbled on a remarkable political history. They have also stumbled upon the remains of a real literature, and those who read Erman's fifteenth chapter will be surprised and affected to find there, not only old Egyptian hymns, fables, and moral speculations, but songs of love and wine, passionate and reckless literary controversies, artificial confidences, all the weeds, as well as the blossoms, of the garden of the human mind. These are well deserving of a special study, were we only sure that even from Maspero's master-hand we were being treated to the actual text of the hieratic scribe, and that suggestions of the nineteenth century A.D. have not supplied the gaps of sense in the confessions of the fourteenth century B.C. Are all these passionate utterances really old Egyptian, or are they imposed upon the ancients by the genius of the modern Frenchman? Let us hope that erelong we may receive full assurance how like, even in letters, the first bloom of the world's civilisation has been to all the rest, even to that latest born which we praise and pity in turn, the spoilt child of the world's maturity.

J. P. MAHAFFY.

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FACTS FROM BIHAR ABOUT THE MUD-DAUBING

So much excitement, both out here and in England, has been aroused by what is now generally known as the 'mud-daubing mystery in Bihar,' and the matter has been treated of directly and indirectly so much of late by the Press (having been also made the subject of questions in the House of Commons), that there is no fear of its being regarded as an insignificant subject, unworthy of public attention. Moreover, the general and increasing interest now taken in all matters referring to India and Indian politics makes it unnecessary to apologise for the introduction of Indian affairs. Many well-known Anglo-Indians have written their views on the subject; but they have all been handicapped by the fact that they are writing from a distance, and have not seen the phenomenon they are attempting to describe, nor had the advantage of being on the spot and able to test for themselves the probabilities and improbabilities of the many theories and explanations which have been brought before the public. The great festival of Bagr-Id has just passed off with unusual quietness, in spite of many gloomy forebodings, and this is a fitting time to examine the grounds of alarm produced by the mud-daubing phenomenon. I propose in the present article to give a short sketch of the origin and geographical position of the mud-daubing movement, and to discuss the two heads into which the subject naturally divides itself:—

1. Were the mysterious marks caused by human or animal agency?

2. If by human agency, then, was the object religious or political?

Obviously, if the marks were caused by animal agency, then the second question will cease to have any meaning whatever.

It may not be out of place at the commencement to speak a little of the geographical position of the districts where the phenomenon at first appeared. Of the great districts of N. Bihar, three—*i.e.* Champaran, Muzaffarpur (Tirhut), and Darbhanga have subdivisions which lie along the frontier border of Nipal. These three subdivisions are Bettiah, Sitamarhi, and Madubani. All roads to and from Nipal into N. Bihar run through these subdivisions. The great Hindu

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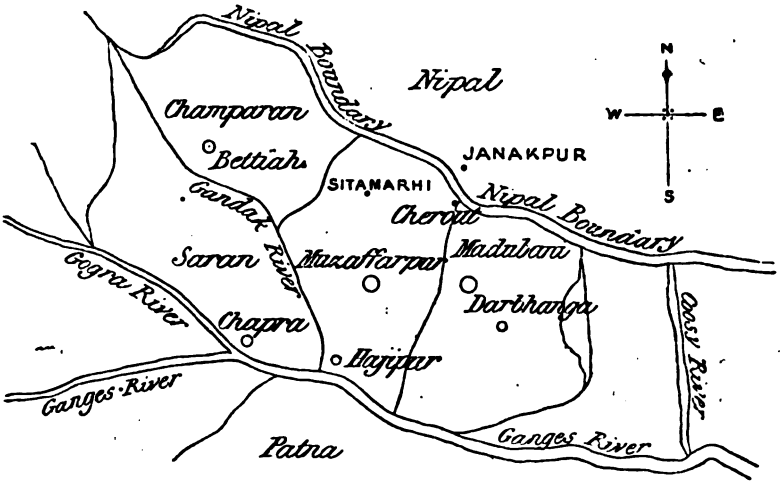
shrine of Janakpur lies north of Sitamarhi, a few miles over the Nipal frontier, and the direct road to and from Janakpur passes through the subdivision of Sitamarhi. Towards the end of January of this year a vast number of trees of all descriptions, both on and off the roads in N. Sitamarhi, were found to have been strangely marked in the night. Hundreds of trees had been marked in the same night, and gachis (groves) unmarked in the day were found on the next morning to have been marked. The actual mark consisted of a rough circular patch of mud, about a quarter of an inch in thickness, and at the average height of from two to three and a half feet from the ground, placed on the bark of the trees. In the centre of this mud several hairs, usually black, were found to have been placed. There is no doubt that this mud-marking came first to Sitamarhi from the



ROUGH SKETCH-MAP SHOWING THE RELATIVE POSITIONS OF JANAKPUR AND SITAMARHI (WHERE THE MUD-DAUBING BEGAN) AND THE DISTRICTS OF N. BIHAR.

direction of Nipal, and this is very important to note; and that from thence it spread rapidly to Bettiah and Madubani, and then south, until it reached the Patna and Saran districts; but for a long time the marking was confined to the North Gangetic districts, and the subsequent southward movement need not be taken into consideration. As subdivisional officer of Sitamarhi I have had many opportunities for observation which have not been available to others in different positions; and as for the past two years I have been cut off almost entirely from all European society, I have had more leisure for acquainting myself with the language and habits of the lower classes of natives than would have been the case in a less isolated locality. This is my excuse for writing on a subject already treated of by well-known authorities on Indian matters. The accompanying sketch-

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map will be of use as showing the geographical position of any places mentioned in this article.

1. We have now to consider the first and most essential of the two questions before us, *i.e.* the agency by which the mark was caused. The lower classes of natives, the simple Dusads, Goalas, Chamars, &c., who live in the northern villages, for the most part profoundly believe that the marks were caused by divine agency. The first story circulated was that Hanumàn, the monkey god, had in one night excavated a great tank in sacred Janakpur, and that a little of the earth, with some hairs from his tail, was placed upon every tree as a 'sign.' Thereupon many villagers went off to the shrine of Janakpur to see, and returned to tell the others that no such tank existed. As the marks spread great excitement was felt, and many villagers declared they had watched gachis all night and that the mystic marks had appeared in the night from some invisible agency; but the superstition of these natives about groves of trees at night is so great that it is very unlikely such stories have any real truth. One that gained some credence with the grihasts was, that three natives who watched at night in a gachi saw headless beings of such terrible appearance that they died of the shock. This story is exactly the sort that the uneducated native would believe, and it no doubt had a great effect in stopping any further vigils. But, leaving these legends, there are two theories seriously put forward. The first is that the marking was done exclusively by human agency, and the other, that the marks were caused by pigs and other animals rubbing against trees.

The answer given by the Secretary of State for India in Parliament was to the effect that 90 per cent. of the marks were caused by pigs and other animals. The Commissioner of Patna, in a letter to the *Englishman* dated the 4th of June, says:—

'I think it as well here to observe that the extent to which the tree-daubing has been carried is not by any means so great as is generally supposed. I have already noticed above that by far the larger portion of the marks, which were at the outset hastily put down to human agency, have since been ascertained to be the work of animals. Evidence to this effect is coming in from all sides, both as the result of official investigations and from independent sources, from indigo-planters and others. Thus, from one of the latest reports I find that the district magistrate and the district superintendent of police have, 'by careful personal inquiry,' found all the marks reported by the police in certain villages were the work of the village cattle; the people themselves had no idea of attributing them to anything else. From another district the superintendent of police writes to the same effect. He had just returned from a tour up to the Nipal border for the purpose of investigating this particular subject. This officer confidently states that, 'out of thousands of marks examined by him, only three appeared to be the work of human beings.'

Now, in my own mind, I have no doubt whatever that the marks

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were in the first instance caused entirely by human agency. Later on, when public attention was drawn closely to the matter, all sorts of mud-marks were inspected critically, by officials and others, which were not the genuine mud-marks; and of course many marks of an ordinary kind on trees are caused by animals. But these original mud-marks were by no means ordinary; they were so unusual that they attracted the attention of everyone, and were noticeable from a long way off. Entire groves of several hundred trees were in the same cases marked thus. For instance, at Cherout, the residence of a muhaut, close to the Nipal frontier, where I was in camp, a very large gachi was entirely marked. Pigs are not so abundant nor are they so methodical as to accomplish this.

It has been alleged in support of the pig-and-cattle theory that only in places where there was water close by, in tanks or rivers, have the marks been found. This is quite incorrect. The marks were found where there was no water, except in deep wells where no animals could get at it. Further, in many instances the marks were high up on the trees, just a convenient height for an ordinary man to reach, but much too high for a pig to get at. If cows had made the marks, as some allege, then we should expect to find white hair instead of nearly all black. Again, marks were found in places where no pigs or cows could get at the trees at all, such as shut-up compounds. The trees in the Sitamarhi market were found marked, and in factory compounds where no animals were allowed to enter. In many cases where the mud was quite freshly laid on, evidently just laid on in the preceding night, *the marks of five fingers* were distinctly visible upon the mud. It was as though a man had taken up a handful of wet mud and rubbed it upon the bark of the tree with a circular motion of the palm of his hand, and then placed a few hairs in the midst of it. A number of villagers showed me a mango-grove in which nearly all the trees had been marked, and one native, a Dusad, taking up a little wet mud and some of the hairs of one of the trees, produced an exact facsimile of the mark in a moment with his hand. It would have been quite possible for two men to mark hundreds of trees in a single night in this way, whereas most people will probably agree that for cows or pigs to do such a thing would be impossible. Further, nearly all cows and bullocks are kept fastened up at night for fear of theft. Again, those who say that the marks were caused by pigs or cows forget that the common natives are wonderfully observant. It would be quite impossible for cows and pigs to make these marks without being seen by the natives; and then they would have made this known at once, for there would be no object for concealment. I think it is quite clear that the original marks were caused simply and solely by human agency, and every native and resident non-official European to whom I have spoken on the subject has agreed with me that the marks could not have been caused by other than human agency. It must be understood that I

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am referring to the original and conspicuous marking of trees, and not to all the minute scrapings and smearings which were so eagerly investigated a month or two afterwards. I am at a loss to understand the report of the district superintendent of police mentioned by the Commissioner of Patna in his letter (above quoted), that 'out of thousands of marks examined by him, only three appeared to be the work of human beings.' This officer may have been shown different markings by the villagers, or he may have seen them long after they were made; and I may incidentally mention that *after a few days* the mud-mark was no longer so conspicuous as it was when freshly laid on, and the marks of fingers became indistinct and the general appearance of the mark altered, owing to atmospherical causes. My experience is, of course, limited to my own subdivision where the marks first appeared. What happened afterwards and elsewhere I do not know, except by hearsay.

2. Having now shown that the marks were caused by human agency (and nearly all authorities agree that a certain percentage of them at any rate were so caused), we have to consider the second question, Whether the object of the marks was *political or religious*? Obviously, if we could tell the class of persons who daubed the trees we should be greatly helped in deciding the object of the movement. As it is, we have to draw our inferences as best we may. The Commissioner of Patna, in the letter above mentioned to the *Englishman*, states:—

> The tree-daubing was of quite local origin, having been started about last February, on the border of the Nipal Terai. My belief is that it was intended to be what it was believed at the time by the natives of the locality to be, viz. an advertisement of the Janakpur shrine in Nipal. If this was the object, as the best-informed persons think that it was, and that it still is, it has certainly succeeded, for Janakpur has, without any doubt, gone up in the pilgrim market. By the latest reports streams of Sadhus are still on their way from Hurdwar, Ajudhia, and other places in the N.-W.P. to visit this shrine.
>
> The news of this 'marking' quickly spread, and the wandering gangs of Sadhus who are going about the country have all heard of the matter, and, true to the instincts of their calling, are following the lead given them and are marking trees wherever they go. It is quite possible, too, as supposed by Mr. Gibbon, that Domes and other low castes have in some places been employed to do the work. It is not unlikely, also, that in other places the villagers, having heard of the movement, and not knowing in the least what it means, are, with true feelings of devoutness, following the example.

This is extremely likely, and I agree with the statement which follows: 'It is now generally established that the tree-daubing by hand is chiefly the work of wandering Sadhus diverging from the neighbourhood of Janakpur.'

Many people regarded the movement as bearing a political significance, and Colonel Malleson and others in England and India wrote to this effect. Mr. T. M. Gibbon, the manager of the Bettiah Raj, takes a diametrically opposite view of the movement to that taken by the Commissioner of Patna, and says, to quote his own words in a letter dated the 23rd of May:—

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I see from your telegrams that Sir Alfred Lyall, Lord Lansdowne, Lord Roberts, and Sir Lepel Griffin have all given it as their deliberate opinion that the movement is wholly religious and non-political; but as the telegrams are necessarily of the shortest, I fail to understand how they can have come to such a conclusion. I fail to see how the one is to be separated from the other. If, as many believe, the object of the propaganda is to secure the supremacy of the Hindu religion—and they believe such supremacy can only be gained by the subversion of the British Government—we can hardly call the movement religious and non-political. Their object may be religious, but I think it will be found on inquiry that the Hindus themselves only hope to gain their object by political measures. I see it is stated in many places that the matter is of no consideration and beneath our notice; and, in other places, those who attach importance to the movement are derided or styled alarmists. The man who derides us for attaching importance to it does not know the country.

It must, I think, be admitted by everyone that it is openly talked over everywhere, thought over by everyone, and that the majority of the natives have at one time or another gone to the Brahmins, to the Mohunts, the Sadhus, the Jotesees, to place an interpretation on the 'omen' or Tutka. Will anyone say that the Tutka has been interpreted as being considered fortunate to anyone? Every interpretation placed upon it having reference to the worldly estate of the parties concerned denotes misfortune or calamity—misfortune to the Government, where it has been interpreted to concern it, misfortune to rajas, all reasuths, and rulers, and calamity to the people generally. The people have been and are being told that 'this year will be a year of plenty, but there will be few mouths left to eat it.' Those who deride us for being anxious little know what this means to our superstitious population, and the effect it will have on them.

Should the belief gain ground that the omen presages evil to them personally, absolute apathy will take possession of them should our province be visited by cholera or famine; only those who have to work for and with them know what a hopeless business it is to help those who will not help themselves. As yet the majority believe that it presages trouble to our Government, evil to all reasuths. The religious aspirations of the people, the political motives of their leaders, we may safely leave the Government to deal with, but the economic effect of the movement must be closely watched and followed by all who live by and with the people, whether native zemindar or European planter, even at the risk of being dubbed alarmists.

Thus there are two theories put forward. I think that if it can be shown that the work was done by Sadhus, we have gone a long way to 'proving' that the object was a religious one. My opinion, after inquiry on all sides, is that the marking is a purely religious matter, and has no political significance whatever. It must be remembered that the time at which the marking first appeared was about two months before the great annual meeting, or mela, at the shrine of Janakpur. Thousands of pilgrims pass through Sitamarhi, on their way to the shrine, for this mela; but over and above this there is a constant stream of Sadhus coming and going the whole year round, and more especially during the period immediately preceding the mela. Here is, then, an agency all ready to hand, and capable of producing the mud-daubing far and wide with the greatest rapidity and secrecy. A difficulty has been raised that no Sadhu would touch pig's bristles or hair of the sacred cow. This statement is absolutely incorrect. Low-caste Sadhus will touch anything and everything, and have no such scruples. Again, nearly

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every Sadhu carries about with him water in a tumba, and no time would be wasted in getting water from wells or far-off places. A few Sadhus could daub thousands of trees in a single night. On the other hand, if villagers, Domes, &c., were doing this work, it would hardly have escaped detection, whereas no account is taken of the action of Sadhus, who wander about all over the country at will.

But it is asked, Why should the Sadhus do this? If we accept the statement that the mark is really the mark of Sadhus, there is no further difficulty in finding a sufficient motive for their actions. A non-official of long experience and greatly respected by the people residing on the direct road to Janakpur questioned many Sadhus on their way to and from the shrine. They one and all said, 'The mud-mark is nothing; it is only an invitation to us Sadhus to go to the great Janakpur mela later on.' There is no reason why the Sadhus should have vouchsafed this information if it was untrue. It would have been just as easy for them to feign complete ignorance, or attribute the marking to a divine agency. On the other hand, the mud-smearing began close to Janakpur and spread south gradually, just as one would expect if the Sadhus' story was the true explanation. It is well known that native Sadhus have a kind of freemasonry among themselves, whereby their movements are made known to other Sadhus. Especially dear to them is the shrine of Janakpur, where there are no restraints and no sanitary arrangements made, and no police to enforce the regulations whereby the British Government endeavours to prevent epidemics at these great gatherings—at Hardwar and other places—and it is natural that they should wish to advertise the great shrine by an unusual *tutka* or sign which would excite the common people, who pay fees to the shrine in the shape of money offerings, by which the Sadhus are fed gratis.

There is nothing so attractive to the simple native as a mystery which he cannot solve. Many natives went to Janakpur simply because they saw the marks; and every one who went made his offering to the shrine, and this alone would supply a sufficient motive for the strange 'sign.' This is at least a very possible and a very likely explanation of the whole mystery. The people are quiet and contented, and now the Bagr-Id festival has passed off very quietly, and the rains have come, washing away the mysterious mud-daubs, which are fast disappearing from sight, all recollection thereof will soon be obliterated from the minds of the peasants of Bihar, who already regard the whole affair with the utmost apathy and indifference. After what has happened, however, it will not be surprising if, next year, some new, strange sign shall appear to puzzle the heads of the wise and to alarm the suspicious.

W. EGERTON,
Bengal Civil Service.

SITAMARHI, N. BIHAR:
July 1894.

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SOME PICTURES AND THEIR PRICES

THE commercial prosperity of a civilised nation may, to no small degree, be gauged by the extent to which the purchase of what may be generically classed as objects of art is carried. In England, at all events, the results of the last few years are flattering to a very conspicuous degree. It is obviously impossible to give even a rough estimate of what has been paid during, say, the past two years for articles which are luxuries, and not in any sense necessaries. If any such rough calculation could be drawn up, the total would be altogether appalling in its hugeness. Considering that the 'turnover' of the most eminent firm of art auctioneers in London, and perhaps in the world, not infrequently runs up to very close on three-quarters of a million sterling, that two days' sale alone showed a total of over 100,000*l.*, the country after all cannot be in such a desperately straitened condition as certain professional pessimists would have us believe.

The question of the profits enjoyed and losses sustained in this almost unparalleled disposal of objects of art naturally suggests itself, but to this no complete and satisfactory answer can or ever will be forthcoming. We are, however, in a position to quote a few facts as regards one of the many collections recently dispersed. The collection of pictures of the late David Price cost its owner about 90,000*l.*, and when it sold at Christie's in April 1892 realised rather more than 70,000*l.* Superficially, the two totals would indicate a net loss of 20,000*l.*, for, whilst some of the pictures realised considerably less than Mr. Price paid for them originally, others fetched more. It must be remembered as a set-off that Mr. Price (who was a bachelor) was a collector for nearly forty years, and that, apart from his business in the City, he had apparently no interest in the affairs of everyday life, except so far as they related to pictures and picture-buying. There are, of course, many people who would regard 500*l.* a year as a rather heavy sum to lose on a hobby. But considering the many hobbies on which vastly larger sums are annually squandered with very little benefit, abstract or otherwise, to the spender, we cannot help regarding the amount which Mr. Price paid for his pleasures as not excessive. It must be remembered that he was only an amateur picture-buyer, and not a dealer whose

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sole consideration is a matter of pounds, shillings, and pence. The tendency of the day is to omit a fair consideration of intellectual profits, which surely ought to count when the balance has to be struck.

The Dutch school affords the widest possible scope for comparisons in the matter of past and present prices. Up to the first quarter of the present century, the very finest works of the most eminent painters of this school might be had in this country at sums which now appear absurd to us. But within the past half a century the values of these old Dutch masters have gone up with a bound, for we have at last come to regard absolute fidelity to nature as distinct qualities in the *tout ensemble* of a picture. To take, as a collective illustration, the famous collection of the late Adrian Hope, sold on the 30th of June. It may be doubted whether these seventy-five pictures cost anything like 10,000*l.* Mr. Hope ceased to collect between thirty and forty years ago, after having obtained all he wanted, at prices which are absurdly small when compared with those of to-day—the total of the sale, in fact, being close on 50,000*l.* It was expected that the total would have been nearer 100,000*l.*, but many of the pictures had the appearance of having been 'touched up.' All things considered, the collection sold extremely well.

To particularise with a few of the more striking examples sold during the past few seasons, the splendid work of Jan Both, 'Abraham with Hagar and Ishmael,' in which the sunshine is manipulated in a manner at once extraordinary and unique, sold in 1828 for rather less than 300 guineas and ran up in 1875 to 4,500 guineas; it fell to 1,090 guineas when sold with the Mildmay collection in June 1893, a fall almost without a recent parallel so far as regards Dutch pictures. So, too, Both's hilly and well-wooded landscape, which realised 1,752*l.* 10*s.* at the Bredel sale in 1875, declined to 750 guineas in the Dennistoun sale in June last. Slightly different, however, is the case of Both's Italian landscape known as 'The Muleteer,' which in 1846 went for 320 guineas, and in the Mildmay sale for 370 guineas. A really perfect Cuyp, a landscape in which his marvellous treatment of atmospheric effect is seen at its best, is a great rarity in the market, but when it does occur 2,000*l.* is not considered an extravagant figure. The Dudley collection in 1892 contained one such, which was knocked down for 1,800 guineas. Another example occurred in the Hope sale: in 1860 this splendid work was sold for 550 guineas; it has now advanced to 2,000 guineas. But one may obtain Cuyps so called sometimes at prices ranging from 20 to 200 guineas, signed and dated, but whether they are always genuine is another matter. The latter sum was paid in June 1892 for a sunny river scene which was at one time in the collection of the late Earl of Bessborough. What has been so aptly described as the 'mellow clearness' of Nicholas Berghem does not seem an attractive attribute to picture-buyers, for the works of this

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artist scarcely ever approach four figures, and, as a matter of fact, exhibit a slight downward tendency. The faultless little example entitled 'Cattle Passing a Ford,' which realised at the dispersal of the Clewer Manor collection in 1876 1,207*l.* 10*s.*, dropped to 682*l.* 10*s.* when it was again sold with the late Mr. Barclay Field's pictures in May 1893. Another first-class example of this artist, 'Milking the Goats,' sold in 1861 for 300 guineas, but with the Field collection it went for 240 guineas. In February 1893 an Italian river scene realised 52 guineas, but a portrait of a man in a black dress and lace collar got no further than four guineas. But Berghem had many scholars and not a few imitators; and, although a prolific workman—for his wife kept his nose constantly on the grinding-stone—many paintings are sold as his in which he could not possibly have had a hand. The pictures of one of Berghem's pupils, Pieter de Hooch (whose interiors are unrivalled in the 'magical manner' in which the light is suffused throughout the several apartments), fetch very high prices, but such was not always the case. Of the two examples in the Mildmay collection, one, which now fetched 2,800 guineas, was sold in 1800 for 37*l.*, and the other, for which 700 guineas were paid, even in 1841, only realised 190*l.* On the other hand, the Interior by this artist in the Hope collection sold for 2,150 guineas—its price in 1861 being 441*l.* As in the case of Berghem and nearly every other artist of eminence, there are Memlincs and Memlincs. Really genuine examples of this early Flemish painter—usually the Madonna and Child—fetch good prices. The beautiful picture, in perfect preservation, sold in June 1893 in Lord Revelstoke's collection for 1,100 guineas, a considerable advance on the sum paid for it six years since, namely, 750 guineas. Another picture of the same character has recently been sold for 885 guineas.

Hobbema's pictures may be taken as representing the high-water mark of fancy prices which have recently been paid for works of the Dutch masters. The most important example of this artist which has ever come into the sale-room is 'A View in Holland,' sold with Lord Dudley's pictures in June 1892, when it realised 9,600 guineas. Dr. Waagen has described this without exaggeration as 'a picture which is equal to a whole gallery;' and, further, 'for striking truth of nature, delicacy of aërial perspective, effect of bright afternoon sun, and masterly lightness of execution there are probably very few pictures in the world which bear a comparison to this.' This picture was at one time in the collection of the Right Hon. Edward John Littleton, for whose ancestor it is said to have been expressly painted. It would be exceedingly interesting to know how much was originally paid for it. It was privately purchased from the first Lord Hatherton by the Earl of Dudley for 3,000 guineas. Close, by comparison, to this comes the landscape with water-mill which sold in the Secrétan collection in 1889 for 5,200 guineas. In 1802 this picture was

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knocked down for 280 guineas, and at the opposite extreme in 1880 for 8,800*l.* Each of these splendid pictures has the advantage of having the figures painted by Adrian van de Velde. In the Dudley collection there were two others by Hobbema, one of which, a richly-wooded river scene, sold for 1,900 guineas, a slight depreciation in its value since 1878, when it fetched 2,205*l.*; the second, a landscape, half as large again as the last mentioned, realised 2,300 guineas. A woody landscape in the Field collection sold in June 1893 for 4,500 guineas. The well-known 'View of a Lock,' with the Herring Packer's Tower, is another illustration of the extreme difference between past and present prices; in the Van Alphen sale, 1810, it sold for 90*l.*; in 1831 it had advanced to 213*l.*, and two years later it reached 400 guineas, and in June 1893 it was knocked down for 2,200 guineas, and even at that high figure it is exceedingly cheap.

The works of the two Ostades sold during the past few years vary very much both in quality and price. From ten to 2,500 guineas seems a fairly long sliding-scale, and yet works by (or attributed to) Adrian van Ostade have been dispersed at both figures. The most notable of a long list is the 'Interior of a Kitchen,' with four peasants and a dog seated by a fire, a little canvas measuring only 14 inches by 13 inches, which realised 4,100*l.* in the Schneider collection, 1861, and was sold with the Dudley pictures for 2,625*l.* The Hamilton Palace example of the same artist's 'Interior of a Cabaret,' sold in 1882 for 1,837*l.* 10*s.*, dropped to 776*l.* 10*s.* in 1893. An historically interesting example of this master's work, which occurred in the sale-room in May 1893, still further illustrates the drop in the commercial value of Ostade's works. 'The Hurdy-gurdy Player,' which is signed, but which does not appear in Smith's *Catalogue*, was purchased in Paris by the ex-Empress Eugénie for about 1,300*l.*, and by her it was presented to her landlord at Chislehurst, and is now appraised at 550 guineas. An 'Interior,' which in 1885 was sold for 900 guineas, fell during the past season to 730 guineas; whilst 'Boors Playing at Tric-Trac' sold in May 1893 for 650 guineas. Of the very few perfect examples of the less generally known Isaac Ostade, 'The Cabaret,' signed and dated 1646, may be mentioned as having realised at the San Donato Palace sale, 1880, 2,000*l.*; in the Secrétan sale, 1889, 1,575*l.*; and with the Mildmay pictures, in June last, 1,572*l.* On the other hand, a woody landscape by this artist, selling in 1846 for 79 guineas, had advanced by June 1893 to 380 guineas.

The most remarkable examples of Rembrandt which have come under the hammer within recent years were among the pictures which formed the collection of the late Lord Dover at Whitehall, and sold with Viscount Clifden's property in May last year. These were portraits of the Burgomaster Six and his wife (for many years in the possession of a descendant of this couple); the pair realised together

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12,200 guineas, and they unquestionably take very high rank in the series of matchless portraits which this artist painted. Realistic in every sense also is the portrait of Hendrikje Stoffels rising up in bed, and in the act of putting back the curtains with her hands, and looking with fixed attention at some object in the room. This picture, which is fairly well known through Cooper's mezzotint engraving, is absolutely perfect in its illusionary effect on the spectator. It sold for 5,000 guineas in the Wertheimer sale in 1892. In neither of the foregoing examples have we any means of indicating the prices at which they have previously changed hands. The Dudley picture of 'St. John Preaching in the Wilderness' shows a slight depreciation in value, for in 1845 it realised 3,000*l.*; in 1892 it sold for 2,625*l.* The brilliant portrait of 'A Young Lady' shows a reverse state of things, for a few years ago it sold for 1,690*l.*, and in June 1893, with the Mildmay pictures, for 2,667*l.* So, too, the portrait of Nicholas Ruts, which sold with the collection of the late King William the Second of Holland for 283*l.*, realised in the Hope sale in June last the high figure of 4,700 guineas.

One of the most attractive examples of Ruysdael, as well as of a size which one rarely meets with at an auction nowadays, 'A View on the Shores of Scheveningen,' sold at the dispersal of the splendid Choiseul gallery in 1772 for 68*l.* It passed into the possession of the Prince de Conti, with whose pictures it was sold in 1779 for 96*l.*, which price included the equally superb companion picture. The pair were subsequently the property of the Marquis of Marigny and of the Baron Verstolk von Soelen, and at the Mildmay sale in 1893 the two fetched 4,600 guineas. The equally famous and equally perfect picture known as 'The Ruin,' which has during the past century and a quarter formed one of the chief glories of at least half a dozen renowned collections, sold in 1875 for 2,310*l.*, but was appraised at only 1,400 guineas in the Dudley sale. The very fine 'Waterfall,' which in 1851 was appraised at 355 guineas, realised 1,600 guineas in the Hope sale in June last, when, also, a small picture of an old fort—which sold in 1857 for 126 guineas—was knocked down at the enhanced figure of 610 guineas. Good examples may be had for 210 guineas, at which figure the charming little landscape exhibited at Burlington House in 1892 was sold with the Lawrence pictures in May of that year; whilst the admirable view of a river and a cascade in the Marquis of Exeter's collection realised 250*l.* in 1888. A river scene, a perfect example of Solomon Ruysdael's work, may be here mentioned as having doubled in value in about a quarter of a century: in 1876 it sold at Mr. Albert Levy's collection for 400 guineas, in June 1893 it realised 870 guineas.

For some reason or other Rubens does not seem to be a favourite with copyists, and first-class examples of his work do not occur at all frequently in the market. The only two exceptions during 1893 were

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portraits of his first and second wives. The former, Elizabeth Brandt, realised, at the Hamilton Palace sale in 1882, 1,750 guineas, but it has now dropped to 650 guineas, a fate which, curiously enough, has attended nearly every picture from that famous collection which has since occurred again for sale. The second portrait realised 60 guineas at the Wynn-Ellis collection, and now dropped to 20 guineas. The most carefully painted and in many respects the finest Rubens which has been sold under the hammer for some years is the picture of 'Juno Transferring the Eyes of Argus to the Tail of the Peacock.' It measures 9 feet by 12 feet, and was formerly in the Durazzo Palace at Genoa; it went last year for 1,500 guineas, and would not have been dear at ten times that amount. The brilliant picture of 'A Wild Boar Hunt' may be regarded as the finest example of Rubens sold during the present season; it realised 1,666*l.* at the King of Holland's sale in 1850; at the Adrian Hope sale it slightly advanced to 1,660 guineas.

The name of Teniers finds itself attached to some very extraordinary pictures, good, bad, and indifferent. Early last season three large canvases realised the magnificent total of just over thirty guineas! An 'Interior,' with three Boors seated round a table in front of a fire, with one of them in the act of lighting his pipe, and exhibited at Burlington House in 1892, sold in May of that year for 23 guineas. The set of five copies by Teniers from Bellini, Paolo Veronese, Palma Giovanni, Guido Reni, and Titian, at one time in the Blenheim Palace collection, realised 30*l.* 19*s.* 6*d.* in January last. 'Signed' pictures of this master are common enough at five guineas each. The two really first-class examples which occurred in the Dudley sale do not, however, come in this category. 'Christ Crowned with Thorns,' described as 'a rich composition of great power of colouring,' was knocked down for 700 guineas: forty-eight years ago it realised 1,000 guineas. The second example, the courtyard of a cottage, a small picture, fourteen inches by twenty-one inches, was sold for 470 guineas.

The pictures of the Van de Veldes, Adrian and William, and of Jan Wynants may be regarded as steady investments. They indicate very little disposition to run to either of the two extremes; and in proof of this two instances may be quoted from the Mildmay sale. A. Van de Velde's pastoral scene known as 'The Bagpiper' sold in 1829 for 300 guineas; it is now appraised at 500 guineas. J. Wynants' 'Highwaymen attacking Travellers' (with the figures by Wouvermans) realised 185 guineas in 1835 and 410 guineas in 1893. Both were at one time in the possession of Baron Verstolk van Soelen, and each is described in Smith's *Catalogue Raisonné.* Good examples of each artist always fetch fair prices, from 200 guineas to 400 guineas. Although the same may to some extent be said of Wouvermans' works, first-class examples almost invariably run well into four

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figures. The clever picture depicting the halt of a shooting party was knocked down at the Dudley sale for 3,500 guineas. The best of the three in the Hope sale, 'Les Quartiers des Vivandiers,' sold for 700 guineas. One of the most remarkable illustrations of the increased popularity of the Dutch pictures occurred at the Hope sale, Gerard Dou's famous little panel, 'The Flute Player,' realising 3,500 guineas—less than half a century ago it was knocked down for 320*l.*

There can be very little doubt about the extremely general depreciation in the value of pictures by the old Italian masters. The collection of the late Right Hon. George, last Earl of Egremont, sold in November 1892, may be quoted as a fair sample of the rubbish sometimes treasured as 'old masters.' With 100*l.* in his pocket, the not too particular aspirant to the possession of an art gallery might on the occasion in question have furnished himself with an almost complete series of the old Italian masters. The iconography of the series would doubtless be open to suspicion. There were here, for example, a couple of Borgognones for a guinea, a Canaletto for two and a half guineas, a pair of Caravaggios for four guineas, a Correggio (admittedly 'after' in this case) for ten shillings, a pair of Domenichinos for four guineas, Guidos for even less, Tintorettos from twenty-five shillings each, and Paolo Veronese from 2*l.* 15*s.* It is an unreasoning creature who desires to obtain 'old masters' at a cheaper rate. Certain subjects, such as Canaletto's 'View of the Grand Canal, Venice,' Guido's 'Madonna,' Giorgione's 'Woman taken in Adultery,' and many other pictures which are instinctively associated with certain painters, crop up in the sale-room with a frequency which would lead one to believe that, if the respective artists lived and worked for three average lifetimes, they could scarcely have executed all the pictures by which they are most often represented at auctions. As regards the two Canalettos in the Dudley sale, 'A View in Venice' and 'A View on the Grand Canal,' the former sold in 1873 for 3,360*l.*, but dropped in 1892 to 2,055*l.*; whilst the second, selling at the dispersal of the Stowe collection in 1848 for 105 guineas, ran up in 1892 to 2,100 guineas. Another view of the Grand Canal with the Dogana and the Church of Sta. Maria della Solenta, at one time in the collection of the late Mrs. Danby Harcourt, Swinton Park, sold in 1892 for 600 guineas; and a view of Venice, painted between 1747 and 1750 for the owner of Holland House, realised in May 1893 520 guineas.

First-class examples of Botticelli at his best occur with considerable frequency in the auction-room, but, except when in the very finest condition, the tendency is decidedly downwards. This artist's frequent Madonna and Child varies very much in condition, in execution, and in price. One of the very best examples which has ever appeared in an auction-room occurred in the Leyland sale, in May

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1892, when it realised 1,250 guineas. It is described both by Dr. Waagen and by Messrs. Crowe and Cavalcaselle, and is a panel measuring 35 inches by 28 inches. A slightly smaller example—which cost its owner 300 guineas—of the same subject was sold at the same time for 100 guineas, and yet another, still smaller, measuring 23½ inches by 15½ inches, went for 235 guineas. Two others of the same subject occurred in the Dudley sale, and realised 400 guineas and 1,150 guineas respectively—the former sold for 500 guineas in 1854. Sir Charles Eastlake's example of this master sold in June for 720 guineas.

We have heard it stated that a genuine Correggio has never been sold at Christie's, and the prices paid for two alleged examples in the Dudley sale would seem to bear out this statement. The figures of 155 guineas and 85 guineas are certainly not those of real Correggios. The pictures were in each instance of angels' heads, the canvas being 19 inches by 19 inches and 20 inches by 28 inches respectively, and are described by Dr. Waagen as two fragments of the celebrated fresco, the Coronation of the Virgin, in the old apsis of St. Giovanni at Parma, which the chapter removed in the last century for the purpose of enlarging the choir. First-class examples of Carlo Crivelli occur every season. One of the most important of recent years is the Dudley panel of 'The Virgin and Child with Saints,' measuring 75 inches by 77 inches, which was exhibited at Burlington House in 1871, and again a few months before it was sold in 1892; it realised the respectable sum of 7,000 guineas, but the average price for good pictures of this distinguished *tempera* painter average about 300 guineas. Much less common is the authentic work of Carlo Dolci, one of the most successful of whose pictures is the 'Head of the Virgin,' in a blue drapery, which is best known through Cooper's engraving, and which, selling in the Stowe collection in 1848 for 185 guineas, realised at the Dudley sale 375 guineas.

One of the most extraordinary 'drops' of recent years occurred in connection with Giorgione's 'Souper Vénitien' (at one time in the collection of the Abbé Celotti, of Florence, when it was known as 'Un Festin Profane'): at the San Donato sale, 1870, this picture sold for 2,200 guineas, but at the Dudley sale it was knocked down for 210 guineas. Another considerable 'drop' may be bracketed with the Dolci: Garofalo's 'A Grecian Sacrifice' realised 1,400 guineas in 1867, but in 1892 its value was appraised at 380 guineas. From a strictly commercial point of view these may be regarded as Lord Dudley's worst bargains. On the other hand, Filippino Lippi's portrait of La Simonetta, in crimson and white dress, which Vasari describes as 'una giovine e bella donna di collo notabilmente lungo,' and which will be remembered by the few remaining intimates of the poet Rogers: in 1856 it sold for 185 guineas, in 1863 for 460 guineas, but in 1892 it ran up to 1,600 guineas. A very much

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greater advance was experienced in the case of Raphael's 'Crucifixion,' about which quite a volume might be written. It is a panel inscribed 'Raphael, Vrbinas P.,' and was painted for the Chapel of the Gavin or Gavari family in the Dominican Church at Castello about the year 1500, where it remained for nearly three hundred years. It was acquired by a Frenchman, who gave 4,000 scudi for it, in addition to a very bad copy which to the present day occupies the place of the original. It was afterwards purchased by the Prince de Canino for 10,000 scudi at the sale of Cardinal Fesch. It became Lord Dudley's property for probably not more than 2,000 guineas, and at his sale it realised 10,600 guineas. It is an ambitious picture, measuring 102 inches by 65 inches, and is remarkable as having been painted by the master before his seventeenth year. An equally famous picture of the same artist, 'La Vierge à la Légende,' or 'La Vierge de Novar,' said to have belonged to Charles the First, and formerly in the collection of Lord Gwydir (when it was ascribed to Giulio Romano), shows a slight advance from 3,000 guineas in 1878 to 3,050 guineas in 1892. It has been engraved by Forster, and measures 31½ inches by 23½ inches. Titian's 'Ariadne in Naxos' realised in the Walsh Porter sale in 1810 1,575*l.*: in March last it was knocked down for 105 guineas. Salvator Rosa and Andrea del Sarto are artists in whose works there appears to be a decline in value if not in interest. The brilliant picture in the Dudley collection by the first-named artist of the finding of Moses, a companion to the justly admired example in our own National Gallery, was at one time in the Colonna Palace; it was brought to England by W. Y. Ottley, at whose sale in 1801 it realised 1,050 guineas; the Duke of Buckingham bought it from the Orleans Gallery for 2,500*l.*, and at his sale in 1848 Lord Dudley paid 1,000 guineas for it; in 1892 it only fetched 450 guineas. The 'Pietà' of Andrea del Sarto sold in 1878 for 1,700 guineas, in 1892 it realised 945 guineas. Tintorettos show a considerable fluctuation. One of this artist's most successful representations of his favourite subjects of Adam and Eve, formerly in the possession of the family of the Marquis Orlandini of Florence, sold at the San Donato sale in 1870 for 240 guineas, and at the Dudley sale for 610 guineas. On the other hand, his portrait of a Venetian Admiral, which realised at the Hamilton Palace sale 1,155*l.*, dropped to 860 guineas in 1893. The Tintorettos in the Leyland sale of 1892 realised from 50 guineas to 105 guineas, probably much less than half the price at which they were acquired by their late owner.

Pictures by modern English (or British) artists exhibit a constantly recurring fluctuation, and, as a rule, fall each time they come under the hammer. This is witnessed to a lamentable degree when the unsold works of recently deceased artists are sold together. Take, for example, the batch of nearly three hundred pictures and drawings of the late John Constable, which were sold in two portions in November

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1892 and June 1893. Only in a very few instances were three figures reached, and, as a general rule, the amounts did not exceed twenty or thirty guineas each. Several realised from two to six guineas apiece. On the other hand, among the pictures of Mr. J. S. Hodgson, sold in June 1893, a faultless picture by Constable, entitled 'Hampstead Heath,' painted in 1830, and measuring 26 inches by 39 inches, sold for 2,550 guineas. Perhaps the very finest example of this artist at his best which has been sold at auction is the scene on the River Stour, sometimes called 'Constable's White Horse,' for many years the property of the late Richard Hemming, at whose sale in April last it realised 6,200 guineas: less than forty years ago it was purchased for 600 guineas. The 'remaining works' of three well-known members of the Royal Institute of Painters in Water-Colours have come under the hammer during the last year or two with pretty much the same disastrous results. The average price of Charles James Lewis's works, among which were many fine examples, which have been exhibited at the Royal Academy, the Royal Institute, and other exhibitions, was only about 7*l.* each; some, indeed, going for three guineas per pair, and in only one instance were 32 guineas reached! The same may be said of the works of Thomas Collier, whilst those of Paul J. Naftel show an average of about 4*l.* each. With the exception of a few unfinished daubs or hastily executed sketches, these pictures would not disfigure any gallery. As they are, for the most part, appropriately framed, it may be questioned if they realised actual out-of-pocket expenses. The sale of the remaining works of the late Vicat Cole, R.A., may be taken as the most recent illustration, not only of the change in picture fashions, but of the extraordinary depreciation which inevitably occurs when a large number of works by the same hand come up for sale together. This collection comprised nearly 600 sketches and finished studies in oil and water-colours, and 154 items realised a total of 770*l.*; the highest for a single picture being 30 guineas.

There appears to be a sustained and very healthy revival in the taste for the best pictures of the older English masters, and some of the prices paid within the last year or two are very remarkable when compared with previous results. This class of art has been much too severely neglected, and our own National Gallery is conspicuously weak in this respect. The most remarkable examples have been perhaps in connection with David Cox. When it is remembered how difficult this artist found it to dispose of his pictures and drawings, even at a few paltry guineas each, the prices at which they are now eagerly snapped up become all the more remarkable. Cox considered 50 guineas a very fair price for some of the most carefully executed of his works. It was at this figure that he sold 'The Hayfield,' which in 1875 realised 2,950*l.* in the Quilter sale; whilst at the dispersal in 1889 of another portion of the same collection, sixteen

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drawings came under the hammer at sums varying from 100 guineas to 2,300 guineas. The three pictures 'Counting the Flock,' 'Driving Home the Flock,' and 'Collecting the Flock' realised, in 1888, 1,980 guineas, 1,300 guineas, and 2,250 guineas respectively. The first-named, it may be mentioned, realised at the Levy sale, in 1876, 2,300 guineas. One of the largest of this artist's works, 'Collecting the Flocks, North-West France,' sold in the Bullock collection, 1870, for 400 guineas, but ran to 1,450 guineas in June, 1892. A series of two dozen sketches by Cox occurred in the sale of the late Peter Allen's pictures in March 1893, and the best of them went well into three figures, whilst the largest did not exceed 30 inches by 25 inches, and the majority were only about half that size. The matchless 'Vale of Clwyd,' which sold in the Murrieta collection, 30th of April, 1892, for 4,500 guineas, marks the high-water mark of David Cox's works. The artist himself valued it at 95*l.*, and exchanged it with a Midland dealer, who sold it for 70*l.* In 1860 it was knocked down for 265 guineas at the Briscoe sale; in 1868 it sold for 480*l.*, and in 1872 for 2,000*l.* Peter de Wint and Copley Fielding may, for several reasons, be considered in the same paragraph as David Cox. More fortunate in his lifetime than Cox, De Wint sometimes received a fair value for his pictures and drawings, although they are not now nearly so much in request or realise such high prices. Two of the best which have been sold at auction in recent years are 'Lancaster' and 'Lincoln,' in the Quilter sale of 1889 realising 1,155*l.* and 1,753*l.*; in 1875 they were knocked down for 950*l.* and 1,732*l.*, and for neither did the artist receive more than 30 guineas. There was an excellent series of fourteen examples of this artist in Peter Allen's collection, where some of the smallest and least important sold for over 50 guineas each; the highest sum, 265 guineas, going for the 'Hay Harvest.' In March 1892 his 'Bolton Abbey' sold for 900 guineas. Some of the best examples of Copley Fielding's works came under the hammer in April 1889, when Mrs. Sarah Austin's collection of water-colour drawings was dispersed. Neither of the five examples, however, realised four figures, the largest amounts being 903*l.* paid for the 'Fairy Lake' and 672*l.* for the 'View from Box Hill.' Quite a large number have also been sold during the past season or two, one of the best being Peter Allen's 'Off the East Coast,' for which 310 guineas were given.

The works of J. F. Lewis and W. J. Müller exhibit a steadiness which is perhaps better than sudden rises and falls. Two very fine pictures of the former occurred in the Price sale, 1892: the well-known 'Lilium Auratum,' which in the Quilter sale, 1889, realised 1,050 guineas, now fell to 810 guineas; and 'The Bezestein Bazaar of El Khan Khalil, Cairo' sold for 1,090 guineas. In April 1893 'The Hosh (courtyard) of the House of the Coptic Patriarch, Cairo,' formerly in the collection of the late William Leaf, at whose sale in 1875 it went for

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1,850 guineas, dropped in 1893 to 1,650 guineas. Probably the highest amount at which any example of this artist has been sold recently occurred in connection with 'The Commentator of the Koran,' which was painted for the late Sir William Bowman in 1868, and at whose sale in June 1893 it fetched 2,550 guineas. In the case of Müller, as of Lewis, very fair pictures have been sold during the past two seasons for from about 100 guineas to 400 guineas. The Müller high-water mark was probably reached in 1888, when Mr. Bolckow's picture of 'Ancient Tombs and Dwellings in Lycia' realised the very high figure of 3,750 guineas. Two other pictures by the same artist realised 1,500 guineas each in the same year; but one of these, 'The Bay of Naples' (1839), had sold for 2,100 in the Gillott sale, 1872. 'The Opium Eater,' which in 1877 sold for 470 guineas, fell in May 1893 to 170 guineas. Mr. Price's example, 'A Waterfall in Wales,' sold for the respectable sum of 800 guineas; whilst the Hon. F. Baring's small picture of 'Children Fishing, Gillingham,' went for just half that sum in June 1893. Lord Cheylesmore's very small picture (8 inches by 11 inches) sold in 1892 for 32 guineas, or nearly double the amount paid for it in 1868. If space permitted, a very long list of more or less violent 'drops' might be chronicled in connection with the works of such whilom favourites as Sir Charles Eastlake, W. Etty, and Sir A. W. Callcott. Etty's ambitious picture of Joan of Arc in three parts has changed hands on two or three occasions for very large sums, and 100 guineas for either of the three portions would not be an extravagant price; in January 1893, however, one of these compartments went for seven and a half guineas. The same artist's 'A Bivouac of Cupid and His Company' realised 260 guineas at the Price sale: in 1845 it sold for 370 guineas, and in 1868 for 221 guineas. In April 1893 this artist's 'Mars, Venus, and Cupid,' and 'Cupid,' went for 230 guineas and 51 guineas respectively, neither of which amount can at all represent the original prices. In 1888 'The Judgment of Paris' and 'The Triumph of Cleopatra' sold for 504*l.* and 250*l.*, the previous prices being 850*l.* and 451*l.* respectively. Sir Charles Eastlake's picture of 'The Sisters' sold in the Rogers collection for 420 guineas; in April 1893 it changed hands for 35 guineas, the same figure being paid in 1892 for the same artist's large canvas, 'Gaston de Foix taking leave of his Lady on the Eve of the Battle of Ravenna.' In 1845 this rather striking work was appraised at only 190 guineas. Sir A. W. Callcott's picture of 'Laurence and his Dog,' which sold in the Brunel collection, 1860, for 370 guineas, dropped in June 1893 to 42 guineas. The works of T. Webster, R.A., which at one time realised high prices, have also experienced a very general fall. For example, 'Good Night,' which sold in the Bicknell collection, 1863, for 1,207*l.* 10*s.*, in the Betts collection, 1868, for 877*l.* 15*s.*, was sold with the Brocklebank pictures last year for 350 guineas. Lord

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Cheylesmore's example of this artist, 'The Present to the Lady of the Village,' dropped from 250 guineas in 1870 to 70 guineas in 1893.

To pass to the other side of the subject, it will be interesting, as well as perhaps a relief, to quote a few pictures which have, on the whole, maintained their prices in the open market. The works of C. Stanfield are by no means a steady article of commerce, and the general tendency is not at all upward; but quite a phenomenal exception occurred in Lord Cheylesmore's sale, 1892, when the splendid picture of 'St. Michael's Mount,' which sold in 1870 for 250 guineas, now ran up to 3,000 guineas. Landseers differ almost as greatly in quality as in price. A unique series of thirty-three examples came up for sale with the collection of the late Lord Cheylesmore, in May 1892, and affords an easy medium of comparison. The best pictures appear to increase in the same ratio as the less excellent examples decline. 'The Monarch of the Glen,' so well known through T. Landseer's very successful engraving, is a masterpiece, and is never likely to sustain any very pronounced depreciation in value. In the late Lord Londesborough's sale it fetched 6,200 guineas, which amount was increased by 700 guineas in 1892. On the other hand, the 'Taming of the Shrew,' which realised 1,430 guineas, now dropped to 1,150 guineas—not a serious drop, perhaps, considering the number of pictures by the same master sold at the same time. A much more serious fall, however, was sustained by Lady Godiva's Prayer,' which in 1874 was appraised at 3,200 guineas, and was now sold for 900 guineas. 'The Highland Cabin,' which, at the dispersal of the Duchess of Bedford's collection in 1853, went for 150 guineas, now sold for 450 guineas; 'The Sentinel,' which sold in 1864 for 240 guineas, now realised 180 guineas; and 'All that Remains of the Glory of William Smith,' which, twenty years ago, went for 320 guineas, was valued in 1892 at 290 guineas. The majority of the other Landseers in this collection were purchased from the artist. As further illustrations of the rise and fall respectively in Landseers, we may mention 'Taking a Buck,' which in the Manley Hall sale, 1888, realised 1,950 guineas, and dropped in 1892 to 620 guineas; and 'Braemar,' which in 1868 sold for 4,000 guineas, and had advanced at the Bolckow sale, in 1888, to 5,197*l.* The celebrated work 'Chevy,' for which Landseer is said to have received 5,000*l.*, realised in the Hemming sale in April last 3,750 guineas.

The pictures of Wilkie and David Roberts vary, like those of Landseer, in quality and price. Lord Dudley's example of the latter, 'Jerusalem, looking South,' formerly in the Hootan Hall collection, dropped from 850 guineas in 1875 to 140 guineas in 1892. On the other hand, this artist's very fine picture with the legend 'Baalbec: Ruins' had increased from 750 guineas in 1813 to 1,627*l.* 10*s.* The well-known picture entitled 'The Letter of Introduction' of Sir

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David Wilkie had increased in value from 450 guineas in 1842 to 2,152*l.* 10*s.* in May 1893. First-class pictures by Wilkie and David Roberts will probably always fetch high prices; but the few foregoing facts are a sufficient indication of the extent to which even the very best works of the most eminent artists fluctuate within the short space of forty years. The same rise and fall occur in connection with the pictures of Turner. The vignette title of Killiecrankie, engraved in Sir Walter Scott's prose works, realised 200 guineas in the Novar collection, June 1877; in January 1893 it dropped to 66 guineas. The engraved drawing of Cassiobury, which realised 415 guineas in 1875, had dropped to 330 guineas in June 1892, and several other drawings sold at the same time as the latter exhibit proportionate falls. As a distinct contrast, the masterpiece known as 'Modern Italy: the Pfifferari' was knocked down in 1867 for 3,465*l.*, in 1868 for 2,961*l.*, and with the modern picture of the Novar collection, 1878, for 5,250*l.*, at which sum the late David Price became the owner. At his sale in 1892 it realised 5,460*l.*

The pictures of Peter Nasmyth and P. F. Poole may be considered together as representatives of the two most extreme instances of what we have, for the want of a better term, called the rise and fall of pictures. Even the smaller works, which cannot at all be classed among the best of the former artist, are decidedly firm. The two examples which occurred in the Field sale in June 1893 came in this category; for the two charming little landscapes sold at 610 guineas and 350 guineas had previously come under the hammer for 405 guineas and 390 guineas respectively. One of the very finest landscapes of this artist, 'A View in Surrey,' measuring only 23¾ inches by 33¼ inches, sold in the Price collection for 2,500 guineas, and another, 'On the Firth of Forth,' which is scarcely half the size, for 560 guineas. Poole's pictures, almost without exception, have fallen sadly in the estimation of buyers. They are carefully painted and perfect in nearly every respect; but the public taste has changed with regard to them, and they are to be had at about a twelfth of the prices originally paid for them. The half-dozen in the Price collection represent a very heavy balance on the wrong side in the late owner's picture bills. Although the elder Linnell's landscapes do not invariably maintain a high level, their general advance in public estimation naturally synchronises with an enhanced value. Mr. Price possessed six works by this artist, and if the sums paid by him and received by his executors were placed side by side, the balance would more than justify his wisdom in purchasing them. For instance, 'The Timber Waggon,' which in 1880 sold for 850 guineas, in 1892 realised 3,100 guineas.

The pictures by Dante Gabriel Rossetti, of which a dozen occurred in the Leyland sale, 1892, have probably reached their high-water mark in the way of prices. Only two, 'Veronica Veronese' and 'The

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Blessed Damozel,' reached four figures—1,000 guineas and 980 guineas respectively—whilst the well-known panel 'The Loving Cup' sold for 820 guineas. But the vagaries of fashion are strange and unaccountable, and the time may come when the distinctly *genre* works of Rossetti will prove a veritable gold mine to those who have speculated more or less heavily in this extremely hazardous commodity.

No feature in the history of picture sales is more remarkable than that which deals with the past and present prices of the best works of Sir Joshua Reynolds and his great rival George Romney. Indeed, the pictures of these two masters may be regarded as having formed the sensation of the past season. During the first quarter after the death of both artists some of their most successful portraits realised at auction considerably less than 100*l.*, and so far as Romney is concerned 20*l.* was regarded as quite an extravagant price to pay at auction. At the sale of the late Miss Romney's effects in May last a portrait of Mrs. Tickell (Miss Linley) sold for 1,150 guineas—at the artist's sale in 1807 it was bought in for four guineas; a portrait of Mrs. Billington as St. Cecilia realised 900 guineas, its former price being eight and a half guineas; a portrait of Mrs. Inchbald, the authoress, 950 guineas; and of James Thomas Paine, 800 guineas. Among the pictures of the Duchess of Montrose sold at Christie's in July last there were three Romneys, the finest of which was a portrait of Lady Hamilton as 'Ariadne,' which was knocked down for 450 guineas. The portrait of Mrs. Thornhill, still more recently sold, reached 1,150 guineas. When it is remembered that Romney rarely received as much as 100*l.* even for a whole-length portrait, the high prices which have recently been paid for some of his pictures may well astonish us. The same remark applies with even greater force to Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose portrait of Lady Betty Delmé (and children) sold in July last for 11,000 guineas, the highest price ever paid for a picture at auction in this country. On the same day the portrait of the Hon. Miss Monckton sold for 7,500 guineas, but it had been slightly varnished, but in all other respects the two pictures were in the finest possible condition, and came direct from the families for whom they were painted. These are, of course, essentially 'fancy' prices, which can only be expected for the very finest pictures in an absolutely perfect condition. As an instance of the greatly enhanced value of even moderately good examples of this master, it may be mentioned that the portrait of Mrs. Mathew, the patroness of art, painted in 1777, which sold in 1876 for 900 guineas, realised in the Duchess of Montrose's sale 4,400 guineas.

W. Roberts.

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IS OUR RACE DEGENERATING?

WHAT evidence is there of the serious declension of the standard of our race? What are the proofs that our downward course has begun, and that within a measurable distance of time we shall become, as a nation, an effete nonentity in the world? Where are the facts and figures to show that the high-pressure conditions of life in the present century are so exacting that the race must deteriorate in consequence, and that a healthy life is incompatible with the all-pervading struggle for existence? These are some of the questions which present themselves for solution at the present moment when such dire and mournful prognostications of inevitable degeneracy are being brought forward. At the outset I may as well confess that I am not one of those who believe in the decadence of our species, and for the simple reason that I cannot find anything to support the theory. Of course it must be admitted that the conditions of present-day life among civilised nations are not precisely those which can conduce to a high standard of health, but doubtful is it, indeed, whether they lead to any deterioration of race which calls either for misgiving or alarm. Nature is always apt at adapting herself to circumstances, and it is quite reasonable to suppose that, whatever calls may be made upon her resources, so far as man is concerned, in the altered circumstances of his existence, she can, as the past has shown, prove herself equal to the occasion. But if, for argument's sake, it be admitted that the circumstances of present-day life have made their mark upon the race, observation, experience, and scientific evidence, on the other hand, all plainly testify that a change in form does not necessarily imply a decadence of species. Is the dawn of the twentieth century bringing with it new diseases, new complications of existing maladies, new varieties of physical suffering, as the result of the exacting conditions of the present struggle for existence? The answer to this question must be emphatically in the negative. There is no evidence to show that the normal life of any individual organ of the body in which organic disease most commonly occurs is shorter now than the records would indicate was the case in earlier days. Here is precisely the point which disposes of the gloomy prognostications

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regarding the decadence of the race. It must be conceded that, if the organs of the body can bear the strain of present-day life, without prematurely becoming the seat of organic mischief, not much harm can accrue. In this connection, however, it should be clearly understood that hysteria, hypochondria, and neurasthenia, in respect to the alleged increase of which so much stress has been laid, do not belong to the category of organic affections. The same may be said also of what is known as 'nervousness.' All these latter forms of human ills are merely disorders of 'function'—perversions, so to speak, of nerve power arising from different causes and it is almost true to say that perhaps the last thing that they indicate is the presence of organic disease, to which their origin could be attributed. There is no pathological condition, for example, associated with 'nervousness' —so called. As often as not this psychical disorder is an inherited one, a fact which is commonly illustrated in certain families. When acquired it tends to be only of temporary duration, and can be recovered from. Moreover, so far as the neural pathologist is concerned, persons who are accustomed to describe themselves as 'horribly nervous' may rest assured that, even in the transcendental contingency of a sudden and fatal collapse occurring in the midst of this 'horribly nervous' condition, their nervous systems would be found to be absolutely healthy. 'Nervousness,' perhaps, is largely the result of habit. But in all cases it may be said to be harmless—harmless, that is to say, in the sense of not provoking the development of organic disease. Discomforting it may be to the individual who suffers from it; but whether the increase, as it is alleged, of 'nervousness,' hysteria, hypochondria, and neurasthenia should be taken as indicating the advent of the decadence of the human species, and regarded as worthy of being made the basis of a profound pessimistic doctrine, is, at all events in the present day, open to most serious doubts.

But I now propose to point to evidence of a tangible nature which would tend to show that our race cannot be suffering much, as yet, from the effects of advanced civilisation.

First, it is to be noticed that, whatever harmful influences the high speed of life may have upon the English nation, an ordinary Englishman always appears to have sufficient energy with which to seek active amusement. Indeed, it may be said that the saving of the nation is the enormous fund of reserve energy in the people. Everywhere is the presence of this energy displayed. On every fine Saturday afternoon throughout the year the amount of human force which is liberated in England, in pursuit of the national games, would be a distinct revelation were it possible to estimate it. From factories, workshops, shops, and offices are poured out millions of young men bent upon spending their half-holiday in the indulgement of their favourite pastime. Where is there a nation whose men and

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women devote themselves so largely to out-of-door pursuits as is the case in England? So far as London is concerned, let any one anxious for practical proof of this fact pay a visit on any fine Saturday afternoon in summer to one of the parks where cricket is permitted to be played. The sight which will meet the eye of the spectator will not be one which will quickly fade from his mind. Literally speaking, every available inch of ground is utilised for a 'pitch.' The kaleidoscopic appearance of the scene almost baffles description. There is literally one maze of cricket-bats, wickets, and balls! The laughter and the shouts; the running to and fro of the players; the ever-familiar sound, incessantly recurring, made by the bat when the ball is hit, endow the whole scene with an infective cheerfulness which is seen to be reflected upon the faces of all concerned. The whole life and soul of the players is absolutely concentrated upon the game. Then the excitement of the contests; and the enthusiasm and good feeling displayed when the victorious side calls for a cheer for the vanquished—these, again, are features to be noticed by the observant spectator. To make, however, the description complete, perhaps it should be mentioned that at each end of every pitch there is always a solemn person, who, like the usher in the *Dream of Eugene Aram*, stands melancholy alone. That person is the umpire. He seems to realise that, apart from the pressing and responsible duties which he is called upon to discharge, he is in constant peril of being made the target of the batsmen of adjoining pitches. Being necessarily almost stationary, he cannot attend to his duties and at the same time keep a sharp look-out for balls often passing in rapid flights in close proximity to himself. Clearly his position is a most unenviable one. He is compelled nevertheless to be at his post, and however much he may appear to show that the relief would be great to him were some one to take his place, it is evident that he has determined unflinchingly to disregard the discomforts of his situation.

But I do not pretend to say that the young manhood with which the London parks are crowded on Saturday afternoons is that of which a nation would have reason to feel particularly proud, so far, at all events, as appearances go. On the contrary, perhaps, a foreign visitor desirous of seeing what English young manhood was should not be persuaded to go to the London parks for this purpose. If, however, he happened to do so, quite possibly his opinion would be scarcely complimentary to those whom it concerned. Undeniably, it is a fact that the youths and young men who congregate on these occasions do not belong to those classes in which robustness, good physique, and manly presence are distinguishing features of the male community. For the most part, the former are the typical products of an urban existence, as is foreshadowed in their pale faces, their lack of muscularity, and their generally undeveloped condition. It is not, however, needful to discuss here the causes which lead to

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these results; for they are many and various. Nevertheless, it may be observed that the spectator is from time to time forcibly reminded by the evidence before him that among these causes underfeeding should be included. But, after all, the absence of 'showiness,' so to speak, to be noticed among the cricket-players in the parks is not a serious matter. Indeed, the wonder is that in the unattractive-looking examples of manhood so much evidence of stability and sound qualities should be displayed. In some instances the spectator could not fail to be puzzled at the exhibition of energy, alertness, and activity with which he was confronted. The natural question which rises at once to his mind is, whence can all these good qualities come in youths who appear to be underfed, delicate, and physically deficient? Presumably the answer to this question is that it is the national characteristic of an Englishman to generate energy and to dispose of it even under the least favourable circumstances. At all events, however this may be, it is certain that, despite their present appearance, such youths are none the less good examples of Englishmen who under more satisfactory conditions of life could be readily converted into good examples of manhood. Experience has commonly shown that out of the most decrepid, so to speak, London Arab a man worthy of his country can be evolved.

In addition, however, to the eager crowd of cricketers, happy in the utilisation of their reserve energy, there are other evidences of similar eagerness to accomplish the same purpose in view. If the park happens to contain an ornamental piece of water, with boats to hire, there is a busy throng to be seen propelling the small boats along on its surface, and taking their exercise and pleasure, though, perhaps, in a less exacting kind of way.

In brief, then, that which is true of one park in the metropolis is true of all the parks in which games are permitted to be played, and what is true of the Metropolitan area is also true, though, of course, to a greater extent, of the whole of England. Then what a safety-valve for reserve energy is cycling—a pastime, needless to say, which numbers thousands and thousands among its devotees. Still, after mention has been made of these, there remain lawn tennis, volunteering, and golf. Probably these examples are sufficient to show how great is the instinct of English people to indulge in healthy, manly exercise whenever the opportunity offers. Do any of these facts point to the alleged impending or commencing decadence of the race? Do they contain any data which could be held to lend colour to any such theory? Clearly it is impossible to admit that this can be the case, more especially since it must be conceded that the evidences of out-of-door activity are not merely to be met with in connection with one class only, but, on the contrary, throughout every community in the kingdom, it is only true to say that the same activity prevails. Thus one conclusion to be drawn from this condition of things is that

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a sedentary life cannot be very harmful to an Englishman. The more indoor his existence is, the greater becomes his determination to indulge in out-of-door pursuits, when time and opportunity permit. To use a hackneyed expression, 'He is built that way,' and so it happens that his natural disposition, provided, of course, that he suffers from no organic disease, is bound to assert itself.

But here let us view the subject from another standpoint. We are told that the whole race is degenerating owing to the exacting conditions of nineteenth-century existence, and care is taken to show that there is nothing very surprising in this, on the grounds that, after all, the decadence of the English race would merely be a case of history repeating itself. History, we are continually being reminded, may always be expected to repeat itself in regard to the prosperity and decline of nations. Before, however, anything more is said on this subject, we can anticipate what is coming from those who argue in this fashion. The continuation of the dismal argument is always made noticeable by the remark, 'Look at the Romans!' Most persons have been requested so often to 'look at the Romans' from this point of view, that probably the pastime has ceased to afford them any attraction. But if we do 'look at the Romans'—what do we find? The Romans, at one time of course, were the greatest nation in the world, and the mournful incidents associated with their decline and fall from the giddy altitude of prosperity to which they had raised themselves have ever since been made to do duty as a warning of the fate which is in store for those nations which have had the temerity to try and emulate their example. That the Romans were a great nation no one can dispute; truly, in many respects they were far ahead of their time. Their civilisation, again, was beyond even the times which followed them. Nevertheless, they were still barbarians; with all their pristine civilisation they were nothing more than the exponents of democratical licentiousness and oligarchical tyranny. Their prosperity became so great that they simply laid themselves out to enjoy it. Luxury ultimately became the god whom they worshipped, and it is impossible to read the descriptive accounts of the manners and times of the Roman nation without being impressed with the success of the efforts of the people to reduce luxury and its associated demoralising tendencies to the condition of a fine art.

Without pursuing further the course of events which has led to the Roman nation being that whose fortune and misfortune have excited the most discussion in the world's history, it may suffice to say that those conditions which contributed to the effacement of their prosperity the world is not likely to see repeated in the history of any other nation. Clearly the time has long passed when luxury will ever be the determining feature of a nation's downfall. Presumably the Romans, having made all their conquests, had nothing

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more to do than to sit down and enjoy the effects of them. Competition, so to speak, was at an end; and I suppose it is correct to say that there was nothing left to stimulate them to maintain their supremacy. But nowadays how vast is the difference! Contrast the order of things which obtained in the days of the Romans with the armed peace maintained among the great nations of the world during the present day. All this goes to show that no parallel can be drawn between the prosperity and ultimate fate of the ancient Romans and the precedent which their fate established so far as succeeding nations are concerned. Before the decline and fall of a successful nation can begin, we must first understand what is meant by the 'zenith' of its prosperity, from which the downward process is always believed to take its origin. Has England, for example, reached the summit of its prosperity and power? If so, can we define what that happy condition is? These are questions the answer to which do not come within the scope of this article; nevertheless, it must be conceded that the re-suggestion of them at the present juncture opens out a wide field for interesting speculation and inquiry.

Among the safeguards which are concerned in maintaining, as I believe, the stability of our race must be included, I think, the much-abused English climate. Whence comes the natural-born restless energy of the inhabitants of these islands if it has not been bred by the climate with which Great Britain has been endowed? Sea-girt as our land is, and lying within the so-called temperate zone, where cold predominates over heat, the heat never reaching beyond a comfortable degree unless something phenomenal occurs, everything in this respect is favourable to the development of those physical qualities of the nation which result in the production of energy. But, small even as the geographical area of these islands is, differences in this particular may be observed among the people. For example, to what else can be attributed the 'pushing' characteristics of a Scotchman, if not to the almost inexhaustible energy inherently bred in him by the stimulating, health-giving effects of the magnificent air of the country? Again, observation shows that Englishmen hailing from the Northern counties are accustomed to display, as a rule, more energy than those who are born in the Southern counties. Lastly, if an example were wanted for the purpose of showing how an Englishman's natural energy may be lost as the result of climatic influence, reference need only be made to those of our own countrymen who are generally known as Anglo-Indians. An Anglo-Indian, so to speak, has acquired a natural history of his own, which, as experience shows, plainly distinguishes him on his return to England. His movements are always leisurely. Whether for better or for worse, so far as his residence in England is concerned, he has lost the power of hurrying himself. Incidentally, too, it may be mentioned that beer

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has no longer any attraction for him as an ordinary beverage, while cold water in any form is an abomination. He delights in warm clothing, even when the weather is hot for England, and his complaints when the cold weather comes are quite natural, if they are not complimentary to the climate. But the explanation of this, so to express it, acquired natural history of an Anglo-Indian is not difficult to understand. The habit of slow movements acquired in India, as the result of the tropical and enervating heat, is simply continued here, and in these and other matters instinct has taught him what he must do and what he cannot do when he returns, after a long absence in a tropical country, to the land of his birth.

Hitherto my remarks have been mainly intended to apply to the sterner sex of our own race, and I have attempted to show that, despite the conditions of life of the present century, there are reasons which justify us in refusing to become pessimists. The inference to be drawn, therefore, is that there are no sufficient grounds for anxiety, so far as the maintenance of the racial integrity of the male sex is concerned, and the next question which obtrudes itself in this connection is—How is it with the women of these islands? This, it must be confessed, is a congenial topic for discussion. To anticipate, however, the question may be asked—Where in the whole world are there to be found more perfect examples of womanhood than are to be found in England? Englishmen who hold that their countrywomen are the best in the world in physique and comeliness need not be afraid of being accused of insular pride or national prejudice. Common experience shows that this opinion is shared by many who are not Englishmen. But the attractiveness of a discussion upon a subject of this nature has been proved upon more than one occasion. Perhaps I may be excused for mentioning one with which I had something to do. In the editorial columns of the *Medical Press and Circular*, some three or four years ago, I wrote the following paragraph:

THE PHYSIQUE OF ANGLO-SAXON GIRLS.

Few things are more noticeable at assemblies in these islands of 'fair women and brave men,' as the poet says, than the improving physique of the Anglo-Saxon girls. No matter which class is made the subject of inquiry in this regard, the same feature seems to prevail throughout. If Lord's Cricket-ground, for example, be visited at the time of a great gathering of the aristocracy, as on the occasion of the annual contest between Oxford and Cambridge, or the struggle between Eton and Harrow, the one thing that cannot fail to attract attention is the remarkable predominance of tall and divinely fair girls who are to be seen gracefully strolling over the ground during the intervals between the innings. Then if the scene be changed, and the observer make his way into the ballroom of middle-class persons, the same prevailing tallness of the fair dancers will again meet his gaze. Thus abundant evidence is forthcoming that this is by no means an isolated feature of the maidens of the United Kingdom, but on the contrary that it prevails throughout all classes. Judging, however, from the prominence to whi

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to have attained during recent years, there is quite the possibility that it will develop in time into a racial characteristic. The women of ancient Lacedæmon, we are told, were specially instructed to 'put on' as much muscle and as little clothing as possible. Each of these instructions, however, was given, so to speak, as a matter of business, in view of the warlike virtues which were required to be fostered by the race. But England is not Sparta, and the tallness and good physique of English girls are features which are not wooed as the result, say, of commands from the Secretary of State for the War Department, but are presumably the outcome of healthful exercise, indulged in for the sake of amusement. Thus lawn tennis and other out-of-door games in this country are probably producing an effect upon our race which could scarcely have been anticipated.

No one could have possibly predicted the long journey which lay before this simple paragraph before it was finally laid to rest, so far as newspaper readers were concerned. On the day of publication of the *Medical Press and Circular* it was quoted in a London morning journal, and from these starting points it began its rounds. From the London morning and evening press it passed into the columns of the morning press in the provinces. Then it scampered through the weekly provincial papers, turned up in Irish journals, found its way into Scotch newspapers, and crossed the seas to India. In the course of time newspaper cuttings arrived showing its appearance in a Melbourne journal, as well as in a newspaper published in Toronto. Where else this perfectly unassuming reflection upon an interesting topic showed itself it is not possible for me to say. In many English journals it became the subject of a leading article, and two days after its quotation by the morning journal referred to, the latter treated its readers to an article so refreshing in character, so descriptive in detail, so full of the enthusiasm of what English girl- and womanhood is, that perhaps I may be excused for reproducing here a portion of the article in question:

The general run of young women [says the writer] look upon life as an agreeable opportunity for doing, thinking, and enjoying things pleasant. Children are clad much more warmly and discriminatingly than in olden days; and the girls get the undivided and unqualified advantage of this better treatment. When they have left the nursery, the same improvement in training is manifest. They walk more, ride more, drive more, play games they never used to play, and have many faculties aroused and exercised in them that were wont to lie dormant and unused. The consequence is that the English girls of this generation are not only a lovely, but a splendid race; and there would be fewer exceptions to what is fast becoming a manifest rule were it not that some of them 'fill up the margin' and draw too heavily on their splendid resources. The world contains no more delightful or exhilarating sight than the West End streets of London on a fine morning in winter. Hundreds and hundreds of fair, blond, splendidly developed young creatures pass by wreathed in smiles, often on the very verge of hearty laughter, fancy free, conscious of the sense of full-blooded existence, admirable in gait, fresh as the dawn, overflowing with spirits and fun, the comely and robust mothers of the future race of Englishmen.

Nothing could be more attractive than the picture painted in these words, and still the reality of it cannot be disputed. The ex-

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perience depicted by this writer will be probably recalled by many another person, to whom a similar experience has occurred. But why was it that a perfectly ordinary paragraph in a medical journal should have been disseminated throughout the newspaper press in this fashion? Was it a statement of fact in support of which statistics were added? By no means. Could it be said to be descriptive of a truth to which all would at once be prepared to testify? In a general sense, perhaps, no—and yet it suggested a line of thought and hinted at possibilities in connection with a subject in which no one bearing the name of an Englishman could fail to find some attraction. Quite possibly, then, we have here the explanation of the somewhat remarkable extent to which it was brought within the purview of newspaper readers. But in the editorial comments which it evoked amongst those journals which dealt with it editorially the interesting point was that, almost without exception, the writers expressed views concurrently with those contained in the paragraph. The London morning journal already alluded to, for example, propounded its conviction that the fact was indubitable that Englishwomen are getting taller and are of better physique than formerly, and asserted that we should have reason for astonishment if this were otherwise, adding that

> During the past thirty years everything which concerns the health of the population from the cradle—and indeed before the cradle—to the grave has been attended to, with a care, a knowledge, and an anxiety utterly unknown to the homes, the doctors, the nurses and the kitchens of the past. It stands to reason that women, and especially those of the comfortable classes, have profited by it more than men. For while men nearly always use their powers as fast and as vigorously as they acquire them, and oftentimes faster, and too recklessly, the strength that by good food, expert hygiene, more fresh air and more physical exercise has been added to girls, has been stored up, and at any rate not wasted.

With respect to most of these remarks general agreement will be felt. No demonstration is needed to show that men are always at a disadvantage in comparison with women, so far, indeed, as the demands which life makes upon them are concerned; and it may be that Nature, fully alive to her interests, has so arranged that more male than female children shall be born in order to counteract in some degree the disproportion in numbers which exists between the two sexes. Although the male birth rate is always in excess of the female one, nevertheless it is a matter of common knowledge that women, to a large extent, outnumber men in the world's population.

But this question of the supposed advancing degeneracy of the civilised races of mankind is by no means a new one. Indeed, inquiry reveals that a great deal has been written on the subject; its literature is very much larger than any one, unacquainted with the facts, could possibly imagine. Moreover, a detail of some significance is, that the theme is brought forward for discussion at recurring

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intervals; apparently it has a remarkable fascination for certain persons, and consequently we are accustomed to see it discussed with almost the same regularity as the sea serpent, the prophecies of the coming of the end of the world, and other debated subjects about which brave efforts are so frequently made to say something new.

Conceivably the explanation of the fact that the civilised races of mankind are not 'falling to pieces' in physique in consequence of the severe high-pressure conditions of life is to be found in the phenomenal improvement which has been effected in the sanitary, hygienic, and perhaps social, environments of the people. Obviously that which conduces to human health must also conduce to human energy, and out of the human machine which is in a good state of 'order' more work may be expected than out of one the surroundings of which are not favourable to the development of its best features. Thus it would appear that nowadays a great deal more is possible to be accomplished with human energy than was the case in earlier times, because a great deal more of human energy is generated. This result must undeniably be attributed to the beneficent health laws of civilised countries, and to the diminution of causes tending to destroy human life. In some respects the struggle for existence in the present day is not unlike a continuous struggle to 'break the record.' We see this struggle most aptly illustrated in the sporting and athletic life of the nation. A man, for example, rides a hundred miles on a bicycle, and accomplishes the distance within a certain period. For the time being he is a hero; he becomes famous, and his feat is made the subject of general public comment. No sooner, however, is this the case than other bicycle riders seek to eclipse his record. A process of training for the great event is at once entered upon by the would-be rival competitors, and within no distant time the result is that another record is established, the original one having been far surpassed. But what is true of the athletic and sporting communities in this respect is also true of those whose energies are concentrated upon the business concerns of life. It is the general levelling upwards which has followed as the corollary of the successful and successive 'breaking of the records' in business which has led to the struggle for existence being so acute. In this connection it may be observed that, in the opinion of some, the beneficent public health laws are by no means an unmixed blessing. To a large extent it is held that they must conduce to the leavening of the population with innumerable delicate persons, who under less favourable conditions would not have survived their childhood.

But the answer to this argument obviously is that the same health laws which improved the delicate individuals of the race must distinctly be operative in rendering more stable the health of those who are already strong, while the saved lives merely take the place of the others in the physically lowest class. It may be, indeed,

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safely assumed that the saved lives are by no means necessarily inferior to those whose place they have taken, despite the fact that the latter have been raised to a higher health platform by the same measures which have led to the production of so much good throughout every class in the community. But, as in all competitions, so in the competition of life, there are those who win, and those who lose, those who are always foremost, and those who lag behind; and it is among those who have no capacity for breaking records, and whose physical and mental powers cannot respond to the great process of levelling upwards which is one of the prominent features of the age, that the struggle for existence is the greatest.

I now propose briefly to discuss what has been defined as 'a natural classification' of the causes of degeneracy among civilised nations. The classification is one drawn up by the late Dr. Morel of Paris, who wrote a book, published in 1857, containing no less than 700 pages, which he described as *A Treatise on the Physical, Intellectual, and Moral Degenerations of the Human Race, and upon the Causes which produce these morbid varieties.* The causes of degeneracy he arranged as follows:

1. Degeneracy from *toxæmia*, as from the use of alcoholic fluids, opium, hashisch, tobacco, &c., from the effects of such mineral agents as lead, mercury, arsenic, phosphorus, &c., and from the employment of poisonous vegetable material, like diseased rye, maize, &c.

2. Degeneracy from the influence of malaria, from peculiarities of geological formation, soil, &c.; as the effects of certain plagues and pestilences now and then afflicting humanity, profoundly influencing the system.

3. Degeneracy from the effects of 'the great town system,' whose chief elements are unhealthy situation, noxious local and general atmosphere, insufficient and improper nourishment, deleterious avocations, moral and social misery, wretchedness and crime.

4. Degeneracy from fundamental morbid states, either congenital or acquired, as witnessed in imperfect cerebral development, deaf mutism, and blindness, the tuberculous and other diatheses.

5. Degeneracy from mixed causes, and some special ones not included in the above.

The author further concludes, from a careful study of the effects of the above-mentioned causes, that 'the most active causes of degeneracy of the human race are those which, directly and repeatedly influencing the brain, give rise to special conditions, periodically placing those who are addicted to the use of an intoxicating agent under the conditions of temporary insanity.' It is scarcely needful here to discuss *seriatim* the several clauses in this classification. Indeed the answer to three or four at least would be self-evident to the great majority of persons. For example, one cannot feel that the inclusion of such causes as diseased rye or maize and the effects of lead, mercury, and tobacco, among those which are concerned in the deterioration of civilised races, adds much to the strength of the author's case. So far as unhealthy trades in England are productive

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of harm to the workers, legislation always intervenes in order to minimise the harmful effects as much as possible. A good deal of imagination, therefore, is required to believe that any racial deterioration can occur as the result of causes of this description; and with respect to tobacco smoking there are absolutely no data to show that this habit is deleterious, unless the smoker immoderately indulges, and begins to suffer from the toxic effects of the narcotic. The symptoms of over-indulgence in smoking are more or less clearly defined. They may be caused in one of two ways: in the upper classes by smoking too much; in the lower by smoking too strong tobacco, as, for example, shag. The toxic effects of tobacco among the lower classes are comparatively not infrequent. The form which the poisoning takes is that known to ophthalmic surgeons as 'Tobacco amblyopia.' The men come to the hospitals complaining of loss of sight. Commonly they are found to be bootmakers, or those to whom the opportunity occurs of smoking while they are at work. In most cases there is a serious failure of vision. Associated with this is the loss of perception for the colours red and green, which is confined to the central part of the retina. The diagnosis, however, having been made, the treatment is easy enough. Practically this resolves itself into the emphatic prohibition of all smoking. It is always best to give the patients instructions to burn their pipes. As long as an old 'trusty friend' is permitted to lie on the mantelpiece or anywhere within sight and reach, the temptation becomes almost irresistible to disobey orders, and in the luxury of renewing a valued companionship to forget the strict injunctions against indulging in the habit which had been laid down. Almost invariably in these cases over-indulgence is found to consist in smoking half an ounce of shag daily—that is to say, when the surgeon asks the patient 'How much do you smoke?' it is seldom that any other answer is given than that of 'About half an ounce of shag a day.' The constancy of this reply is really remarkable. 'Tobacco amblyopia' is almost unknown in connection with any other form of tobacco than that which is called 'shag.' In addition to the amblyopia the patients are distinctly affected with 'tobacco tremors;' their hands are shaky; they are more or less nervous, and they complain of loss of appetite. Their complexions, moreover, are in that condition which may be described as 'muddy,' and there is a characteristic expression of listlessness in their eyes. But what are the results of the treatment? In most cases the surgeon may speak hopefully of the recovery of vision; provided that the patient absolutely ceases to smoke, and certain treatment be applied, some improvement will begin to take place in the course of a fortnight. Always very gradually, but generally speaking surely, the improvement progresses, until at the end of some weeks the lost sight is nearly quite regained. Most commonly, however, the surgeon never sees the

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end of the cases; generally speaking, as soon as the patient finds that his sight is sufficiently improved to enable him to attend to his work, he ceases to come to the hospital, and the subsequent record of his progress is thus lost to the surgeon.

Perhaps the most important clause in the classification above quoted is that which refers to the evils of the so-called 'great town system.' But the mention of this subject introduces a most interesting fact. It has been repeatedly pointed out, and universally accepted as a truism, that the herding together of large communities of people in towns is associated with the worst effects upon the health of the population. In support of this statement statistics show that there is a marked difference between the urban and the rural death rates; in other words, the former is distinctly higher than the latter. The point, however, to be inquired into in this connection is, can it be asserted that the higher mortality of town districts is necessarily associated with racial deterioration? Is it true that the effects of the 'great town system' are to cause deterioration of the race, as the result of which a high mortality follows? Probably a good many persons, without reflection, would be prepared to answer affirmatively to these questions; nevertheless there are undisputed facts on record which practically prove the contrary. The following is an extract from the Report of the Anthropometric Committee of the British Association which will be found in the volume of the Proceedings of the Association published in the year 1883:

PHYSICAL IMPROVEMENT OR DEGENERACY OF THE POPULATION.

Few statistics are in existence which help to throw light on this subject. It is generally believed that the population in the manufacturing towns of the North of England is rapidly degenerating, but a comparison of the measurements of stature and weight given in the Report of the Factory Commissioners of 1833, and in the Report to the Local Government Board on 'Changes in Hours and Ages of Employment of Children and Young Persons in Textile Factories,' 1873, shows that this is not the case. On the contrary, an examination of Table xxiv., showing these measurements, indicates a slight but uniform increase in stature, and a very large increase in weight, at corresponding ages. The increase in weight amounted to a whole year's gain, and a child of nine years of age in 1873 weighed as much as one of ten years in 1833, one of ten as much as one of eleven, and one of eleven as much as one of twelve years in the two periods respectively.

In discussing the various questions which have arisen in connection with the subject of this article, I have freely to admit that I started with the conviction that there was ample latitude for the expression of an optimistic opinion. To what extent, however, the remarks contained in the foregoing pages have justified the assumption of this attitude, it is not for me to say.

Nevertheless most persons will concede that it is an easier thing to 'pull down' than 'to build up,' to say that the race *is* degenerating than to prove the contrary, to condemn wholesale the exacting con-

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ditions of nineteenth century existence than to point to those redeeming features by which the harm associated with those conditions is nullified. Clearly the difficulty in the case is the absence of statistical evidence. It is, however, eminently satisfactory to note that in, perhaps, the only instance in which a trustworthy statistical inquiry has been undertaken, the results are such as to accord with the view that no racial deterioration is in progress. In time it may be that more figures will be forthcoming to testify to this fact, but meanwhile it is obvious that the discussions on this subject must to a large extent be based upon mere speculation. As long as this continues to be the case, there are certain to be from time to time alarmist notes sounded, and the dissemination of adverse opinions respecting the maintenance of the integrity of the race. Consolation, however, under these circumstances, may be derived from the reflection that, so far, no irrefragable figures have been produced tending to establish the fact that, as a race, our downward course has begun.

HUGH PERCY DUNN.

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IN THIS NUMBER.

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EDITED BY JAMES KNOWLES

No. 211, SEPTEMBER, 1894.

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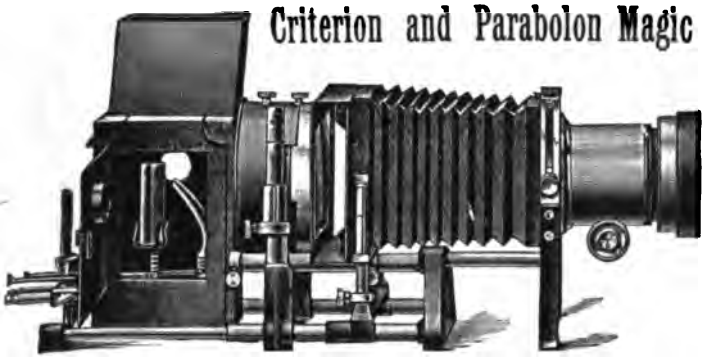

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

No. CCXI—September 1894

TRUE AND FALSE CONCEPTIONS OF THE ATONEMENT[1]

Prefatory

This volume presents to us an object of considerable interest. It inspires sympathy with the writer, not only as a person highly gifted, but as a seeker after truth, although it is to be regretted that at a particular point of the narrative the discussion borders on the loathsome. Indeed, it becomes hard to conceive by what mental process Mrs. Besant can have convinced herself, that it was part of her mission as a woman to open such a subject as that of the Ninth Chapter, in the face of the world, and in a book meant for popular perusal. Instruction will be derived from the work at large; but probably not exactly the instruction intended by the authoress. Her readers will find that they are expected to feel a lively interest in her personality: and, in order that this interest may not be disappointed, they will find her presented to their view in no less than three portraitures, at different portions of the volume. They will also find, that the book is a spiritual itinerary, and that it shows with how much at least of intellectual ease, and what unquestioning assumptions of being right, vast spaces of mental travelling may be performed. The stages are, indeed, glaringly in contrast with one another; yet their violent contrarieties do not seem at any period to suggest to the writer so much as a doubt whether the mind, which so continually changes in attitude and colour, can after all be very trustworthy in each and all its

[1] *Annie Besant: an Autobiography* (London: T. Fisher Unwin, 1894).

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movements. This uncomfortable suggestion is never permitted to intrude; and the absolute self-complacency of the authoress bears her on through tracts of air buoyant and copious enough to carry the Dircæan swan. Mrs. Besant passes from her earliest to her latest stage of thought as lightly, as the swallow skims the surface of the lawn, and with just as little effort to ascertain what lies beneath it. An ordinary mind would suppose that modesty was the one lesson which she could not have failed to learn from her extraordinary permutations; but the chemist, who shall analyse by percentages the contents of these pages, will not, I apprehend, be in a condition to report that of such an element he can find even the infinitesimal quantity usually and conveniently denominated a 'trace.' Her several schemes of belief, or non-belief, appear to have been entertained one after another, with the same undoubting confidence, until the junctures successively arrived for their not regretful, but rather contemptuous, rejection. They are nowhere based upon reasoning, but they rest upon one and the same authority—the authority of Mrs. Besant. In the general absence of argument to explain the causes of her movements, she apparently thinks it sufficient to supply us with her three portraits, as carrying with them sufficient attestation. If we ask upon which of her religions, or substitutes for religion, we are to place reliance, the reply would undoubtedly be, upon the last. Yes; but who is to assure us that it will be the last? It remains open to us to hope, for her own sake, that she may yet describe the complete circle, and end somewhere near the point where she began.

Religion had a large share in the interests of Mrs. Besant's early childhood; and at eight years [2] old she received a strongly Evangelical bent. She is sensible of having been much governed by vanity at this period of her life, while she does not inform us whether this quality spontaneously disappeared, or what had become of it in the later stages. It can hardly be made matter of reproach to Mrs. Besant that such early years did not supply her with her final standing-ground; or that, like most of the other highly gifted pupils in the school popularly known as Evangelical, she felt herself irresistibly impelled to an onward movement. She came to rejoice, as so many more have done, in the great conception of a Catholic Church lasting through the centuries;[3] 'the hidden life grew stronger,' and the practice of weekly communion, nay, even that of self-chastisement, was adopted. In retrospect, she perceives that the keynote of her life has been a 'longing for sacrifice to something felt as greater than the self.'[4] When she married, at the age of twenty, she 'had no more idea of the marriage relation than if she had been four years old.' The supremacy of the new form given to her religious ideas is not very well defined, nor is there any intelligible account of the

[2] P. 45. [3] P. 56. [4] P. 57.

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process through which it was summarily put upon its trial. She informs us, indeed, that she went up to the sources, and made herself acquainted with the Fathers of the Christian Church. It would be interesting to know what were her opportunities, or what was the extent of the girl's patristic reading.[5] Suffice it to say that it has not left the smallest trace upon the matter or spirit of this volume. And, indeed, that a reader of the early Fathers should present to us, as agreeable to the teaching 'of the Churches,' that utterly modern caricature of the doctrine of the Atonement which will presently be cited, is a solecism which, along with a multitude of other solecisms, we must leave it to her readers to examine. As for Mrs. Besant she is frankly astonished at the amount of her own religiosity, and she accepts with apparent acquiescence the remark of her dying father,[6] that 'darling Annie's only fault was being too religious.' In all her different phases of thought, that place in the mind where the sense of sin should be, appears to have remained, all through the shifting scenes of her mental history, an absolute blank. Without this sense, it is obvious that her Evangelicalism and her High Churchism were alike built upon the sand, and that in strictness she never quitted what she had never in its integrity possessed. Speaking generally, it may be held that she has followed at all times her own impulsions with an entire sincerity; but that those impulsions have been wofully dislocated in origin, spirit, and direction, by an amount of egregious self-confidence which is in itself a guarantee of failure in mental investigations.

After a physical crisis, brought about by the sufferings of a child in illness, her religion received a shock which it had not strength to survive. She resolved carefully and thoroughly to examine its dogmas one by one;[7] and she addressed herself, by a process which she does not describe, to four propositions, which, as she states, are assailed by 'the steadily advancing waves of historical and scientific criticism.' The propositions are:[8]

1. The eternity of punishment after death.
2. The meaning of goodness and love, as applied to a God who had made this world with all its sin and misery.
3. *The nature of the Atonement of Christ, and the justice of God in accepting a vicarious suffering from Christ, and a vicarious righteousness from the sinner.*
4. The meaning of inspiration as applied to the Bible, and the reconciliation of the perfections of the Author with the blunders and immoralities of the work.

These propositions were rejected by the young lady not long out of her teens. But lest we should resent her reticence as to the method in which she fulfilled her plan of systematic examination, she gives us this assurance: 'Looking back I cannot but see how orderly was the progression of thought, how steady the growth, after that first terrible earthquake.'[9]

[5] P. 56. [6] P. 24. [7] P. 99. [8] *Ibid.* [9] *Ibid.*

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Still, beyond this authoritative notice, we have not the smallest tittle of evidence to show either, first, that any of the propositions were ever subjected to any serious examination at all, or even, secondly, that any pains were taken to verify them as propositions really incorporated in that teaching of 'the Churches' with which she was resolved to deal. It is hardly needful to observe that, to allege such incorporation, with respect to an essential part of the third proposition, is to exhibit what, in a case where insincerity is not for a moment to be imputed, can only be described as rash and blameworthy ignorance.

It is not necessary to follow the authoress into her further experiences as (in her own language) an atheist and a theosophist. The point at which she parts company from Christianity is the point for taking up her challenge. Accordingly, the purpose of these pages is to test at least one of her four propositions, that which relates to the doctrine of Atonement. But as I am conscious of no title to set off an *ipse dixit* against the *ipsa dixit* of Mrs. Besant, the task set before me can only be performed by a patient examination of language, and of reasoning, which supply the sole means ordinarily vouchsafed to man as his aids in the search for truth. In speaking thus, I waive no tittle of the authority which belongs to the established doctrine of the Atonement; but only abstain from modes of speech and argument, which could find no possible access to the minds of such as follow the methods adopted by the writer of this autobiography.

The Atonement of Christ.

This inquirer, or rather, this objector, asks [10] what is the 'justice' of God in 'accepting a vicarious suffering from Christ, and a vicarious righteousness from the sinner'?

The acceptance of a vicarious righteousness from the sinner may be put aside for the present; inasmuch as, if the first part of the case can be met, the second, which is an ulterior, and perhaps in various ways a questionable, development, at least as it is often put, never will arise.

It is well to get rid of verbal controversies. In human affairs, when an intermediate person comes between a creditor and his debtor, and guarantees or advances the money, the creditor may be said to accept a vicarious liquidation of the debt. And yet that intermediate person may have the fullest intention of requiring the debtor to take the obligation upon himself, and the fullest knowledge that this will be done. Accordingly, let this topic stand aside, for it is virtually included in the larger question.

It is, then, obviously intended to suggest that God accepts from Christ the suffering which, but for Christ, would have been justly

[10] Mrs. Besant, *Autobiography*, p. 99.

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due to the sinner, and justly inflicted upon him; and that, Christ being absolutely innocent, injustice towards Him is here involved.

At the outset, I have to say that statements are sometimes made by unwise or uninstructed persons—indeed, I have myself heard such statements from the pulpit—which give, or appear to give, countenance to this charge. A preacher, whom I am reluctant to name, declared in my hearing that, when pardon has been obtained under the Gospel, a debt is paid off, and God gives 'a receipt in full.' The thing necessary is, that there should be a payment. What does it matter to the creditor by whom the debt is paid? Shylock, more astute than other creditors, though even he was incompletely astute, yet provided effectually against this contingency. The debt of Antonio was to be paid with a part of his own body, and admitted of no substitution. An act of sin is, from this point of view, what is called an I O U; and it is nothing more. The receipt in full having been given, the transaction, or course of transactions, is at an end. This incautious preacher stated a part, and that not the most inward or ethical part, as if it had been the whole; and, according to his exposition, the Almighty, who was the creditor, had no more to do with the affair; while the character of the required penalty, which fell upon the Saviour, is so stated as if good had been undeservedly obtained for the sinner, by the infliction of evil undeservedly upon the righteous.

It is, of course, no answer to this to say that the obligation to discharge the debt was willingly accepted by our Lord. For, firstly, we must, I think, understand from the Agony in the Garden that His willingness was a conditioned willingness. He would not ask for the twelve legions of angels (St. Matt. xxvi. 39, 42, 53); but He prayed that the cup might pass from Him if His drinking, draining, it could be dispensed with; He accepted it because there was something deep down in the counsels, and in the very nature of the Divine Being, which made it indispensable. Secondly, if it was unjust that He should pay by suffering, His willingness in no way clears the character of the Almighty as the universal Governor of the world. Injustice is not the less injustice because there may be a willing submission to it.

But, in fact, our objector seems to agree with our disowned defender in this; that both look at the forensic or reputed, and neither at the ethical, which is of necessity the essential, aspect of the case. Let it be granted to them both—

1. That the 'sinner,' that is to say, man, taken generally, is liable to penalty, for sin ingrained and sin committed.

2. That the Son of God, liable to no penalty, submits Himself to a destiny of suffering and shame.

3. That by His life and death of suffering and shame men are relievable, and have, upon acceptance of the Gospel and continuance

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therein, been actually relieved, from the penalties to which they were liable.

4. That as sin entails suffering, and as Another has enabled the sinner to put all penal suffering away, and, in effecting this, and for the purpose of effecting it, has Himself suffered, this surely is in the full sense of the term a vicarious suffering, an atonement, at-one-ment, vicariously brought about by the intervention of an innocent person.

This dispensation of Atonement is part and parcel of the Incarnation; and the Incarnation, undertaken in order to suffer, by the Man of Sorrows acquainted with grief, is mystery but is not injustice; does not involve the idea of injustice, and is not liable to the charge. Such is the contention which it will now be endeavoured to make good.

Be it remembered that pain, though it is not lawfully to be inflicted except for wrong done, is not in itself essentially evil. It has been freely borne, again and again, by good men for the sake of bad men; and they have borne it sometimes with benefit to the bad men, always with benefit to themselves. Pain indicates, it may be, a relation to evil; but is so far from being absolutely an evil, that it may be relatively and conditionally a good, as being the instrumental cause of good.

If we are told in reply that Christ, being God and therefore perfect, could receive no good from pain, the answer is that by the Incarnation Christ took upon Him a nature not strictly perfect but perfectible, for He 'grew in wisdom and stature, and in favour with God and man' (St. Luke ii. 52).

I have here gone through some propositions which may be termed forensic. It may be convenient, before proceeding farther, to advert to the meaning of this term, which was brought, I apprehend, into familiar use, about half a century ago, by the remarkable writings of Mr. Alexander Knox. It properly refers to proceedings of condemnation or acquittal, such as take place in earthly courts of justice, and accordingly express not certain truth, but only our imperfect effort to arrive at it. They are therefore necessarily disjoined from ethical conditions, in so far that they have no fixed relation to them.

With so much of explanation, let us now turn to those considerations which are properly ethical. And I would strongly contend that there is in Scripture, in Christianity, nothing forensic, which is not also ethical; that these are two distinct but not clashing forms of expressing the one and the same thing; one of them, it may be said, expressing it as law, the other as command; one as justice, the other as will. I would indeed submit that, if we believe in God at all, it becomes impossible for us to sever these two ideas from one another.

The following propositions as they stand of course cannot pretend to the smallest authority; but they are meant to be, and I hope may be, conformable to the established doctrine of Scripture and the Church at large:

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1. We are born into the world in a condition in which our nature has been depressed or distorted or impaired by sin; and we partake by inheritance this ingrained fault of our race. This fault is in Scripture referred to a person and a period, which gives definiteness to the conception; but we are not here specially concerned with the form in which the doctrine has been declared.

2. This fault of nature has not abolished freedom of the will, but it has caused a bias towards the wrong.

3. The laws of our nature make its excellence recoverable by Divine discipline and self-denial, if the will be duly directed to the proper use of these instruments of recovery.

4. A Redeemer, whose coming was prophesied simultaneously with the fall, being a person no less than the Eternal Son of God, comes into the world, and at the cost of great suffering establishes in His own person a type, a matrix so to speak, for humanity raised to its absolute perfection.

5. He also promulgates a creed or scheme of highly influential truths, and founds therewith a system of institutions and means of grace, whereby men may be recast, as it were, in that matrix or mould which He has provided, and united one by one with His own perfect humanity. Under the exercising forces of life, their destiny is to grow more and more into His likeness. He works in us and by us; not figuratively but literally. Christ, if we answer to His grace, is, as St. Paul said, formed in us. By a discipline of life based on the constitutive principles of our being, He brings us nearer to Himself; that which we have first learned as lesson distils itself into habit and character; it becomes part of our composition, and gradually, through Christ, ever neutralising and reversing our evil bias, renews our nature in His own image.

6. We have here laid down for us, as it would seem, the essentials of a moral redemption; of relief from evil as well as pain. Man is brought back from sin to righteousness by a holy training; that training is supplied by incorporation into the Christ who is God and man; and that Christ has been constituted, trained, and appointed to His office in this incorporation, through suffering. His suffering, without any merit of ours, and in spite of our guilt, is thus the means of our recovery and sanctification. And His suffering is truly vicarious; for if He had not thus suffered on our behalf, we must have suffered in our own helpless guilt.

7. This appears to be a system purely and absolutely ethical in its basis; such vicarious suffering, thus viewed, implies no disparagement, even in the smallest particulars, to the justice and righteousness of God.

8. It is not by any innovation, so to speak, in His scheme of government, that the Almighty brings about this great and glorious result. What is here enacted on a gigantic scale in the kingdom of

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grace, only repeats a phenomenon with which we are perfectly familiar in the natural and social order of the world, where the good, at the expense of pain endured by them, procure benefits for the unworthy. It may indeed be said, and with truth, that the good men, of whom we speak are but partially good, whereas the Lord Christ is absolutely good. True; yet the analogy is just, and it holds, even if we state no more than that the better suffer for the worse. The Christian Atonement is, indeed, transcendent in character, and cannot receive from ordinary sources any entirely adequate illustration, but yet the essence and root of this matter lies in the idea of good vicariously conveyed. And this is an operation appertaining to the whole order of human things, so that, besides being agreeable to justice and to love, it is also sustained by analogies lying outside the Christian system, and indeed the whole order of revelation.

9. The pretexts for impugning the Divine character in connection with the redemption of man are artificially constructed by detaching the vicarious efficacy of the sufferings of our Lord from moral consequences, wrought out in those who obtain the application of His redeeming power by incorporation into His Church or Body. Take away this unnatural severance, and the objections fall to the ground.

10. And now we come to the place of what is termed pardon in the Christian system. The word justification, which in itself means making righteous, has been employed in Scripture to signify the state of acceptance into which we are introduced by the pardon of our sins. And it is strongly held by St. Paul that we are justified by faith (Rom. iii. 28, v. 1), not by works. Were we justified, admitted to pardon, by our works, we should be our own redeemers, not the redeemed of Christ. But there are further and unwarranted developments of these ideas, which bring us into the neighbourhood of danger.

11. I have said that, when the vicarious sufferings of Christ are so regarded that we can appropriate their virtue, while disjoining them even for a moment from moral consequences in ourselves, we open the door to imputations on the righteousness of God. But the epoch of pardon for our sins marks the point at which that appropriation is effected; and if pardon be, even for a moment, severed from a moral process of renovation, if these two are not made to stand in organic and vital connection with one another, that door is opened through which mischief will rush in. And thus pardon may be made to hold an illegitimate place in the Christian system; as when it is said that the condition and means of pardon are simply to believe that we are pardoned; the doctrine charged with extraordinary pertinacity and vigour by Bossuet upon Luther. But in Holy Scripture there is no opening of such a door; no possibility of entrance for such an error.

12. Pardon, on the other hand, has both a legitimate and a most important place in the Christian scheme. What is that place? and

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what is pardon itself? Is it arbitrary, and disconnected from the renewing process? or is it, on the other hand, based upon a thorough accord with the ethical and the practical ideas which form the heart of the scheme? Is it like an amnesty proclaimed by some human, probably some revolutionary government without any guarantee or condition as to the motives it will set in action; or is it the positive entry of the strong man into the house which he is to cleanse and to set in order, while he accompanies his entry with a proclamation of peace and joy founded upon the work which he is to achieve therein?

I suppose we do not travel far from the line of accuracy if we allege that pardon is what in the Pauline sense would be initial justification. Both of them are terms belonging to the forensic system. That epithet has great conveniences from the simplicity and force of the antithesis it signifies. I have pointed out that it is defective in point of precise accuracy, and it does not express the whole truth of the case. When a man is declared guilty in a court of justice, from which sphere the phrase is borrowed, the meaning is definite enough in this, that the man was to suffer a penalty definite in its nature, but implying nothing certain upon the question whether he has actually committed the fault to which it is annexed. If, conversely, he is declared to be not guilty, again the meaning is not that he is certainly known not to have committed the fault, but that he is not certainly known to have committed it, and that upon the assumption of his innocence he is to go scot free. It is to be observed that this forensic phraseology, and the responsibility of the comparison which some preachers have so vulgarised by treating the transaction as one across the counter, does not appear to belong to Holy Scripture. But as Holy Scripture speaks of pardon, and of that state of condemnation in which our sin abideth, and from which we are delivered by pardon, there is here a real resemblance to the 'guilty and not guilty' of the court of justice in respect of punishment impending or not impending. But there is none of the uncertainty as to true guilt or innocence which marks our imperfect efforts to establish criminal retribution; for all things are naked to the eyes of Him with whom we have to do.

There is thus a limited or partial accommodation to the forensic idea, when use is made in theology of the word pardon, and of a justification which primarily signifies not righteousness but acquittal. Let us attempt to illustrate this accommodating use, by contrasting it with the case of physical disease under remedial treatment. Here the physician and the patient alike have to look only to the ailment and the remedy, operating upon one another. There is no such thing as an imputed cure. What the remedy gains, the malady loses; and *vice versâ*. There is no cure except an actual cure: no assurance of health of any kind until, and just in so far as, actual health is recovered.

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The case is, however, different when we consider man as labouring under moral ailment, and as receiving the care of the Great Physician. Here, when the centre of his being is effectually reached, and the inmost spring of action, which had wrought for evil, now turns to goodness and to God as its source, the taint of former sin, the force of evil bias, is not at once, nor perhaps for a long and weary time, effectually removed. The man remains sinful except in his intention for the future. What is this intention required to be in order to bring it within the saving grace of the Gospel? Not merely a weak, not merely even a strong, remorse. Not a mere velleity of good, however that velleity be free from the taint of conscious insincerity at the moment. No, it must be the sovereign faculty of will truly (but whether permanently or not is a question only collateral to the present inquiry) turned to God, and actually and supremely operative upon the workings of the whole man; for if there be a reserve, if the heart will not part with some treasured corruption, if like the young man in the Gospel it will not separate from all that separates from Christ, the remedial process is intercepted, the avenging record is not blotted out, there is no pardon, no justification, no capable subject upon which the blessing can descend.

But if, on the other hand, the heart is right with God in that sense which so many pages of the Scripture establish and define for us by living instances, then there is pardon; there is that living seed of actual righteousness, which has only to grow, under the laws appointed for our nature, in order to complete the work. Pardon is properly a thing imputed. But, besides what is imputed, something is imparted to the sinner: but, in the first place, what? and, in the second place, why?

There is imparted to him relief from the penal inflictions due to sin. But what do we mean, in the employment of these words? We do not mean that he is relieved from all the consequences of sin. Many of those consequences arrive from without, and an operation takes place in the way of cause and effect, just as independently of repentance, as if one has received a wound in a guilty foray, where sorrow for the occurrence does nothing to cure the hurt. Neither do we even mean that he is relieved from all the consequences of sin, except such as are external. For it may be too sadly true that the soul, like the souls of Guinevere and Lancelot, will have presented to it in the future the seductive influences of many a sweet temptation. Let us advance one step further. It is not meant that the penitent sinner will be relieved from all the painful consequences of sin. None of our actions end with the doing of them. Their consequences will ordinarily come back upon the doer in a multitude of forms. The evil habits will assert themselves, which the converted will and heart will at all hazards and to all extremities resist; and here it seems obvious that the amount of pain and bitterness growing up out of the old trans-

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gressions will be greater and more intense in proportion to the earnestness, courage, and simplicity of aim with which the soul's battle of life and death is carried on. What, then, is that vast residue of the consequences of sin from which the pardoned sinner is exempted by receiving his pardon?

The answer is, I suppose, to be found in the distinction justly drawn between corrective and vindictive justice, between the remedial and the simply penal consequences of sin. Those results of sin which have been enumerated above—the pain and shame of recollection, the struggle with the enemy—are in the nature of corrective or remedial results. They are not opposed to pardon, they are not restraints upon it. They are co-operators with pardon; auxiliaries which supply their contribution towards the accomplishment of the proper work of pardon. The one and the other are alike directed to and qualified for the abatement of spiritual disease. All these consequences of sin, and all the struggles with them, if bitter in their first inception, have an after-sweetness which effectually soothes and reconciles, and engenders not only a contentment due to resignation andsubmission, but a kind of actual joy in salutary pain; supremely described by the genius, which has presented to us the 'Dream of Gerontius.'

Far different are the pains, strictly penal as to the offender, morally exemplary for others, which attach themselves to sin when it has been deliberately and obstinately cherished. These are the pains due to, and seemingly inseparable from, that Divine constitution of the universe under which guilt and misery are bound one to another, in its permanent arrangements, by a chain of iron.

We have seen, then, that the Atonement of Christ, so far from involving deviation from the established laws of Divine justice, has its foundations deeply laid in the moral order of the world, and is an all-powerful instrument for the promotion of righteousness. It may indeed be alleged that it is a provision obviously exceptional, and that according to ordinary laws every individual stands or falls in the main by his own well or ill doing, and not by that of another. Nor can this be denied; it being indeed evident that the entire case of the human inhabitants of this planet has been made in most important respects exceptional through the introduction of sin into the world. Hence it is that, as we are assured by the Apostle,[11] we are ordained to be a spectacle for men and angels. In other words, it would seem that this world does not exist for itself alone, but is, in some manner which we cannot yet unless most vaguely conceive, to serve a most important purpose of example, warning, or otherwise, on behalf of other portions of God's intelligent creation. But the exceptionality, so to call it, of the Christian dispensation is not an argument against its being true. On the contrary, it is a substantive argument

[11] 1 Cor. iv. 9.

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in favour of the Gospel, if it be manifest that the remedy is one adapted to, and so far accounted for by, the disease: that it tends to repair the rent which has been made by disobedience in the fair order of the world, to restore that harmony of original creation which, as we are told, made the sons of God shout for joy.

In truth, it seems difficult to account for the blindness which fails to perceive the profundity of wisdom which underlies the simplicity of the Gospel. The philosophy of the Incarnation is, indeed, a great and indestructible philosophy. It was said that Socrates plucked wisdom down from Heaven. The Incarnation brought righteousness out of the region of cold abstractions, clothed it in flesh and blood, opened for it the shortest and the broadest way to all our sympathies, gave it the firmest command over the springs of human action, by incorporating it in a person, and making it, as has been beautifully said, liable to love.

Included in this great scheme, the doctrine of free pardon is not a passport for sin, nor a derogation from the moral order which carefully adapts reward and retribution to desert, but stands in the closest harmony with the component laws of our moral nature.

According to St. Matthew,[12] our Saviour made use of these words: 'Whether is it easier to say, "Thy sins be forgiven thee," or to say, "Arise and walk"'; and then, in order that His auditory might perceive that He was invested with power to forgive sins, 'He said to the sick of the palsy, "Arise and walk;"' and the impotent creature, thus endowed with strength, arose and walked accordingly. An absolute change was effected, as if by magic, in the physical power of the man. And we understand that when his sins were thus forgiven him, a corresponding moral change was operated in his soul. Was there here an *opus operatum*, which by means independent of his free will made the man thereafter morally a different man from what he had been before? Or did not the absolving act of our Lord imply and correspond with a movement belonging to and residing in the interior of the man himself?

There are modes of presenting the doctrine of pardon according to which it effects an absolution, such that, when it has been obtained, we have only to enjoy it, and suffer it to work out its results, every other requisite of spiritual progress following spontaneously. But if this be a right conception of it, the task of harmonising such a theory with the ordinary laws which govern our moral nature becomes far from an easy one.

Pardon, as between man and man, implies a change of intimate relations, but not necessarily a change of inward disposition; for the dispensers of human pardons have no certain insight into the heart, and cannot tell whether the receiver of the absolution is worthy or unworthy to receive it. If, however, he be worthy, then the

[12] St. Matt. ix. 5.

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grant of a pardon is truly operative in producing a change of disposition. The child, sorry for its offence, and receiving pardon from the parent, is sensible at once that he is relieved of a weight which oppressed and retarded him. He becomes conscious that there has been removed out of his way an obstacle, which made it harder for him to do right and avoid doing wrong. There was a clog tied about his neck, which impaired his power to move. Confidence now replaces misgiving, and cheerfulness despondency. The effect of pardon in the Christian system affords a beautiful illustration of the expression of the Psalmist,[13] who assures us that his feet are made like hart's feet to run in the way of righteousness. And the graver the fault may have been, the greater is the relief enjoyed. So that, as between God and man, pardon is a real power, helpful to the great end of sanctification. In one point of view, it is an anticipation of that freedom from the effect of past sin on the habit of the mind which may only be fully attained in the future. But it is, at the same time, a seal or stamp, verifying the renunciation of sin, and imparting vigour to the motives by which it is prospectively to be resisted. Without doubt, it is vital to bear in mind that pardon is in its essence a recognition of a change which has already taken place, as well as an instrument for producing further change. Even Divine pardon is in this sense essentially declaratory. Unless the will have been rectified, there can be no effective pardon. 'David said unto Nathan, "I have sinned against the Lord." And Nathan said unto David, "The Lord also hath put away thy sin; thou shalt not die."'[14] But if pardon were disjoined from the condition of a converted will, then, indeed, it would be a license for transgression, instead of a powerful means for its avoidance.

In conclusion.

It is not difficult to perceive that works and proceedings such as those of Mrs. Besant may be useful to religion, not by virtue of what they intend, but by virtue of the controlling Providence which shapes their direction and effect, in total independence of the aims of their authors. Of the four propositions of Mrs. Besant, one, standing second in order, deals with the problem presented to us by the existence of evil in the world created and ruled by an all-powerful as well as all-holy God. This problem appertains to theism at large, and not to the special dispensation of the Gospel. The other three, touching upon the eternity of future punishment, the inspiration of Holy Scripture, and the atonement of Christ, lead us upon ground properly Christian. I suppose it cannot be denied that upon each and all of these doctrines rash things have been said, with the intention of defending them, but with a great lack of wisdom in the choice of means for making that defence effectual. The enemy, prowling round the fortress, may be of the highest utility in awakening

[13] Psalm xviii. 33. [14] 2 Sam. xii. 13.

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the care and vigilance of those to whom its safety is entrusted. In making use, however, of this illustration, we have to recollect that this care and vigilance are to be employed not only against the foe outside the walls, but against ourselves. The heat of controversy, the intermittent negligence of the human understanding in the performance of its work, and the aptitude of selfish passions to clothe themselves in the garb of zeal for religion, are among the causes which may require the exercise of careful and constant criticism over the forms of language in which Christian doctrine has to be inculcated, and the application of a corrective and pruning process to retrench excesses unwittingly committed by believers; as well as to supply those voids in the assertion of doctrine which result from the wasting, sapping, and gnawing operation of actual heresy. The promise of perpetuity and immortality to the Church, against which the gates of hell are not to prevail, is a promise to the Church at large, and not to its individual members, or even to its particular sections. It will surely not be denied by any person of candid mind that these possibilities of excess through the narrowness and temerity of unbalanced zeal are more than merely abstract possibilities. They have been painfully illustrated in practice. We have been told at times of the undiscriminating grace of God, which saves or consigns to damnation according to mere choice or pleasure, and irrespectively of anything in the persons whose destinies are to be so controlled; so that of two persons, exactly alike in point of service or offence, one is to be rescued and the other lost. The meaning of this would be that the sovereign pleasure of God did not move upon lines parallel to those of the moral law. Let those, who are so inclined, be responsible for the consequences of such a doctrine. That the apprehension of it is not unreal, may be readily perceived by those who will refer to the Lambeth Articles of 1595, passed by Whitgift and certain of the Elizabethan Bishops, but never incorporated in the authoritative documents of the English Church. As against them and all such utterances we rear the standard of Scripture: 'Are not my ways equal? are not your ways unequal?'[15] And we welcome aid, from Mrs. Besant or anyone else, which recalls us from rashness to vigilance and care. Again, and in closer proximity to the present subject, we have seen that even now representations are sometimes made which seem to treat the Atonement of Christ not as a guarantee, but rather as a substitute for holiness. For if sin, which is undoubtedly a debt, be nothing but a debt, if it be so detached from the person of the debtor that when it is paid it matters not by whom, that then the debtor can no more be challenged, and remains as he was before in all things except that a burden has been discharged from his shoulders, then again the moral laws are in danger. For those laws will not for a moment tolerate that grace and favour be dis-

[15] Ezekiel xviii. 25.

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joined from reformation, justification from repentance and conversion of the heart.

Such are the openings for error, which are due to the shortcomings of individuals, or of factions in the Church. It is needless to write upon the deeper question, whether the Christian Church at large is wholly exempt from the possibility of going astray in matters not vital to the Christian faith; whether the promise of perpetual life is equivalent to a promise of perpetual and perfect health. It can hardly be said that this question is disposed of by the terms of the promise itself, for life does not of itself exclude languor and disease. Another parallel may be drawn, which is perhaps not wholly fanciful. The Christian Church has the promise and the note of sanctity, no less than of truth. And yet this promise of an indestructible holiness and striving after the image of God does not exclude vast masses of sin from her precincts. Why should imperfections in belief be less compatible with the human conditions of the Christian dispensation than imperfections in practice, provided they are subject to the same limiting provision—this namely, that they do not touch the central seat of life, do not destroy, though they may impair, the action of the Church in the fulfilment of its office? We know that the tares are mingled with the wheat, and how can we be certain that those tares may not signify perverted thought as well as corrupted action? But I desist from this strain of observation, and bring these remarks to a close with the suggestion that, according to the established doctrine of Holy Scripture and of the Christian Church, the great Sacrifice of Calvary does not undermine or enfeeble, but illuminates and sustains, the moral law; and that the third proposition of Mrs. Besant, with which alone we are here concerned, is naught.

W. E. GLADSTONE.

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HERESY AND SCHISM
FROM ANOTHER POINT OF VIEW

THE article on this subject in a recent number of this Review is highly interesting both on its own account and on that of the quarter from which it comes. In offering a few remarks upon it, I propose, with all due deference and respect to its honoured and honourable author, to notice some of the positions which he has taken up, and to test, so far as may be, one or two of the conclusions in which he appears to rest.

He commences with a hypothetical proposition of great importance, involving other assumptions of the same notable character. It appears to be taken for granted as indisputable; for it is simply affirmed as an unquestionable truth, and this without direct evidence or attempt at justification. And yet it is a proposition which is in the highest degree open to question! 'If Christ our Lord founded the Church as a visible and organised society by a commission from Himself.' In a later passage (p. 169) the same idea recurs of 'a special organisation' through which the message of the Gospel was to be transmitted to future ages. It is almost needless to observe that no organisation of any kind corresponding to the words thus used, or forming what can be rightly termed 'the Church,' was in existence, even in an incipient state, for many years, or rather decades of years or generations, after Christ had passed away from the earth.

Moreover, the evidence bearing most directly upon the subject, in the recorded words of the Christian Master and his Apostles, is altogether against the idea that He had in view the establishment of any organised body such as the Church was, when, in long subsequent times, it did come into existence. At the crucifixion (we are told) 'all the disciples forsook Him and fled.' But, recovering from their dismay they soon began to look forward to a second coming of their Master. He was to come again to judge the nations, to put an end to the existing state of the world, and to establish the reign of the saints on earth.

The Epistles of St. Paul and other New Testament writers abundantly show that such was the fond expectation of the primitive ages

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of Christianity. Their writings frequently allude to this idea. 'The day of the Lord,' they conceived, was 'at hand.' (E.g. 1 Thess. i. 10, ii. 19, iii. 13; James iv. 7, 8; 1 Pet. i. 5, 7). The most remarkable testimony to the same effect is the Pauline passage in 1 Thess. iv. Here the Apostle writes to his friends, in reference to the expected second Advent, 'We that are alive, that are left unto the coming of the Lord, shall in no wise precede them that are asleep. For the Lord himself shall descend from heaven with a shout, with the voice of the archangel and with the trump of God; and the dead in Christ shall rise first; then we that are alive, that are left, shall together with them be caught up in the clouds, to meet the Lord in the air: and so shall we ever be with the Lord.'[1] It is clear that the writer of these words was anticipating a fulfilment of his hopes that should not be long delayed, a speedy fulfilment.

Similar passages, though of less detail, occur in the first Epistle to the Corinthians (xv. 22–28, 50–55). But a more remarkable passage still is found in the words attributed to Christ in the first Gospel. This document may not, as a composition, be so ancient as the Epistles just referred to. But whether it be so or not, the following words plainly show what was the belief of very early times respecting the second coming, inasmuch as the Evangelist records as from Christ himself a prophetic announcement of his own speedy return to the earth. 'The Son of man shall come . . . with his angels, and then shall he render unto every man according to his deeds. Verily I say unto you, there be some of them that stand here, which shall in no wise taste of death till they see the Son of man coming in his kingdom' (Matt. xvi. 27, 28). The book of Revelation, in its latter half, is full of the same anticipation, expressed at times in the strongest and most materialistic terms. In these are foretold the destruction of the heathen nations, with their kings and armies, amidst scenes of battle and carnage vividly described. This destruction is to be followed by the speedy triumph of the saints, 'a new heaven and a new earth,' and the glorious establishment of Messiah's kingdom. It is all to come upon the world *soon*: they are 'things which must shortly come to pass' (twice repeated); 'for the time is at hand': 'and behold, I come quickly'; such is the declaration; and the book closes with an emphatic repetition of similar words: 'He which testifieth these things saith, Yea: I come quickly, Amen: come, Lord Jesus.' (Rev. i. 1, 3; xxii. 6, 20, and *passim*).

Such then was the clear and vivid expectation of the primitive Christian generations, including the Master himself, as well as those who, according to the record, stood nearest to him and have reported his words and their own beliefs. In the face of such expressions, is it possible to think of Christ as having founded the church 'as a visible and organised society, by a commission from himself?' Is it

[1] Here, as elsewhere, I quote from the Revised New Testament.

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possible to think of him as having founded the church for future and distant ages, in the most definite and pointed way 'by a charge . . . to the Apostles whom he had chosen': a charge, again, 'expressly extended by a promise of his superintending presence with them . . . until the end of the world'? If such a charge was ever given by the founder of Christianity, it must have been wofully misunderstood by those who received it! But, indeed, *where* is it to be seen? In what passage of the recorded ministry of Christ (interpreted in accordance with the known circumstances and feelings of his time) is it to be met with? I look in vain through the article to which I am referring for any evidence of its existence; while I see numerous indications in the New Testament writings that the men to whom it is said to have been given knew nothing about it, had other ideas in their minds, and were looking to an immediate future for organisations of an entirely different character—extremely different too from the slowly developed idea of a church which grew up in ages long subsequent to the life and teaching of the Master.

I have said that no evidence is forthcoming in the article to justify the hypothetical proposition with which it commences. The remark is perhaps a little too sweeping; for the author does appeal to one verse which, however, is singularly inadequate to the purpose for which it is cited. The words occur in Matt. xviii. 17: 'Tell it unto the church; and if he refuse to hear the church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican.'[2] This is brought forward as a decisive direction for dealing with any who should 'rebel against the jurisdiction then constituted, should sever themselves in doctrine or in communion from His servants, and should presume in this way to impair their witness and to frustrate thereby His work, so far as in them lay.' The assumptions underlying these words are remarkable and surprising. There was no 'jurisdiction then constituted,' as abundantly shown in what I have already written; certainly there was none in any ecclesiastical sense. Even if there had been, the words quoted as above are in no way applicable to a case of rebellion against it. The incident in the Scripture narrative is a case, not of ecclesiastical doctrine or communion, but simply of one disciple trespassing against another. 'If thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault.' 'But if he hear thee not,' tell it unto two or three witnesses: 'And if he refuse to hear them tell it unto the church.' If he refuse to hear the church, cast him off and have nothing more to do with him. A moral offence of practical conduct

[2] This verse and Matt. xvi. 18 are the only instances in the four Gospels in which the word 'church' occurs. In both cases it can only have the same meaning, denoting the *assembly* or congregation of the disciples; the word 'church' being an obvious over-rendering, founded on the ideas of far later times. The original ἐκκλησία in these verses corresponds to the Hebrew word rendered 'congregation,' and frequently met with in the Old Testament. Compare Acts xix. 39.

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is clearly what is here in the view of the speaker; and I submit it is vain to try to extract from the words any definite general law for the guidance, in cases of offended doctrine or communion, of any ecclesiastical organisation in the ages to come.

But again, that our modern word church, 'the church,' is here a correct rendering of the original ἐκκλησία is by no means beyond question, as indicated in the margin of the revised version. In the time of Christ there was no Christian community in existence that could be properly designated by this term. Even in the later period of St. Paul's activity the disciples existed mainly as scattered groups, although it is true that the greater idea of a wide-spread general body of Christians was beginning to grow up into form and is found in the Epistles. The meaning therefore of the words of the Gospel is no doubt the older meaning of a *gathering* or *assembly* of persons. Hence the Scripture simply says: If the offender will not listen to the remonstrances of private persons, tell it to the larger body of the disciples gathered together, and if he refuse to hear them treat him as a stranger and have no intercourse with him.

The article on which I am thus commenting appears to me to fail conspicuously in another very important particular. While so freely using the vague term 'heresy' and its cognates, it makes no attempt to give a definition of the sense in which that term is employed as a representative of positive doctrine. It does not set up any standard by which it may be known whether a man or a tenet is heretical or 'orthodox.' *Who* then, and *what*, it must be asked, is a heretic? Where is such an objectionable person to be found?—in the pulpits or pews of the Anglican Church, or in those of a Dissenting meeting-house, or those again of a Roman Catholic chapel? And by what marks is he to be known? These questions are asked, of course, in reference to doctrinal beliefs and church communion, not in reference to evil conduct, such as Christian men of all shades of belief and all communions would unite to condemn. Who then will venture to say authoritatively that such and such a man is a 'heretic,' in the sense above indicated? and if any one should presume to pronounce such a judgment upon another, then the question arises, by what authority does he speak? Doubtless he has a right to define a Christian faith for himself and to try and question himself whether he be a sound Christian or the contrary. But has he any right to judge others who differ from him, and to affix upon them the opprobrious term 'heretic,' because they have in all sincerity and good faith come to conclusions different from his? If he thinks he *has*, I would ask him to consider well how that right arises. The New Testament nowhere formulates any standard of orthodoxy—after the manner of the London School Board, when it dictates to its teachers what doctrines they are to find in the Bible, denying

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them the privilege of reading and judging for themselves with their own eyes and understandings.

Nor has the Christian Master delegated to any human being, whether Pope or priest or bishop, the function of judging and condemning others. So at least most evangelical Protestants maintain, and I for one cannot doubt that they are right in so doing. But in truth, such propositions as these are almost self-evident, and it is hardly worth while to reiterate them in the present connection. They are in perfect agreement with the principle enunciated in a remarkable passage of the article under notice. Addressing a supposed proselyter, who is eager to enforce upon others the truth which he supposes himself to possess, the writer of the article makes the following weighty admission :—

> Who assures me that this truth of yours on which you so naturally rely is certified by any other witness than the witness of your own private spirit? You will hardly pretend that it has come to you with the stamp and seal of a divine revelation, or that you are entitled to proclaim, like one of the ancient prophets, 'Thus saith the Lord. . . .' Your supposed certainty is but your sincere persuasion; a great warranty, without doubt, for yourself, but none whatever for me, your neighbour. Unless, indeed, you can shew me that you have received from on high a commission to instruct mankind in that which you have learned yourself; but such a commission, which, if it is to rule me, must be exhibited in a manner which I can understand, you do not attempt to show. And thus, or in some way like this, the hot proselytiser ought to learn to pay some of that respect to the convictions of his neighbours which he pays so largely to his own (pp. 162, 3).

This is justly and wisely said, and will, it may be thought, command the assent of all intelligent and reasonable men, whether within the Anglican Church or outside of it.

But to return to our main line in these remarks. It is easy to infer from some expressions that the writer of this article is by no means indifferent as to his own orthodoxy or that of other people. He speaks of the three Creeds of the Anglican body as embodying the central truths of Christianity; and it follows that the persons who reject those creeds are to be accounted as heretical, and as liable to such spiritual disqualifications and dangers as may attach to their theological position. This is a serious and threatening attitude to take up; and some of us who unquestionably belong to the condemned class may reasonably feel alarmed at the thought of the judgment hanging over us! The learned and excellent writer of the article will no doubt, however, be very kindly tolerant even towards such persons, and perhaps come to regard their theology as only a justifiable development, or rather a natural reaction against the now prevalent orthodoxy! He may also be even willing to accept any reasonable excuse or apology, which they may have to offer for their deviation from right paths. Let me then turn for a moment to speak more definitely of those who cannot accept the creeds referred to, or the substance of them under other forms;—those who consider them

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inadmissible by any who would regard the words and the spirit of the Great Master as more important even than the antiquated church doctrines which have come down to us from the Fathers of 'orthodoxy.'

Let me be pardoned, therefore, if I am very bold, and devote a page or two to speak of that body of English religionists who, like the Christians of old, are everywhere spoken against. I mean the Unitarians. They are not unimportant in the country, although numerically they do not appear very strong, while yet, it will probably be admitted, their numbers are really larger than appears on the surface. At all events, they comprise, and have comprised, some not wholly undistinguished men. Looking back to the past, we find such names as those of Milton, Sir Isaac Newton, Locke, Dr. Isaac Watts, in his later days, Priestley, Channing, and many more whom I need not specify by name. Looking upon our own times, whether in England or in America, I could enumerate a host of others—men of whom no inconsiderable number have been, and are, distinguished in literature, in science, and in other departments of human learning Some of these men must be well known to the author of the article as able and estimable men, as good citizens and members of Parliament. I cannot doubt that he feels for many of them personally the highest regard. Are such men to be stigmatised as heretics? To some of them the Christian name has been expressly denied, as in the late discussions in the London School Board, in which Lord Halifax is reported to have said that he could not allow the Christian name to one who is generally recognised as the most learned and eminent of living Unitarians. In this, Lord Halifax no doubt spoke in accordance with the ideas of the English Church Union. Hence it may be inferred the members of that very considerable and influential, but by no means infallible, body regard the Unitarians of England, whatever their personal worth for character or learning or position in society, as outcasts from the Christian fold.

Thus to do seems to me to be very like reducing their own dogmatic system to an absurdity; or, to vary the phrase, it is to show the world that the tree which bears such fruits of intolerance must be a very 'corrupt tree'; as, indeed, we know it is one which did not grow up in the soil of the New Testament, but in that of the orant and superstitious centuries which followed the New Testament times.

To show this a little more fully to any reader to whom the subject, as I am now presenting it, may be something of a novelty, I will venture a step further and set down for comparison with the three creeds, the definitions, or *quasi*-definitions of Christianity, written by well-known members of the Unitarian body.

1. By one of these Christianity is described in the following words:—

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If we must try to state in words the religion embodied in the person of the Christian Founder, we may, perhaps, resolve it into an intimate sense of filial, spiritual, responsible relation to a God of righteousness and love; an unreserved recognition of moral fraternity among men; and a reverent estimate of humanity, compelling the faith that 'the dead live.' This is the combination of which his person is the living expression; and he in whom they reappear is at one with Christianity—consciously, if recognising their representation in him; unconsciously, if repeating them apart from him.'—Martineau, *Seat of Authority*, p. 358.

2. A leaflet published quite recently by the well-known British and Foreign Unitarian Association contains what is, perhaps, a more special definition of the word Christian :—

A *Christian* is one who is a *disciple* of Christ—according to the earliest notice of the word which is to be met with, 'The disciples were called Christians first at Antioch.' A disciple, again, is one who learns or has learned from another, and who feels himself drawn by the respect and sympathy of a learner towards his teacher. The Christian will entertain such feelings towards Christ; he will look to him with reverence, will desire to imitate the example of faithfulness to the sense of duty and of love to God and man, which He has given to the world. But what then, it may be asked, is the Christian to *believe*? In reply I can only say Christ has left us no formal creed, nor authorised any person to draw one up for him. Intellectually, therefore, we are free men—free, that is, to pursue the truth, to think and speak according to our highest conceptions of truth and right. Such is the 'liberty wherewith Christ has made us free.' But yet, although the Teacher has imposed no dogmatic creed, he has given us great principles, without the admission of which no man can justly claim to be his disciple. Pre-eminent among these are love to God and love to man, and these are what Christ himself has most emphatically enjoined. And he was right in doing so; for these principles involve and lead up to everything else of chief value in the faith and practice of a religious man. Carry them out in the details of daily conduct, carry them out in the spirit of Christ, and they will add a grace, and beauty, and elevation, and purity, to human life, which as yet, alas, are too often, and too sadly, absent from it.

3. Once more, the Unitarian belief in Christ is set forth in a passage which may be seen in a small volume published and republished some years ago by the same Association, and entitled, *The Spirit and the Word of Christ*. From this it may, at least, be seen how unfounded is the common charge against the Unitarians, that they 'deny Christ,' because they do not accept the distinctive doctrines of the popular orthodoxy :—

'Before all things,' the SPIRIT OF CHRIST! And what this was, and is, it requires no detailed exposition to set forth. Christian men are everywhere agreed as to its most vital and characteristic qualities. It is the spirit of truth, and justice, and fidelity, to the sense of duty; of love and goodwill between man and man, of humble faith and reliance on God. It is this, manifested in practical obedience and well-doing; in self-renunciation and sympathy for the afflicted and suffering. It is tender compassion for the sinner, combined with an earnest intolerance of untruth, hypocrisy, and formality, in religion, as in everything else. It is the spirit of prayer and upward aspiration and love towards the Universal Father, of unfailing submission to the Holy Will, and devout trust in the unseen heaven; while at last, as the result and crown of all, it is a perfect readiness, even in the moments of supreme agony and death, to commit every interest and care into the hands of God—not forgetting withal to return good for evil, blessing and forgiveness for injury and scorn, as shown in that memorable prayer, 'Father, forgive them, they

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know not what they do. . . .' With these lessons before us, need we any of us be in doubt as to what is the imperishable essence of Christianity? or helplessly say, as some do, that we cannot find it out? or declare that we can only see it where in truth it is hardly to be seen at all—in creeds, and dogmas, and church organisations which breathe the spirit of exclusion and denunciation? Surely not so; but Christianity stands before us in Christ himself, living, acting, and speaking, in his thoughts, his words, his daily life.

In introducing these extracts here, I am, I fear, trespassing somewhat upon the generally neutral character of this 'Review.' If so, I hope the editor and his readers will pardon me. I was anxious to afford the means of comparing the statements of the creeds, on which so great stress is laid in the article under notice, with the theological position of Christian men who are so much decried, and thus to give the reader the opportunity of judging them out of their own mouths, so to speak, and of seeing whether or not they are to be included within the Christian fold, or to be harshly cast out of it.

Several points of great interest remain for notice, but time and space require me to touch very rapidly only on one or two of them. In particular the emphasis laid by the author on the unanimity, as alleged, with which the great doctrines which he names are attested by almost the entire world of professing Christians. No less than 450 millions, he affirms, practically agree in witnessing to the doctrines referred to. This, in spite of all their differences on many other matters, a result by which the author of the article is enthusiastically carried away;—as at the sight of a 'moral miracle,' a 'marvellous concurrence, evolved from the very heart of discord.'

But now, when all is said, what is the testimony thus appealed to *worth*? What proportion of these numberless millions can be said to 'witness' to the alleged truths with any rational conviction of their own, or after any intelligent inquiry worthy of acknowledgment? The article itself speaks of 'the mass of continental Christians' as holding their religion 'by tradition.' What of the mass of English Christians, including the multitudes of fine people who frequent churches and chapels merely because it is the fashion to do so? *Their* testimony, surely, is only a nominal thing, destitute of weight or value. And when we look over to non-believing France, to rationalistic Germany, to the ignorant and misled priests and peasantry of such countries as Spain, Italy, Russia, even our own Ireland, what importance can be ascribed even to the alleged unanimity of such witnesses? What proportion, again, of the thoughtful, well-instructed men of our day, the men of science and critical knowledge, acquainted with the history of religion in the earlier and the later Christian times, men who are unfettered by personal interests, and free as regards subscription to long-descended creeds, free therefore to speak out what they think—what proportion of such men would desire to be included with the untold millions as witnesses to the so-called 'central truths,' so often mentioned?

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Besides this consideration, it is hardly necessary to say here that numbers are no test of truth. Otherwise, what should we have to say of those other hundreds of millions, Buddhists and Mohammedans, who are as passionately devoted to their religion as are Christians, and indeed far more so?

An inference of some importance seems to result from the foregoing remarks. This is, that it is a mistake and somewhat perverse in these days and altogether inadequate, to conceive of Christianity as in its essence a doctrinal or dogmatic system, however long descended or extensively diffused it may be. That sort of Christianity has in fact been the source of untold miseries in the past experience of Christendom. This is seen in the persecutions, the martyrdoms, the alienation, the theological hatreds and denunciations, of which the dogmas of Churches have in the past been the fruitful cause—from the monstrous cruelties of the Inquisition downwards, through Bartholomew massacres, and Smithfield fires, to the petty boycottings and other forms of annoyance in our own times, including such incidents as a removal of a teacher from his position under a School Board, because he does not find doctrines in the Bible to suit the demands of a majority of the Board. Surely it is strangely unfit, in these days of extended knowledge as to the origin and composition of the biblical writings, to regard the Christian revelation as mainly concerned with theological doctrine.

Had it been intended as such, would not its founder have made it very clear to those who were to come after him, *what* the theology was to be which they were to receive? Would it have been so left that they would have had to question and discuss, to worry and persecute one another, in consequence of their differences as to what they were to regard as revealed truth? This surely would have been made plain or else the supposed revelation would have been no revelation at all, but only a baneful thing, thrown among ignorant men, as if to stir up religious intolerance and evil speaking of one another, on the ground of their supposed misbeliefs;—and this too in a sphere of thought in which the certainty of absolute truth is beyond the reach of mortal man. Such, alas, is the spectacle which too often meets the view in looking back upon the history of Christendom from the days of the ancient heretics, so called, down almost to these times of ours.

In the foregoing remarks nothing has been said about 'Schism.' That subject has not the serious interest which attaches to heresy. Moreover we are all schismatics, in one form or other—just as we are all, in a sense, agnostics, mostly perhaps without knowing it, and although we may not be willing to acknowledge it even to ourselves. 'Schism' therefore may best be left without further notice in these pages.

G. VANCE SMITH.

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OUR WARNING
FROM THE NAVAL MANŒUVRES

THE man who carefully studies the nature of the strategic situation which was artificially created for the purposes of the naval manœuvres of 1894 will scarcely fail to be struck by the amount of ingenuity displayed in the formulation of the general idea. Whether the ingenuity was wisely employed or whether it was for the most part wasted can only be decided upon survey of the results which have been attained; but that the scheme was ingenious cannot, I think, be doubted. Most of the newspapers, immediately after the publication of the outlines of the programme of operations, explained to their readers that this programme appeared to suggest certain analogies; but they warned them that such analogies, if too closely pressed, were apt to mislead, and that, after all, the naval problem of the year must be looked at broadly, and must be treated on its merits. That is certainly the way in which it should be, and has been, treated by the scientific school of naval strategists; but very few of the taxpayers of the country are naval strategists in any sense of those words, and I suspect that the great residuum may have found it rather difficult to interest themselves in an intimate way in the progress of a war game played upon such a chart as was printed in the *Times* of the 18th of July, or as the special one which was published by Mr. Stanford. The plain man may be excused if he fail to understand why the originators of the general idea saw fit to make Ireland, for the purposes of the manœuvres, into a peninsula by the agency of an imaginary isthmus connecting Brow Head with South America; and why some parts of the British and Irish coasts were to be considered as belonging to the Red Side, other parts to the Blue, and still other parts to unnamed neutrals. The newspapers hinted to him that in the manœuvres Belfast was doing duty for the nonce as Gibraltar. But although the newspapers gave the plain man that clue, I dare say that the plain man, after a cursory examination of the manœuvre chart, arrived at the conclusion that the arrangement of stations, territories, and forbidden areas was entirely arbitrary and haphazard, and that although naval strategists might derive some instruction from the operations, he, as a layman, must be content to

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look on and to be perplexed. That Belfast was doing duty as Gibraltar was generally accepted by all the newspapers which I had opportunity of seeing. They also inclined to the belief that Berehaven stood, in some mysterious way, for Plymouth, Falmouth for Malta, Queenstown for Toulon, and the Shannon for Brest; but I cannot gather that any of them altogether realised the principles upon which the parts were allotted to the performers, and what was this year the true intention or significance of that inevitable feature in modern British naval manœuvres the Forbidden Belt. I venture, therefore, to write for the plain man who may not have understood.

The fact is that the arrangement of the stations, territories, and forbidden areas was not in any sense arbitrary. Perhaps it would not have been quite becoming of the Admiralty, in its published scheme, to explain why the Irish coast from Brow Head to Recnada Point was assigned to Red, and the coast from Clogher Head to Galley Head to Blue; but there is no reason why a private individual like myself should not endeavour to put points upon the Admiralty's *i*'s. These annual manœuvres are for the purpose of interesting and instructing the public as well as the navy; and they partially fail in their main object whenever the public is unable to fully comprehend the motive of the operations and the manner in which the results may be applied. International courtesies must be observed by private individuals as strictly as by the Board of Admiralty, and legitimate international susceptibilities must be respected by both; but the courtesies due from the Admiralty are more formal than those due from this Review or from an unofficial critic, and legitimate international susceptibilities will be no more wounded by the publication of a full explanation of the motives underlying the general idea of these manœuvres than they already are by Lord Spencer's building programme, or by our habitual maintenance of a large fleet in the Mediterranean. We may, therefore, 'clear our minds of cant,' and see what this year's manœuvre scheme amounted to.

Those who desire to intelligently comprehend the meaning of the operations cannot do better than construct for themselves a special manœuvre chart. The chief requisites are a library atlas, a large sheet of paper, and a copy of the *General Orders, &c., for the Information of Both Sides.* If you have also a copy of the manœuvre chart as published in the *Times* of the 18th of July, or by Mr. Stanford, so much the better. It will save you time and trouble. As the *General Orders* may not be accessible, I copy from them those passages which bear upon the construction of the special chart about to be described, and add from other sources some explanations.

Red and Blue are two opposing forces; the composition of each is known to both sides.

Each force will be divided into two fleets, viz. Red into fleets A and B, and Blue into fleets C and D.

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The limits of the manœuvre area will be: on the north, 57° N. latitude; on the south, 47° 20′ N. latitude; on the east, the western coast of Great Britain and the south coast to longitude 4° W.; and on the west, 15° W. longitude.

A 'forbidden belt,' which during the manœuvres must not be crossed by vessels of either side, is formed by a line drawn from Brow Head to latitude 47° 20′ N., longitude 15° W., and by another line drawn parallel with the first from the point at which the 9th meridian cuts the south coast of Ireland to latitude 47° 20′ N.

Territory is assigned as follows:—

To Red: from Stoke Point to the Lizard (S.E. England); from White Head to Orlock Point (E. Ireland); and from Brow Head to Recnada Point (W. Ireland).

To Blue: from Rhossili Point to St. Bee's Head, with Anglesey and Holyhead (W. England); from Clogher Head to Galley Head (E. Ireland); and from Bunbane to Broadhaven Bay (W. Ireland).

The Scilly Isles, the Isle of Man, the Scotch islands, and the remaining unspecified coasts of the United Kingdom are 'neutral,' and neutral waters extend one mile beyond the five-fathom line off neutral territory.

Red ships in Belfast, Bantry Bay (Berehaven), and Falmouth are not open to attack by ships; but no Red post except the inner part of Belfast Lough gives to ships security against torpedo-boat attack.

Blue ships in Queenstown and the Shannon are not open to attack of any kind.

Red torpedo boats in Belfast and Blue torpedo boats in Milford Haven, Holyhead, Piel (near Barrow-in-Furness), Queenstown, Kingstown, and Waterford are secure against attack. Other ports give no protection.

The strength and places of assembly of the various forces prior to the commencement of the manœuvres are as follows:—

Red A (tactical strength 26 points) . .	Falmouth.
„ B (tactical strength 26 points) . .	Berehaven (Bantry).
„ Torpedo-boat flotilla (six boats) . .	Belfast.
Blue C (tactical strength 31 points) . .	Queenstown.
„ D (tactical strength 17 points) . .	The Shannon.
„ Torpedo-boat flotilla (three boats) . .	Holyhead.
„ „ „ „ . .	Waterford.
„ „ „ „ . .	Kingstown.
„ „ „ „ . .	Milford Haven.
„ „ „ „ . .	Queenstown.
„ „ „ „ . .	Piel (Barrow-in-Furness).

By the aid of these data there can be constructed an ordinary manœuvre chart, such as has been published. It remains to indicate how the ordinary manœuvre chart is to be turned into the special manœuvre chart, and so made to reveal its hidden meaning to the plain man.

Take the ordinary manœuvre chart which has been thus constructed, and place it, face next the glass, against a window, so that the forbidden belt, as it shows through the paper, occupies the right upper corner. Then, by means of appropriately coloured dots, mark on the back of the paper the points at which the various places of assembly, as given in the above list and as shown in their proper colours on the ordinary manœuvre chart, can be seen—for example,

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where Berehaven shows through put a red dot, and where Queenstown shows through put a blue one. Having completed your dots upon the back of the paper, give names to these dots as follows: Call the dot which is at the back of Belfast Gibraltar, and proceed, backing Berehaven with Plymouth, Falmouth with Malta, the Shannon with Brest, Queenstown with Toulon, Kingstown with Port Vendres (a place near the Franco-Spanish frontier on the Mediterranean coast), Waterford with Ajaccio, Piel with Algiers, Holyhead with Bona, and Milford Haven with Bizerta. Return with your paper to your table, and upon the back, with the new names as your guiding-points, sketch out (preferably from memory, for it is not an affair of absolute accuracy) a rough map of Western Europe and Northern Africa. Do not move your dots in order to comply with geographical correctness, but modify your coast-line in order to suit your dots. You will find that your Toulon is north-east, instead of, as it should be, north-west of Ajaccio, that your Algiers is too far to the south and west, and that Port Vendres is too much to the south. But you will probably be astonished at discovering how nearly most of your dots correspond with the real relative positions on the map of those places after which you have named them. Tint red the British territories on your rough and somewhat deformed chart; tint blue the French ones, and leave black the neutral ones; and you will then, upon examination and comparison, perceive that strategically the conditions, created by the *General Orders* and shown upon the ordinary manœuvre chart, are very accurately reproduced upon your new special map, except that the distances, as measured by water, have all been considerably though proportionately increased, and that you must assume that Ajaccio, instead of being in Corsica, is on the mainland of France. You will also understand how the 'forbidden belt' in the manœuvre chart has been introduced in order to represent that France and Spain constitute a peninsula and not an island, and that from the Atlantic the only mode of entry to the Mediterranean is by the Strait of Gibraltar.

It would, I imagine, have been much more interesting to the majority of people to follow the brief course of the manœuvres by the aid of a map like this than by the aid only of the ordinary chart of Ireland and the western coasts of Great Britain. Such a map would have helped them in a graphic manner to understand some at least of the bearings of what is, after all, a rudely practical instead of a merely academical problem—the problem, namely, of the maintenance in war time of our position as the supreme naval power in the Mediterranean. I suppose that the Admiralty's fear of hurting the feelings of a few hypersensitive French chauvinists outweighed its anxiety to demonstrate to all Englishmen a useful and important if not very novel truth, and that it could not with decency have been officially announced, ere the manœuvres began, that the scheme

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ought to be examined 'through the looking-glass' in order to be properly understood. Foreign governments are not equally careful of our feelings. Not long ago, for instance, a French man-of-war came calmly into one of our ports, spent some time within a short distance of the works, and then, without anchoring or even paying a visit of ceremony, steamed out again. And foreign individuals have still less regard for our feelings, if one may judge from the speeches and writings of Admiral Aube and his followers. So that one needs scarcely apologise for having pointed out, *mutatis nominibus*, what the manœuvre chart of this year's operations stands for, nor for reviewing the progress and results of the operations without entirely closing one's eyes to a field which is larger than that of the Narrow Seas.

And here it may be appropriately recalled that of late there have been two opinions as to the manner in which we ought to prepare to maintain at all costs our position as a Mediterranean Power. One school believes that such a squadron as we now keep in the Mediterranean is sufficient for any very pressing needs that are likely to arise there, and that the proper method of ensuring that that squadron shall not in war time be forced to quit its station, and then prevented from returning to it, is by our keeping in the Channel an ever mobile squadron of a force somewhat greater than that of the squadron at present under the command of Vice-Admiral FitzRoy. Among members of that school are Rear-Admiral Colomb and Lord Brassey. I will call them the Channel school. The other school declares that the only way of securely perpetuating our naval supremacy in the Mediterranean is by permanently keeping there a fleet at least equal to any single foreign fleet in the same waters, and by improving our Mediterranean bases and dockyards. Among members of this school are Admiral of the Fleet Sir Geoffrey Hornby, Admiral Lord Alcester, Sir Thomas Sutherland, Admiral de Horsey, Captain Lord Charles Beresford, and Mr. Arnold Forster. I will call them the Mediterranean school. If I have misread the opinions of any of these gentlemen my excuse must be that the 'interviewer's' version of what has been said to him does not, even when literally accurate, always convey to the reader a full idea of the facts, for in one or two cases I have been obliged to turn to 'interviews' in order to arrive at the ideas of those whose names are given. The importance of the question at issue between the two schools has been well recognised ever since the Franco-Russian festivities at Toulon in the autumn of last year, if not before; and the various points have since been freely debated in the reviews and newspapers, in the service periodicals, and in great detail in the last volume of Lord Brassey's *Naval Annual*. It is not surprising, therefore, that the Admiralty was this summer tempted to make a step towards an experimental solution of the problem, although some people will refuse to admit that an experi-

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mental solution is needed for this any more than for the question whether two and two make four. The analogy suggested by the Admiralty scheme must not, of course, be accepted as an exact one either as regards the proportion and nature of the forces resting on and working from each base, or as regards the relative distance from one another of the bases. Yet it must in fairness be agreed that the strategic situation created for the manœuvres was on a small scale as like the situation which would arise elsewhere in war as any purely artificial situation of the sort possibly could be.

Previous, then, to the outbreak of the recent hostilities—I continue, *mutatis nominibus*—the immediately disposable naval forces of Great Britain and France in Europe were thus divided:—Great Britain had at Malta (A) battle ships representing 26 points, with 6 cruisers and 10 gun vessels; and at Plymouth (B) battle ships representing 26 points, with 6 cruisers and 4 gun vessels. She also had at Gibraltar 6 torpedo boats, with a stationary parent ship to attend to their wants. France had at Toulon (C) battle ships representing 31 points, with 7 cruisers and 3 gun vessels; and at Brest (D) battle ships representing 17 points, with 3 cruisers and 3 gun vessels; and she had, in addition, at Port Vendres, Ajaccio, Algiers, Bona, Toulon, and Bizerta respectively a division of three torpedo boats, each with its stationary parent ship. The Toulon fleet, it will be observed, was strong enough to beat either of the British fleets, if encountered alone. Either of the British fleets was strong enough, single-handed, to beat the Brest fleet; and the two British fleets, if combined, were strong enough to beat the two French fleets united. When war had been declared the exact whereabouts of the French fleet ceased to be known to the British, and *vice versa*. (This situation, resulting from the cutting of the cables, was simulated in the manœuvres by the despatch to sea of each fleet with sealed orders, and with directions to open them upon reaching an assigned rendezvous, the locality of which was unknown to the enemy. These orders indicated the hour at which hostile movements might be begun.) The main object of the Malta and Plymouth fleets was to join hands, so as to become superior to either of the French fleets, and even to both combined. As secondary objects the unreinforced Malta fleet sought to evade the Toulon fleet, and the Plymouth fleet sought to fall in with the Brest fleet. The main object of the Toulon fleet was, either before or after having joined hands with the Brest fleet, to fall in with one of the British fleets at a time. As secondary objects the Toulon fleet sought to facilitate the junction with it of the Brest fleet, and the Brest fleet sought to evade either British fleet, and to join hands as quickly as possible with the Toulon fleet. Each side, moreover, had to guard against attacks from hostile torpedo boats. For the French fleets the only dangerous zone was in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar. The

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Plymouth fleet, in its course down Channel and through the Atlantic, would be beyond the radius of operations by any French boats; but either British fleet, when in the Mediterranean, would be liable to be attacked by boats from either flank. French superiority in the Mediterranean was, it will be seen, at the outset convincing. The great question to be decided was, Could the British fleets assert the traditional British position there, and hold it against all that France could bring against them?

I ought, before going further, to set down approximately the distances, by sea, between the chief ports and bases on the actual manœuvre area, and those between the corresponding ports and bases on the more extensive area as shown in the 'through the looking-glass' chart, and to compare them.

The appended table gives the necessary particulars.

Actual Manœuvre Area.			'Looking-Glass' Area.	
Fleets.	Knots.			Knots.
D. The Shannon to Belfast,	335,	representing	Brest to Gibraltar,	880.
B. Berehaven to Belfast,	415,	„	Plymouth to Gibraltar,	1,087.
C. Queenstown to Belfast,	250,	„	Toulon to Gibraltar,	705.
A. Falmouth to Belfast,	350,	„	Malta to Gibraltar,	1,015.

It will be seen that the distances on the actual manœuvre area are respectively 38·0, 38·1, 35·4, and 34·4 per cent. of the corresponding distances on the 'looking-glass' area. The selection of the points of rendezvous for the four fleets was made in such a manner as, while still further assimilating the proportions to a common standard of about 38 : 100, to reproduce some such disposition as might reasonably be expected upon the outbreak of war, when it is improbable that all the fleets concerned would be literally in port, although they would all, no doubt, be not very far from their bases. The play, therefore, was designed to imitate with great closeness the possible tragedy in real life.

But was any experiment needed to demonstrate, assuming A, B, C, and D to be, as they were, very nearly equal so far as the speed of their slowest ships was concerned, and assuming all of them to start, as they were at liberty to do, simultaneously from their points of rendezvous with the intention of reaching some spot close to Gibraltar (Belfast), that D, the Brest fleet, could reach that objective before B, the Plymouth one, and C, the Toulon fleet, reach it before A, the Malta one? Regarding the business merely as a racing problem, there was, I imagine, never any doubt as to what must be the result. Even the Channel school, to which I have made allusion, must admit that much; nor do I perceive upon what grounds its advocates can cherish a hope that, should a great Anglo-French war ever unhappily break out, we shall be able to start for our objective more promptly than the French, or that we shall be able to move thither much more

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quickly after we had started. The effective speed of a French fleet is little different from that of a British one, and is never likely to be; and, in spite of much that has been said to the contrary, the French navy is generally quite as well prepared as the British one for instant action.

Recognising, from the first, the uselessness of attempting to race, the Red commanders, A and B, were driven to depend upon such mild strategy as they had, or thought they had, the chance of employing, and upon the possibility that one or both of the Blue commanders might commit a glaring mistake or encounter a crippling accident. The Malta admiral decided to lie low for several hours, in hopes that the Toulon admiral, instead of proceeding at once for Gibraltar, would come out and wait for him somewhere on the line Ajaccio-Bona or Port Vendres-Algiers. In the expectation that the Toulon admiral might have adopted this weak course, the Malta admiral, after remaining for a season inactive and 'in air,' sent forward his cruisers with a rush along the mid-channel of the Mediterranean, with the idea that, passing the enemy in the dark, they might induce the Toulon admiral to suppose that not merely the cruisers, but the whole fleet from Malta had burst through and placed itself on the Gibraltar side of him. In the meanwhile the Malta admiral stole towards his object, taking a circuitous course almost within range of Ajaccio and Port Vendres, but trusting to daylight to enable him to pass those dangerous ports in safety while the torpedo boats could not operate and the Toulon fleet was occupied in another direction in looking after its own safety. For, naturally, if the Toulon admiral believed himself to have been passed by his opponent from Malta, he would despair both of joining hands with the Brest fleet and of being able to prevent the total annihilation of that force, and would be aware, moreover, that he would soon have the combined British fleet in search of him.

But the Toulon admiral did not commit the mistake for which the Malta admiral was looking, and upon which alone the latter dared build any hopes of success. On the contrary, the Toulon admiral steamed steadily for Gibraltar, joined hands, near the fortress, with the Brest admiral, continued into the Atlantic, encountered the Plymouth fleet, and after mauling it severely drove some of it into neutral Spanish waters and the rest into Gibraltar. Then, having lost but a couple of ships, which were sunk by fire from the Rock, the combined French fleets turned back into the Mediterranean to look for the fleet from Malta. They found it almost immediately, and engaged it, and although such vessels of the Plymouth fleet as were still in a condition to move went out from Gibraltar and endeavoured to create a diversion with the French rear, the French strength was too great, and the British were crushingly defeated.

Such, written and to be read 'through the looking-glass,' is shortly the history of the brief campaign. Its leading strategical lessons

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may be put with equal shortness, for they are easily explained and they are but three in number. One of them is that the teachings of the Channel school are wrong, and that the teachings of the Mediterranean school are right, or, in other words, that to make certain of holding the Mediterranean we must, in addition to other measures, regularly maintain in that sea a naval force stronger than any foreign naval force in the same waters. We cannot rely upon being able to reinforce from the Channel our Mediterranean fleet with the necessary promptitude when pressing occasion arises. The second lesson is that so long as Gibraltar remains without the means of repairing on a large scale any vessels that may go thither seriously damaged, it is of hardly any use at all as a naval base. The third lesson is that when fleets are separated the interior position still confers, as it has ever conferred, enormous advantages upon him who holds it. In the case that was illustrated by the manœuvres the Brest and Toulon fleets held the interior positions. They were nearer to one another, and nearer to Gibraltar, than the Plymouth and Malta fleets, and so, although together weaker than the other fleets, if combined they were able, without difficulty and without using any complicated strategy, to defeat the other fleets in detail. Indeed, the interior position now presents still greater advantages than it did in the old days of sailing ships. In those days the application of all strategy was liable to be complicated and seriously hampered by the conditions of wind and weather, and it then not seldom happened that, thanks to a wind which favoured him and delayed his adversary, a commander was able to exchange his exterior position for an interior one, without his stronger opponent having an opportunity of denying him. But those days are gone for ever. Luck will probably have more influence henceforth than it ever had upon the issue of tactical combinations, and less than it ever had upon the issue of strategical ones; and if we permit ourselves to be any longer tempted to hazard the continuance of our Mediterranean supremacy upon the chances of luck, upon the stupidity of a hostile admiral, upon the slowness of foreign naval mobilisation, or, indeed, upon anything outside of our own force, foresight, and full preparedness, we may as well simplify matters and shorten the agony of our national dissolution by clearing out of the Mediterranean to-morrow and never again venturing thither.

I do not mean to suggest that, if in the recent manœuvres a strategy, different from the one adopted, had been put in force, the ultimate success of Red would still have been impossible. It is conceivable that if the two Red commanders, thoroughly understanding one another, had settled upon a policy of delay, and, while preserving positions not far away from the combined Blue fleets, had managed to evade action, Blue, owing to running short of coal, might have been driven to send some of his ships into port, thereby so much weakening his force as to render it an easy prey to the

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enemy. But to win this kind of campaign, even in peace manœuvres, Red would have been obliged to continuously keep open his communications with Belfast; and only luck, or Blue mismanagement, could have enabled him to do this for long. In real war, on the other hand, Blue, having once asserted his strength in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, would undoubtedly order colliers thither, and by seizing opportunities for coaling at sea maintain his position for a considerable period, perhaps until his efforts to defeat Red in detail were crowned with success.

A bye-point in strategy ought not to go unnoticed. While the Malta fleet was on its way to Gibraltar it had to pass through an area both sides of which were lined with French torpedo boat stations: but the boats from these stations failed, although the nights were dark, to produce any appreciable effect upon it. Why? The answer that must be given reveals the existence of striking weakness in the present system of working torpedo boats, and seems to suggest that one of the most conspicuous naval wants of the age is the advent to authority of a great torpedo boat organiser and leader. I am as convinced as I am of anything that if an officer like Captain Durnford, R.N., D.S.O., had been in supreme control of all those Blue torpedo boat divisions, and had been so fortunate as to be in complete understanding with the Toulon admiral, the damage done to the Malta fleet as it steamed towards Gibraltar would have been startling. The value of the sea-going torpedo boat is not yet appreciated, and it never will be appreciated so long as commanding admirals fail to trust it as an offensive weapon, and so long as officers who know nothing about torpedo boat work are allowed to control the operations of torpedo boat divisions. I see no signs that there was any attempt whatever at intelligent and systematic co-operation between the Blue chief and his senior officers at Port Vendres, Ajaccio, Toulon, Bizerta, Bona, and Algiers. I happen to know that there was no proper scheme of co-operation between Captain Cochrane, senior officer at Gibraltar, and the Red chiefs afloat. He proposed, I am aware, to send out his six boats to patrol upon certain lines; but he had before him no definite plan for assisting his friends and for worrying his enemies. Very different might it have been if all the local senior officers had been kept in communication with one another, and, by means of despatch vessels, with the Toulon fleet, and if they had been from time to time informed, as they might have been, of how and where they had chances of dealing advantageous blows. The chart of the area of operations should have been marked out into numbered and lettered squares, say of twenty-five miles in each direction, and then whenever the scouts observed an enemy in any particular square they could without much difficulty have sent or signalled to the nearest torpedo boat station very accurate indications, which would have brought on a speedy attack. But that sort

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of thing does not seem to have been seriously attempted. The torpedo boats, being worked without system, did little or nothing, and to-day supply to the Philistines an occasion for jeering. It is, believe me, not the fault either of the torpedo boats or of those in immediate command of them. It is the fault of the superior officers. The torpedo boat will yet vindicate itself. I only wish I felt as confident of the future of the battle ship as at present constructed.

So much for the strategical aspects of the manœuvres. In such operations few opportunities arise at sea for the development of tactics, because the rules, dictated by considerations for the safety of the ships, very properly and necessarily forbid vessels to approach one another closely. In fact, in manœuvres the moment when opposing fleets sight one another at sea is generally the moment when all interest ceases, or assumes a merely spectacular character. In war that moment would produce very new and terrible currents of interest in the next phases of events. Yet even in peace manœuvres occasions for the making of tactical dispositions sometimes arise. One of these arose in Belfast Lough, when the entire Red fleet lay there after what, as it afterwards appeared, had been its crushing defeat at the hands of Blue. The Red commander-in-chief had not then received the decision of the umpires, and, imagining that the battles of the previous Sunday might possibly be regarded as indecisive, bethought himself of the manœuvre rule which directed that fleets, after having fought indecisive actions, were to be considered as being *hors de combat* for twenty-four hours. The twenty-four hours expired at half-past noon, and Red, so far as was known, would then again become liable to be attacked by Blue torpedo boats; for Belfast Lough, though protecting ships from ships, did not protect ships from boats. At half-past noon, therefore, the Red battle ships were ordered to rig out their torpedo nets, or such of them as they had on board, and to get ready their picquet boats to patrol the Lough, and to guard the anchorage from ten o'clock that night until two o'clock on the following morning. Here was an opportunity for tactical disposition. An admiral, with a fleet representing at least fourteen millions of money, and manned by at least 9,500 officers and men, and with a valuable flotilla of colliers in his charge, lay in an open bay where he believed that he was liable to attack by torpedo boats, of which he knew neither the exact numbers nor the exact whereabouts. He might have sent out some of his numerous cruisers during the day-time to make sure that no hostile boats were then in the offing, or lurking within striking distance of him, in any of the Blue harbours of Cumberland or Louth. But he did not. He sent out nothing in the day-time, and not until after dark did even the picquet boats begin to patrol. I need scarcely say that between dusk and ten o'clock it might have been possible for Blue boats to get very near the anchored Red fleet without being observed, and to hide themselves in inlets

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and other places in readiness for making a dash in the night. In point of fact, Blue, confident that Red had been crushed, lay snugly in his own ports, whence nothing of his stirred that night. But Red did not know it. I am not personally aware what, or indeed whether any precautions were taken to insure that the picquet boats and other patrolling craft should be easily and promptly recognised by their friends; but it was freely stated in the fleet that no such precautions were adopted. The result, as might be expected, was confusion and disaster. Many officers and men on board the ships were very keen and anxious to 'play the game' as strictly as possible, and, conscious perhaps that no proper measures had been put in force for the protection of the fleet, kept an unusually strict look-out. A little after two in the morning, when it was still dark, but when most of the picquet boats had already returned to their parent vessels, some one noticed a suspicious-looking craft moving about the anchorage. She was really, I believe, the *Conqueror's* second-class torpedo boat on her way back to that ship. But she was not recognisable as a friend; she was fired at, and a most ludicrous and regretable panic ensued. There was no enemy within about a hundred miles. That fact did not prevent the fleet from flashing its search-lights in all directions in the wildest way, or from opening a hot and purposeless fire, quite regardless of what was and what was not being aimed at, and from maintaining it for twenty minutes. Nor did that fact prevent five ships from next morning reporting to the commander-in-chief that each of them had seen one torpedo boat, five others from reporting that each of them had seen two torpedo boats, and one other from reporting that she had seen three. One torpedo boat, and one only, was in motion that night, and she was only a vedette boat, as different in appearance from any of the enemy's torpedo boats as a gunboat is from a line of battle ship. Panic produces strange hallucinations. One man declared that he had seen the number '60' painted upon one of the supposed attacking boats. Another swore that he had seen one of the supposed attacking boats discharge a torpedo. Boat No. 60 was at the time at Holyhead, and no torpedo was, of course, used. The whole episode was as suggestive and instructive as any in the manœuvres. One does not quite like to say all that one thinks about it; but surely the recurrence of anything of the kind ought to be rendered impossible. In real warfare that night's foolish alarm might have produced the suicide of an entire fleet, and could scarcely have failed to cost hundreds of lives and hundreds of thousands of pounds' worth of material damage. A scheme for ensuring the prompt recognition of all friendly boats ought not to be hard to devise. It would be even quite possible to arrange that such a scheme, even if it fell into the hands of an enemy, could not be utilised by him. To delay consideration of this important matter is in the highest degree perilous.

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Some minor lessons which appear to be taught by the manœuvres may be more briefly summed up. I might make the list as portentous as one of Mr. Henniker Heaton's periodical catalogues of the sins and shortcomings of the General Post Office; but I confine myself, for the most part, either to those lessons which have not previously been called attention to, or to those which the episodes of this year's manœuvres point out as being of special importance.

There were, as usual, too few officers and men available at the time of mobilisation. All commissioned ships were obliged, owing to the scarcity of superior ratings, to carry much too large a proportion of second-class or inexperienced stokers. Raw hands cannot get the best speed out of any ship, and speed, especially in cruisers, maintains its lead among the great factors of naval success. Many vessels were so short of officers that the strain upon the staff proved almost insupportable. In at least two cases it caused a complete physical breakdown, which, however, was, I trust, only temporary. In war time a ship, far from being able to do her proper work with less than her normal proportion of officers, would undoubtedly need supernumeraries after the first few days of pressure. It is as bad a policy to put a commander or a captain to do lieutenant's work, as it is to put a sub-lieutenant or a gunner to do lieutenant's work: yet these things were done at this year's mobilisation, owing to the fact that positively every lieutenant who could be employed had been already appointed. On the day after the mobilisation the Admiralty was in the position of being absolutely unable to properly commission so much as one additional torpedo boat. There was material in plenty, but no *personnel*.

The manœuvres appear to accentuate the importance of vessels in a fleet being as nearly as possible of similar speeds. In A fleet the *Devastation* was the most conspicuous lame duck; in B, the *Conqueror*; in C, the *Inflexible*. Without these encumbrances each fleet could have done a knot or more better than it was able to do as things were. In manœuvres, of course, these lame ducks are introduced with an object. We have, however, to be careful to remember not to introduce them in war time. A fleet of battle ships, every vessel of which can do twelve knots, is, other things being equal, a much more effective weapon than a fleet of battle ships two vessels of which can do only ten knots, while all the rest can do fourteen.

Our naval coaling arrangements need radical reform. In many ships coaling is still, even with every circumstance favourable, far too slow an operation. Absolutely the quickest mode of coaling a big ship is by means of an army of porters, or women, each with a comparatively small basket carried on the head. In any case the crew of the ship ought not to be obliged to do the coaling. In war, when a ship comes into port, she will come for two or more purposes. She will come for coal and to afford rest to her worn-out people. With our existing arrangements the two objects cannot be simultaneously

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attained. A regular naval coaling staff ought to be organised, with its headquarters at Milford Haven and with branch depôts elsewhere. The service might be placed under a retired rear-admiral, who should have as his assistants a certain number of retired captains, commanders, and lieutenants to do duty as coaling officers. There would also be engaged a coaling corps of landsmen. These can easily be picked up in a hurry when wanted in large numbers, but the nucleus of the corps should be permanent. Every Government or chartered collier should carry sufficient of these men to enable her to coal a man-of-war without help from the man-of-war's crew. For the basis of these suggestions I am indebted to my friend Commander G. H. R. Erroll, R.N., who was this year the indefatigable coaling officer of the Red B fleet. The importance of quickly coaling a fleet does not seem to be properly understood.

Modern guns, with their great rapidity of fire and wonderful facilities for loading, bid fair to become almost as dangerous to their possessor and his friends as the traditional pistol in the hands of a small boy. The guns are too fatally easy to 'loose off.' In the old days, when it took a gun's crew a comparatively long time to load, a gunner thought twice ere he fired his first round; but now, with guns of moderate size, it takes no time at all to load, and the gunner need never be afraid that the act of firing will deprive him of the ability to utilise another occasion for an effective shot. The result is that in action, real or make-believe, guns tend to be discharged more and more less thoughtlessly, hastily, and 'into the brown.' If, with our improved guns, we can secure commensurately improved fire-control all will be well; but I do not think that the present fashion of isolating single guns and of shutting off guns' crews from the eye of a commissioned officer conduces to this. To securing good fire-control, therefore, more attention might be advantageously directed. Better fire-control than existed would probably have prevented the wretched exhibition in Belfast Lough from continuing for more than a very few minutes, and might have altogether prevented the scare. When our seamen gunners do aim and are fairly deliberate they are not to be rivalled; but they seem to me to be a little flightier and more excitable than they used to be. It may be the natural consequence of the increased speed with which events now happen on board ship.

What has been said about fire-control applies, for the most part equally, to search-light control. It is too fatally easy to project a 50,000 candle-power beam into the depths of night. If the night be not dark I am sure that it is well not to use a search light at all. If, on the other hand, the night be dark, the search light, injudiciously used, is certain to be much more harmful to friend than to foe. No search light ought ever to be employed save by one thoroughly skilled in working it. The unskilled or partly skilled hand always throws

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the light upon everything that ought to be kept dark, and as invariably fails to illuminate everything which it is desirable to show up. Moreover the light, used well or ill, is apt to temporarily spoil the night sight of all who are exposed to its influence, to facilitate an enemy's operations, and to form inconvenient screens which in certain conditions of atmosphere cannot be seen through. It should be used, like the garlic in the salad, gingerly, if at all.

Finally, the course of the manœuvres repeatedly suggested to me that the Admiralty would have done wisely, at the time of mobilisation, to circulate among all concerned a paper or pamphlet containing a full and explicit statement of the nature of the problems to be solved, of the tactical values assigned to all the ships engaged, and, indeed, of every point knowledge of which could stimulate the interest of officers and men. Instead of doing this the Admiralty caused to be printed 500 copies of certain *General Orders, &c., for the Information of both Sides.* This document was as dark as Erebus and as interesting as a table of logarithms, and it did not contain the rules of the game, nor even the slightest indication of the object of the campaign. All other information vouchsafed by the Admiralty was conveyed 'confidentially' to flag officers and captains, with so many precautions that it probably failed to reach every one who did not happen to belong to the executive branch, and every one even there below the rank of a lieutenant. This is a development of professional quackery, and is manifestly prejudicial to the service. The Admiralty might do worse next year than offer a prize for a scheme of naval manœuvres, and then print the best scheme, circulate it broadcast, and carry it out.

WILLIAM LAIRD CLOWES.

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'KNOWN TO THE POLICE'

THE Habitual Criminal is always a thorn in the side of all good government. The offences committed under unusual excitement, or strong temptation, by persons who are usually good citizens, cannot be foreseen, and need no special provisions to prevent a recurrence. In fact they can often be passed over with impunity by the community, the offender being simply told to 'go and sin no more.' Far otherwise is it with those who make crime a profession, the men who have proved their determination to fight against society, and who form a class which is responsible for by far the larger proportion of the law-breaking of the land. Philanthropy may busy itself with efforts to convert these perverse characters to better ways, but the science of government consists in protecting society against their ravages. Under a dispensation of statute law not even these marauders can be deprived of liberty of action without due guarantees of all kinds accorded to honest citizenship. Even the habitual criminal cannot be punished except on due proof of a definite crime, and according to the penalty set forth in the statute. These rules only, however, apply to the judicial functions. Although the Courts may not punish a man for the crimes he may possibly commit in the future, unless for some clearly proved intent towards definite offence, the police are held by the public to be highly neglectful of their duties if they do not anticipate crime as well as arrest criminals after the fact. The professional criminal is expected never to escape their supervision. Above all they are expected to recognise any old offender who falls into their hands. Especially are the police blamed if an offender, 'wanted' in one locality, is arrested in another and released because of ignorance as to his true identity. More bitter still is the public complaint when an innocent person is mistaken by the police for some culprit, and his innocence only recognised when the real criminal turns up, and after the victim of mistaken identity has been made to pay a portion, if not all, of the penalty.

Recognition of habitual criminals is one of the most delicate and difficult functions of the police, and the means at their disposal, in England at least, have hitherto been most inadequate.

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The Home Secretary, on the 25th of October, 1893, appointed a departmental committee 'to inquire (*a*) into the method of registering and identifying habitual criminals now in use in England; (*b*) into the anthropometric system of classified registration and identification in use in France and other countries; (*c*) into the suggested system of identification by means of a record of finger-marks, and to report whether the anthropometric system or the finger-mark system can with advantage be adopted in England, either in substitution for, or to supplement, the existing methods, and, if so, what arrangements should be adopted for putting them into practice, and what rules should be made under Section 8 of the Penal Servitude Act, 1891, for the photographing and measuring of prisoners.'

The Report of this Committee has lately been presented to Parliament by command of Her Majesty, and is in a large measure a victorious conclusion to a long campaign which I have led, almost single-handed, for having the Bertillon anthropometric system introduced into England.[1] The practical infallibility of 'Bertillonage' is acknowledged by the Committee, whilst the best they can say for the English method is that 'it is on the whole fairly effective, that the majority of old offenders who are arrested for new offences are in the long run identified, and that cases of mistaken identity are extremely rare.' It would be better, perhaps, at this stage to glance at the English methods, and compare them with those at the disposal of the French police.

By the Prevention of Crimes Act of 1871, it was provided that a register should be kept of 'Habitual Criminals'—that is to say, of every person convicted on indictment of a crime, a previous conviction of a crime being proved against him. This register was at first established at Scotland Yard, under the charge of the Commissioner of Metropolitan Police, but was afterwards transferred to the Home Office, Sir Edmund Du Cane, Chairman of the Directors of Convict Prisons, being appointed Registrar. Of late years it has also included the names of all convicts released under sentences of penal servitude. From this register are annually compiled (1) The Habitual Criminals Register, and (2) the Register of Distinctive Marks. Copies of both these are distributed to all police forces, but they do not appear to be consulted to any great extent, or at least with much advantage. Considerable delay takes place in the publication, the register for each year being seldom, if ever, published before the following September,

[1] In March 1887 I first called the attention of the Home Office to the system, and urged its adoption. At that time neither the Home Office nor Scotland Yard had heard of it. Six years later, in 1893, the British Association took up the matter, and requested the Home Secretary to investigate the system; but I shrewdly suspect that the appointment of the Committee was due in a large measure to the visit, at my request, of Lord (then Sir Charles) Russell and Sir Richard Webster to the Paris Identification Bureau, during the sitting of the Behring Sea Arbitration Commission last spring.

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and therefore, as the Report of the Committee points out, 'An habitual criminal's name is not available for the police in the registers until a period of from nine to twenty months after his release, though this is precisely the time at which he is most likely to be wanted.' The Register of Distinctive Marks tells very little or too much. In many cases it states that a prisoner has no distinctive mark, whilst in other cases, as, for instance, that of a tattooed ring on the second finger of the left hand, it enumerates nearly thirty persons bearing that mark, and leaves the puzzled policeman to make his choice between them.

The shortcomings of these registers caused the Metropolitan Police to keep its own records of the names and distinctive marks of convicted criminals, and to supplement them with albums of photographs of all convicts, and (since 1887) of a large number of other habitual criminals. At first these photographs were arranged chronologically, but are now divided according to the age and stature of the persons, and the class of crime that each criminal affects. By means of these registers a prisoner can perhaps, with luck, be identified in a few minutes, but the search may be a long one, and Inspector Neame, of the Convict Supervision Department, stated before the Committee that 'His men would search for days rather than lose a "good" man.' On March 1, 1893, twenty-one officers searched for twenty-seven prisoners, and made seven identifications. The total time spent was 57½ hours, or an average of more than two hours for each prisoner sought for, and more than eight hours for each identification. This is not excessive when one reflects that, in default of other indices, recourse must be had to the photograph albums, which contain the portraits of some 70,000 recent criminals, or to the more ancient records extending to 1864, and containing the portraits and descriptions of some 45,000 other criminals.

Personal recognition is, however, the main thing on which the English detective or prison warder relies. The remanded prisoners of the entire London district are sent to Holloway, and they are there inspected by detectives and warders from other Metropolitan prisons to see if they can be identified as old offenders. Thirty police officers from various quarters of London visit Holloway Prison three times a week, and each week they obtain, on an average, four identifications. Apart from the great waste of time—about ninety hours for each identification [2]—the method is an objectionable one.

With all this elaborate provision the habitual criminal often manages to escape identification in England, and, worse still, wrongful identifications are sometimes made by too positive prison warders and police officers. The Home Office Report sets forth at length a series of judicial blunders of this kind which have cropped up of recent years. The Report also explains the weak places in the

[2] *Vide* Report, p. 18.

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armour of identification. It is impossible to classify photographs and bodily marks so as to easily pick out the right description amongst tens of thousands of cases. Therefore the Home Office Committee conclude that 'even with more photographs and more exact descriptions, we are agreed that the present system will leave much to be desired. What is wanted is a means of classifying the records of habitual criminals, such that, as soon as the particulars of the personality of any prisoner (whether description, measurements, marks, or photographs) are received, it may be possible to ascertain readily, and with certainty, whether his case is already in the register, and if so, who he is. Such a system is not, we believe, attainable merely as a development of the existing English methods; if it is to be found at all it must be found in the application of some such scientific method as those on which we have next to report.'

By far the most important of the two scientific methods examined by the Committee is the French anthropometric system. As is well known, the French system is the invention of the present chief of that service, M. Alphonse Bertillon, second son of the distinguished anthropologist, the late Dr. Adolphe Bertillon. M. Bertillon the younger, deriving a bent for anthropological studies at the feet not only of his father, but also of Dr. Broca, who was his father's friend and co-labourer, naturally thought of some way in which he could bring that science to aid in the work of the Prefecture of Police, where he happened to be employed in a minor capacity. The young assistant had not far to search for something which much needed reforming. The French service of identifying old offenders was in a much worse state even than we to-day find our own. In 1873 the practice of photographing prisoners had been introduced. These photographs had accumulated in a huge, unwieldy mass of over one hundred thousand, unsorted, unclassified, and practically useless. The actual identifications were made in a fashion which had become almost a public scandal. A reward of five francs was given to an officer for each recognition of an old offender. Groups of officers hovered around the prison vans, as a new batch of prisoners arrived, and by chaff and badgering endeavoured to find out subjects for rewards. Secret bargains were made between officers and criminals to purposely give false names to examining magistrates to facilitate the after farce of 'recognitions.' Meanwhile M. Bertillon got permission to make experiments in anthropometry, in his off-hours, amongst the inmates of the prison of La Santé. This was in the year 1879. How contemptuously his projects were then looked upon by his superiors may be judged by one of the stories of that epoch which the inventor of police anthropometry relates. When his fellow-employés at the Prefecture happened to be a little late in arriving nothing was said; but the least tardiness on his part brought a sharp reprimand. On his calling attention to this seeming par-

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tiality he was told that the others were fitting themselves for better work at their desks by an extra morning walk, while he only wasted his time with a useless fad! Perseverance, however, overcame all obstacles, and in 1882 M. Bertillon was formally entrusted with the charge of an identification bureau, to which, in 1884, was attached the service of photography, and in 1888 the anthropometric identification had become so successful in Paris that the measurements were made compulsory throughout France and Algeria.

The system, which was invented by M. Bertillon, consists in recording the measurement of divers bony parts of the human frame—parts which do not alter with any change which age, or accident, or device may make in the muscular tissue, and are not affected by the subsequent thinness or corpulence of an individual. These measurements are: full height, height when sitting, length and breadth of the skull, length of middle and little fingers of left hand, length of left forearm and foot, and full stretch of the arms; the length and width of right ear, the colour of the hair and eyes, and any scars, moles, &c., on hands, arms, face and bust, are also accurately recorded. With these data M. Bertillon is able to establish the identity of any criminal who has been through his hands.

The way in which he accomplishes this is ingenious, and merits some explanation. He divides each measurement into three classes —the large, the medium, and the small. We will suppose that he has 90,000 sets of measurements before him to classify. He commences by the length of the head, selecting that measurement because the skull of the adult never grows, and the measurer cannot be deceived, as he might be in taking the full height of the body. By this means he is enabled to reduce the 90,000 into three categories of about 30,000 each. The width of the head is treated in the same manner, and the classes are reduced to 10,000 each with broad, medium, or narrow skulls. The length of the middle finger provides another divisor, and further reduces each class to 3,300. By the length of the left foot the divisions are brought down to about 1,100 each, and the length of the forearm reduces them to less than 400 each. The original 90,000 has thus been divided into 243 groups, each containing between 300 and 400. This number is still too large for working purposes, and so the 400 persons are divided into three more classes, of about 140 each, according as they are tall, short, or of medium height. The length of the little finger will further reduce this to lots of less than 50 each, and, finally, by the colour of the eyes, of which M. Bertillon distinguishes seven varieties, the classes are brought to parcels which should average about 7 each, but which in reality vary from 3 to 20, some colours being more frequent than others. This completes the particulars used for classification, but in order to eliminate even the remotest chance of error, there are added the length and width of the right ear—which

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form a valuable indication—the height when sitting, and the full stretch of the arms.

It must not be presumed that these three or twenty persons who have been carefully weeded out by a process of selection from the original 90,000, resemble each other in every particular. Their eyes, of course, are of the same colour, and there is a possibility that with some of the persons the little fingers will be of the same length; but there the resemblance will generally end, or, even if it should continue to exist in the case of some of the other measurements, there will invariably come a point at which it will stop. This is proved by the experience of the Anthropometric Bureau, where M. Bertillon and his assistants have found that *out of nearly half a million persons who have passed through their hands, no two individuals were exactly the same in all the particulars recorded.* Mr. Francis Galton, F.R.S., having taken the finger prints of 2,500 persons, and found a difference in every case, deduces from that that the probability of a resemblance occurring is about 1 in 64,000,000. By a parity of reasoning M. Bertillon might assert that, were the population of the world eight times as great as it is, only two persons of that vast host would be of exactly the same measurement.

It must always be remembered that, though the *measurements* are the *machinery* of identification, the personal marks are the *proofs.* Hence the record of the latter must be made with not less care, perhaps even more, than the former. Of course the most ignorant person cannot fail to understand the evidence of scars, moles, &c., when the position is foretold to a hair. The accuracy with which these marks are described by M. Bertillon's assistants is the deadly second barrel of his system. Few men are without a distinctive mark of some kind, for even if a man's body is free from maculæ, he can hardly have escaped receiving one or two burns or scars; and when these marks are found to exist, and bear out the evidence furnished by the measurements, they are 'confirmation strong as proof of holy writ' of identity. Photographs which, as we have seen, form one of the chief helps to the English policeman in his search for a suspected criminal, are only used by M. Bertillon as auxiliaries. When a prisoner is brought to the Anthropometric Bureau he is photographed in profile and three-quarter-face. His measurements are written out on two cards, on one of which his two photographs are pasted. A record is also made on the back of the cards of the permanent marks or scars found on the body, head, arms, or hands. With what accuracy their size and position are recorded will best be shown by the illustration on the next page.[3]

The simplicity with which this seemingly elaborate system is worked is signally proved by the evidence given by Sir Richard Webster before the Identification of Criminals Committee on the 8th of December, 1893. He says:

[3] See diagram, Fig 1.

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A card with the five or six measurements was given to the Attorney-General (now Lord Russell) and myself, and in less than five minutes we found the card which, according to the measurements, would be the man, assuming the measurements to be accurate. We picked out the card without the slightest assistance. . . . Having identified the man, M. Bertillon handed to us the first card, and

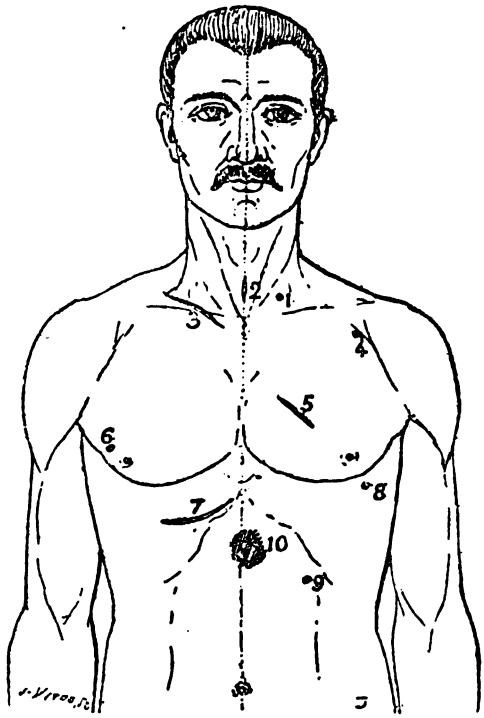

FIG. 1

1. Mole at 60 mm. below larynx, and at 30 mm. left of the median line.
2. Cicatrix, operation for croup, of 25 mm. vertical, at 30 mm. under larynx.
3. Deep cicatrix, rectilinear, of 61 × 5 mm. slightly oblique internal, at 40 mm. right of breastbone, on collarbone.
4. Mole at 90 mm. left of fork on shoulder.
5. Rectilinear cicatrix of 3 × 5 mm., oblique external, at 70 mm. below fork, 30 mm. left of median line.
6. Mole at 20 mm. above and behind right nipple.
7. Very deep cicatrix, curved with cavity upwards of 80 × 2 mm. at 15 mm. below fork, and at 20 mm. right of median line.
8. Mole 30 mm. under left nipple.
9. Cicatrose point at 100 mm. below left nipple, and 60 mm. left of median.
10. Round cicatrix burn of 30 mm. at 100 mm. above navel across median, three-quarters of it to left.

said, 'Look at the private marks.' The first mark was that, if this was the man whose name was on the previous card, there was a scar on the second or third finger of his left hand, an approximate measurement in a certain direction being given. Prisoner's hand was held up, and there was the scar. I then looked at the first card again. It stated that, if this was the same man, he had a tattoo mark of an anchor, about an inch long, on his left arm, the posterior side of his left arm, rather faint. The prisoner had got a bandage round his arm. It was

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pulled off, and there was the anchor. *It was not that we had got a man very like him, but it was unquestionable that we had picked out that man.*

Sir R. Webster also says:

It seems to me to be by far the best system I have ever seen or heard of, and to possess many remarkable safeguards against the possible identification of innocent people for those previously convicted. I do not care so much (although, of course, it is very important) that previously convicted people should be identified. Its great importance, or one of its principal features, was the practical impossibility, in my opinion, if properly worked, of the confusion of any person charged with one previously convicted or previously charged.

The remarkable success of M. Bertillon in Paris is abundantly testified to. He claims (a claim which, I believe, has never been contradicted) to have never made a mistaken identification, while omissions to point out the subject of a former measurement on any second appearance are almost infinitesimal. M. Bertillon now has a further tribute to the value of his methods by the recommendation of the Home Office Committee to adopt the main features of his system for all our convicts and persons accused of serious offences. After surveying the whole field, the Report advises, 'that the prisoners who are to be included in the register should be measured as regards the length and breadth of the head, the length of the left middle finger, the length of the left forearm, and the length of the left foot; that these should be taken for the primary classification giving 243 nearly equal classes.'

They have, however, discarded, or not recommended the adoption of, five of the measurements included in the Bertillon system as now employed in France. The reasons for dropping these measurements are not obvious, and cannot be gathered from the Report. In place of these indices, which, it must be remembered, have been tried on so large a scale for upwards of twelve years, and found to act admirably, they recommend the substitution of 'finger prints.' I will leave this latter subject alone for the present, and confine my attention to those measurements which the Committee seems to consider useless. I may premise that the Committee anticipate that about 9,000 prisoners will be registered each year, so that in ten years there will be 90,000 criminals on the register. To better examine the mode in which it is proposed to classify this large body of English prisoners, I will first give in parallel columns the list of those measurements which have been recommended and those which have been dropped.

Recommended	*Dropped*
1. Length of the head.	1. Length of left little finger.
2. Width of the head.	2. Sitting height.
3. Length of left middle finger.	3. Stretch of the arms.
4. „ left forearm.	4. Length of right ear.
5. „ left foot.	5. Width of right ear.
	6. Classification of eyes.

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To discontinue a measurement, should experience show it to be unnecessary, is very easy, and can be done at any time, but it is hardly needful to point out that it is impossible to add one iota to a man's description once he has passed out of your hands.

1. The measurement of the little finger is taken with the same instrument, and precisely in the same manner, as the middle finger (retained by the Committee); it entails therefore neither further expense nor teaching of the warder, and the amount of time occupied would not be half a minute. The gain by dropping it is therefore *nil.* On the other hand, what is M. Bertillon's practical experience? He began without it, and only added it when, after two years, he found that it was necessary. The result is that in old cases he has now to make two searches, first in his present perfect collection, and afterwards in his old and imperfect one. By dropping this measurement another divisor is lost, and it will be necessary to search through 400 cards instead of either of two packets of 125 each, or one of 150 cards, each of which packets can be further subdivided by other divisors—a serious question.

The Committee were apparently under the impression that the division by the little finger did not give satisfactory results, the 'medium' division being very much larger than the 'short' or the 'long.' I have, however, seen the drawer in which *all* the measurements were medium, and in which, if the view of the Committee were correct, the 'medium' little finger division should be very much larger than either the 'short' or the 'long' division, but it was not so. The little fingers of medium length were more numerous, but only slightly so. The question of correlation of various parts of the body, on which the Committee appear to lay much stress, has been fully considered by M. Bertillon, and is very clearly dealt with in his work, 'Une Application pratique de l'Anthropométrie,' published so long ago as 1881. In these circumstances, and in view of M. Bertillon's experience, it would appear to be hardly advisable to drop this measurement at starting.

2. The measurement of the bust, or sitting height, is very easily taken, occupies but little time, and might be useful for detective purposes. Many men have long legs and short bodies, and *vice versa.*

3. The measurement of the stretch of the arms gives another divisor; while that of

4. The ear not only gives a further point towards identification, but would also be valuable for detective purposes, as the attention would be directed to any unusual size or shape. M. Bertillon is now preparing an album of anarchists, and the ear is much relied on for identification.

5. Classification by the colour of the eyes is not recommended by the Committee on account of the supposed difficulty of dividing them into the seven categories. Practical experience in Paris, however,

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has demonstrated that no real difficulty arises, ordinary warders being found quite capable of learning the different divisions in the course of their month's training. Somewhat illogically, the Report recommends that note should be taken of the colour of the eyes, as 'it is necessary in case the arrest of the criminal should be required while he is at large, and his description has to be published for this purpose.' That is to say, that the prison official is supposed to be incapable of dividing the eyes into seven well-defined categories, but yet can describe them so accurately as to be of assistance to the detective.

In substitution for the above-mentioned descriptive particulars the Committee recommends the adoption of the 'finger-print' method, originally invented by the Chinese, and which has recently found a warm advocate in Mr. Francis Galton. If 'less than a drop of ink' (*sic*) is distributed evenly over the surface of a copper plate, and a person's fingers are laid thereon, and then transferred to a card, they will leave impressions of the patterns formed by the papillary ridges. These patterns will form either 'arches,' 'loops,' or 'whorls,' the former being by far the most infrequent. How far these patterns can be used for purposes of classification I cannot say. Mr. Galton professes to be able to deal with almost any number of cases, but he is a scientific observer of great attainments, and endowed with an aptitude for patient research. It would, perhaps, be mere child's play for Mr. Galton to divide 400 cards—the number of which each class would consist in about ten years—into three or more subdivisions, and find the card wanted out of that number; but it is questionable if anyone else could do so, even with the aid of a watchmaker's lens and a pointer having a common pin inserted firmly into its pointed end and then bent downwards—which appear from the directions to be necessary for a comparison of the details. At all events, Dr. J. G. Garson, Vice-President of the Anthropological Institute, states that such a number would be far too large.[4] Either Mr. Galton must put his services at the disposal of the Criminal Register Department, or there must be a staff of scientific and highly paid assistants trained under his personal direction.

It has been clearly demonstrated that the system of M. Bertillon is invaluable for the identification of criminals who are already in custody; but, it may be asked, of what use would it be to the detective to enable him to apprehend an offender still at large? When once he has caught a man it would show whether he is an habitual offender or not, and afford some inference as to whether he is likely to have committed the crime with which he is charged, but beyond that it would not go. A police officer, however 'active and

[4] Report of the Committee, Questions 133 and 135: '*Q.* Yes, after you had got the total number of cards reduced to classes of about 500 each? *A.* That is rather a large number, I think, to classify by finger prints.—*Q.* You think it would be better to have only about 100? *A.* Very much better; fifty, I would say.'

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intelligent' he may be, cannot mentally gauge the length of a man's head, or middle finger, to a millimetre, and arrest him on suspicion; and we are thus brought to the fact that our detectives must work on a recollection of faces, whether that recollection has been formed in the courtyard of Holloway Prison or derived from the albums at Scotland Yard. The written descriptions issued by the police authorities are inadequate, if they are not misleading.

Concave Rectilinear Convex

FIG. 2

What is required is a clear, intelligible description of the salient features of the man wanted. To meet this requirement M. Bertillon has devised his 'Portrait parlé.' This name has been given to a description, prepared under clearly defined rules, easily to be remembered, and of special assistance to the detective in his search for, and identification of, a criminal. The particulars of the 'Portrait parlé' are accurately taken from the profile photograph and record of

'Wavy' concave 'Wavy' rectilinear 'Wavy' convex

FIG. 3

measurements. He divides the nose, ears, and forehead[5] into three categories—the large, the medium, and the small. The outline of the profile of the nose forms his starting point, and this he first divides into three general classes—the 'concave,' the 'rectilinear,' and the 'convex.'

A similar division of the noses has also to be made to enable him to register the irregular outlines, the 'wavy concave,' the 'wavy rectilinear,' and the 'wavy convex.'

[5] See diagrams 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8.

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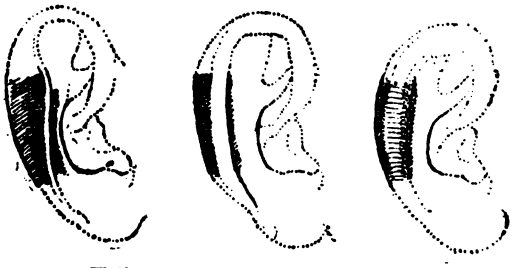
The base line gives three more divisions—the 'tip-tilted,' the horizontal, and the drooping.

M. Bertillon states with reference to the ear that, thanks to the

Turned-up base Horizontal base Drooping base

FIG. 4

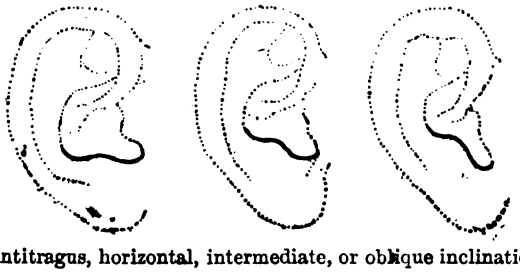
projections and depressions with which it abounds, and its unchangeableness from birth till death, it is the most important factor in the problem of identification. On account of its immobility itself, which



Helix, open, intermediate, adheren

FIG. 5

prevents it taking any part in the play of the features, no part of the face less attracts the attention of the profane. Our eye is as little accustomed to notice it as our tongue is to describe it. The helix,



Antitragus, horizontal, intermediate, or oblique inclination

FIG. 6

the lobe, the lower fold, and the antitragus form the bases of a series of divisions, some of the principal varieties of which are here shown.

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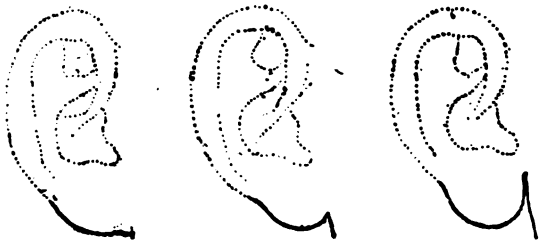
The forehead is also described, as to whether receding, intermediate, or vertical.

With this information, supplemented with a few particulars concerning the colour of the hair and eyes, the height, and any facial marks or peculiarities, a detective having the details well impressed on his memory would have but little difficulty in identifying the man sought for.

As an instance of the practical value of this *aide-mémoire*, I may



Lobe square, intermediate, 'bay-shaped'

FIG. 7

relate the result of an experiment recently made at the La Santé prison in Paris, and at which I was present. Particulars were written out at the Identification Bureau *from the photographs and cards* of forty-seven of the prisoners then confined in La Santé. These cards were numbered and distributed amongst fifteen warders, not belonging to that prison, who were just completing their training at the bureau. Each warder was required to read over carefully, two or

Forehead receding, intermediate, vertical

FIG. 8

three times, the written description, and then, without the card, identify the man to whom it applied. It is important to note that the clerk who wrote out the particulars had never seen the men, and the warders had never seen either the photographs or the men, and did not know the prisoners' names. They went into the yard, where 260 prisoners, all close-cropped, clean-shaven, and dressed alike, were assembled, and proceeded to hunt up their men. Of the forty-seven they recognised thirty-seven correctly, in three instances brought up

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the wrong man, and in seven they abandoned the search. All the latter cases were towards the last, when each warder had already made one or two identifications, and probably there was confusion in his mind as to the salient points which he had, in that instance, to remember. It is but fair to state that one of these seven had a wooden leg, a particular which had been purposely omitted from the description, but which would have rendered his identification an easy one. As each prisoner was brought up he was asked his name, and it was ascertained from the numbered list in my hand if the identification was correct. I then compared him with his photograph. In two cases only should I have recognised the man from his full-face portrait, though in most cases the profile photograph perfectly identified him. I questioned the warders in each case as to how they had identified their man, and I found that the ear, the nose, and the colour of the eyes were the great factors. In each case the warder indicated to me the particular point which had guided him.

This part of M. Bertillon's system does not appear to have come within the scope of the reference to the Committee.

There are hints in the Report of proposed changes in the instruments, as well as in the measurements—at least we have recommendations to this effect from the scientific witnesses. On this point I cannot do better than quote M. Bertillon himself: 'Avons-nous besoin de dire que la disposition de ces instruments a été l'objet de bien des tâtonnements et de multiples perfectionnements avant d'atteindre leur état actuel que nous regardons comme définitif? Aussi repoussons-nous d'avance toute modification, tout nouveau changement, même minime, dans leurs formes, comme dans la manière de s'en servir. C'est là une tentation bien grande de la part des débutants, auxquels les idées nouvelles arrivent nombreuses, mais qui ignorent que toutes ces idées, même celles qu'ils croient les plus originales, les plus personnelles, ont déjà été proposées par d'autres, essayées, et finalement rejetées pour diverses raisons.'[6] I may mention thus, for instance, the measurement of the *pelvis* brought forward by Dr. Garson, which was mooted by M. Bertillon as early as 1881, and a similar table of results was published by him in the *Annales de Démographie* of that year.

It must not be forgotten also that any change in the measurements would render the system practically useless for the identification of international culprits, the most difficult class with whom the police have to deal; but, on the other hand, if the system were the same in every civilised country, the interchange of information would be easy and rapid. I was in M. Bertillon's bureau a few days ago, when an application was received from Geneva for any information that could be furnished relating to four men just arrested. Geneva having adopted the Bertillon system pure and simple, and furnished

[6] *Instructions Signalétiques* (Melun, 1893), pp. xx–xxi of Introduction.

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the particulars as to measurements, &c., the search was an easy one; and whilst I was still talking to M. Bertillon his assistant brought in his report. One man had passed through the bureau in 1884; one was unknown; and the two others had been measured in the prisons of Lyons and Rouen respectively. The required information was sent to Geneva by that night's post.

The Committee tell us that a scientific head is required to carry out the recommended system. 'Bertillonage' requires no scientific head. It is an error to suppose that, because the inventor of the system, and head of the Paris Identification Bureau, is a scientific man, it is necessary that the heads of all identification bureaux should be scientific men. A good, practical police officer, taught by M. Bertillon, would far better carry out the duties of the office. The chief of the Lyons Anthropometric Bureau (not a scientific man) learned it from a man taught in M. Bertillon's bureau, and the officer in charge of the Marseilles bureau was taught by a man (not a scientific man) who had learned it at Lyons.

If we are to give M. Bertillon's invention a fair trial in England, we had better trust to his twelve years' experience than go into wild and unnecessary experiments to fix the identity of the man 'known to the police.'

EDMUND R. SPEARMAN.

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THE FACTS
ABOUT UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

I

'In lapidary inscriptions,' said Dr. Johnson, 'a man is not upon oath,' and his dictum is true of those who throw stones as of those who carve them. But Mr. Whibley's epigrams about University Extension are none the less entertaining because his account of the system is a travesty of the facts. No friend of the Universities will pick a quarrel with him for demanding a candid examination of the work in which they are now engaged, and least of all will those who are specially concerned with University Extension fail to welcome his challenge and to chuckle over his jokes.

Intemperate criticism, however, is apt to provoke indiscriminating praise, and therefore in replying to his article I prefer to base my answer on the judgment of those whose impartiality is beyond dispute. Now it so happens that, while Mr. Whibley was casting his eye over University Extension, a distinguished body of Royal Commissioners were making a more responsible inquiry into the same subject. Any one who has looked at the volume of evidence recently published by the Gresham University Commissioners will have been struck by the patient care and thoroughness with which they questioned witnesses on the topic of University Extension. They heard the critics of the system as freely as they heard its friends. They slurred over no difficulties, faced all the facts of the case, and finally arrived at a unanimous verdict upon its claims. As Mr. Whibley does not refer to their investigations, I will quote their report. 'We have received,' they say, 'much valuable evidence on the subject, and we have no doubt that the University Extension system deserves the encouragement of the University, and under favourable conditions may be a useful supplement to its work, as bringing under the direct influence of University study many students who would otherwise have remained outside that influence. We therefore recommend that the University should appoint a Standing Board to encourage and extend this work in London and its suburbs and to bring the more promising of such students into closer relation with the University

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by the recognition of work done under its superintendence as an equivalent for such part of the regular courses of the University as may be determined.'[1] This is strong testimony, and Mr. Whibley shows discretion in omitting to mention it. For it seems unlikely, on the face of it, that a Royal Commission, including such men as Lord Cowper, Lord Playfair, Sir William Savory, Professor Henry Sidgwick, and Dr. Burdon Sanderson, should after minute inquiry recommend the new University to encourage and extend in London 'a cheap, smattering masquerade.'

Equally strange is it, if Mr. Whibley's account of University Extension be true, that after twenty-one years of trial the system, so far from being discredited, stands better in the eyes of the great educational authorities of the country than ever it did before. The Education Department has recently placed the higher certificates of the University Extension on the same footing as a number of other academic diplomas. It encourages candidates for the Queen's scholarships to present certificates awarded after prescribed courses of University Extension teaching. It urges its inspectors to advise pupil-teachers to attend University Extension lectures. The Vice-President of the Council has repeatedly spoken with approval of University Extension work and in commendation of its aims. The 'farce of University Extension' has, at any rate, won skilled applause.

Nor are English observers alone in their opinion. Foreign experts have frequently visited this country in order to study the movement of University Extension, and to form an estimate of its educational value and importance. One of these gentlemen, M. Espinas, a distinguished professor in the Faculty of Bordeaux, who was commissioned by the French Ministry of Education to report upon the subject, published the result of his inquiry in the *Revue Internationale de l'Enseignement* for March and April 1892. In this essay he reviews the present state of secondary and higher education in England, and the service which may be rendered towards their improvement by the University Extension system. His words specially deserve quotation here, because he by no means regards the scheme with unqualified favour, and speaks throughout as one who is somewhat unwillingly constrained to admit the value and significance of its work. And yet, after describing with admiration the details of its organisation, he concludes:

De quelque côté qu'on se tourne avec la pensée d'une réforme générale et systématique de l'enseignement, on ne trouve en Angleterre qu'obstacles infranchissables. . . . Les critiques que nous avons adressées à l'*Extension* doivent être corrigées par cette remarque essentielle: qu'elle a été peut-être le seul remède possible à l'insuffisance de certaines institutions, au caractère exclusif de certaines autres. Elle conduit par une voie détournée, très longue, à des réformes qu'il est impossible d'aborder directement. Nos critiques n'effacent donc pas nos éloges: on a fait ce qui était possible; on l'a fait généreusement et avec une incontestable habileté.

[1] Report of the Gresham University Commission, 1894, p. xvii, § 14.

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A later visitor, M. Max Leclere, has recorded his impressions of University Extension work in the remarkably suggestive book on English education which has been published during the present summer. M. Leclerc visited some of the centres while University Extension teaching was in progress, and describes in detail the lectures which he heard. It is interesting to compare the vivid account of this unprejudiced eye-witness with the ingenious satire of Mr. Whibley. The latter imagines that the audiences are superficial and restless, content with the easiest smattering, and that the lecturers, aiming at a cheap-jack popularity, value a fluent tongue above learning, and care nothing for scholarship or research. M. Leclerc, on the other hand, declares from his own observation that 'le sérieux, l'ardeur avec lesquels ces auditeurs écoutent et profitent, la précision de leur langage, sont admirables;' while, as for the lecturer to whom he listened, 'il discute avec un véritable esprit scientifique les sources, les points douteux, les objections.' In short, M. Leclerc found that University Extension gives what by its very name it professes to give —namely, instruction of the University type to those who, without the missionary effort of the University, could not hope to obtain it. It has not swerved from the purpose which inspired Mr. James Stuart and his friends when they laid the foundations of the system at Cambridge more than twenty years ago. That purpose was as follows:

> Oral teaching of the highest class was what we undertook to give, what we professed to give, and what, when I appealed to the University to act, I asked it to give throughout the country. We believed that by the dissemination of higher education, brought to the homes of those who could not devote their whole time to study, we should make our beloved country better and make a contribution to the century in which we lived. . . . We resolved in the University that we would give of our very best to this work. The only gift worth giving is the gift when the giver gives his best; and in the first utterance that we made we put this in the forefront, that the more unaccustomed any group of people were to receive higher education, the more necessary was it that the individuals who were employed to convey it to them should be of the highest possible attainment that we could secure. It was to carry out these ideas that the whole system of University Extension was invented. The lectures, the classes in connection with them, the written paper-work, the syllabuses, the method of the examinations, have all been devised with the view of carrying out these fundamental principles, and I believe that we can say to-day that, so far as the method of education is concerned, we have achieved our aim. We have produced a method of education built upon experience, and adapted by the people themselves to their own needs, in conjunction with the Universities. We have built up a system of education which is capable of giving the highest class of mental training to those who submit themselves to it.[3]

Mr. Whibley, however, maintains that from its beginnings University Extension 'has trodden learning under foot and violated

[2] *L'Education des classes moyennes et dirigeantes en Angleterre*, par Max Leclerc. Paris: Armand Colin et Cie, 1894.

[3] Speech of Mr. James Stuart at the University Extension Congress. London, June 23, 1894.

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every principle of sound research or amiable culture that Oxford and Cambridge are pledged to respect.' How is it, then, that these two Universities, so far from disowning the Extension movement, have given to it year by year more unreserved support, have made themselves responsible for every detail of its policy and organisation, have given privileges to its students, pecuniary support to its undertakings, and official sanction to its aims? The direction of the work is entrusted at Cambridge to a Syndicate, at Oxford to a Delegacy, appointed in each case by the University out of the number of resident graduates. The academic control of the movement could not be more effective, the acquaintance of the University with its proceedings could not be more complete. At Oxford and Cambridge, if anywhere, the defects of University Extension cannot fail to be known. And yet, if its proceedings amount, as Mr. Whibley would have us believe, to an educational fraud, how is it that both Oxford and Cambridge have within the last few years given emphatic proof of their increasing confidence in University Extension by offering the privilege of affiliation to certain classes of students attending the lectures and classes which it provides? How is it that, not Oxford and Cambridge only, but every University in England, takes part in the movement? The University of London appoints its share of the members of the Joint Universities' Board which directs the educational policy of the University Extension Society in the metropolis. In the North-eastern part of England the University of Durham has associated itself with Cambridge in the work. The Victoria University has thrown itself into the movement with energy and success. The new University of Wales is expressly authorised by its charter to recognise Extension work in the Principality. Several of the University Colleges in England, notably the Durham College of Science at Newcastle and Mason College, Birmingham, have taken an active share in the work. And in the meantime Universities in other countries have not been slow to follow suit. The system has been warmly taken up at Lund and Upsala in Sweden, in Brussels, in Buda-Pest. It has spread to the Cape of Good Hope, to Canada and to Australia, and there are flourishing departments of the work in connection with the Queen's University of Kingston and with the Universities of Sydney and Melbourne. In the United States the American Society for the Extension of University Teaching directs a large and influential organisation, drawing its lecturers from the great Universities, while—not to mention many others—the University of Chicago, the University of the State of New York, and Brown University in Rhode Island have been specially energetic and successful in their furtherance of the scheme.

An educational movement does not live and grow for twenty years, and spread as this has done over a large part of the civilised world, if it is a merely pretentious bit of humbug. Whatever faults Uni-

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versities may have, they are not lacking in powers of criticism, and it is unlikely that they would have cared to identify themselves with an undertaking which 'deceives the people and converts cloistered colleges into so many Crystal Palaces of cheap and easy learning.' Mr. Whibley perceives that his theory of University Extension lands him in a difficult place. He must either abandon his charges against the movement or arraign the Universities as accomplices in an educational fraud. He prefers the second alternative. The University, he declares, 'kneels with cap in hand' to the smatterers in the towns. 'The reports, issued from time to time at Oxford and Cambridge make ample, if involuntary, confession that no lecture is delivered, no course devised, which is not a patent contradiction to the worthy purpose of a University.' 'When an ancient University degrades itself by truckling to a greedy optimism, dishonour is done to teacher and taught.' Conduct like this deserves a heavy punishment, and Mr. Whibley is not slow to predict it. 'The triumph of University Extension, under the false pretence of a serious education, will inevitably and righteously involve in ruin the Universities whose titles and dignities its victims presume to filch.'

Let us assume this to be true. Let it be conceded for a moment that Oxford and Cambridge have given themselves to the Philistines—even Oxford, 'the queen of romance,' who, Matthew Arnold said, 'has been waging warfare against the Philistines for centuries, and will wage after we are gone.' Now, there happily exist august officials whose duty it is to watch over the behaviour of the Universities and to correct with becoming sternness any breach of academic virtue. It is from the Chancellors that the country would expect a word of warning if the Universities were flagrantly to fail in their appointed trust. But the Chancellors of the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, and London do not often express themselves in public on matters of University policy. Still more rarely do they act together in concert. It was, therefore, a memorable thing when the three Chancellors consented to take the unusual, if not unprecedented, step of presiding in succession over the three sittings of a conference summoned to celebrate the coming of age of University Extension and to further its educational aims. As a comment on Mr. Whibley's criticisms, nothing could be more opportune than the remarks of Lord Salisbury, the Duke of Devonshire, and Lord Herschell.[4] The last-named, as Chancellor of the University of London, said: 'I am quite sure of this—that, whatever differences of opinion there may be, we must all be agreed that the intellectual life of England would have been poorer if the University Extension system had not come into existence.' The Duke of Devonshire, the Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, said: 'I cannot help thinking that the Universities themselves, as institutions, are

[4] *Report of University Extension Congress* (London: P. S. King & Co., 1894), pp. 95, 75, and 41.

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deeply interested in the permanent success of this movement. It is one which they cannot afford to take up and to let go again and to allow to lapse into the hands of any other bodies. They have set their hands to the work and are bound to carry it through, or they will suffer very much in public estimation. I feel strongly that the Universities cannot maintain a position of continuity, efficiency, and usefulness unless they remain closely in touch with the popular feeling and popular sentiment of the country, and I know of no way in which that end can be more effectually secured than by the University Extension movement remaining mainly in the hands and under the direction of the University authorities.' And Lord Salisbury, speaking as Chancellor of the University of Oxford, said that his object in taking the chair was 'to testify to the warm sympathy which he knew to exist between the University which he represented and the most successful and advancing movement of University Extension.' 'The great object in the present day,' he continued, 'is to disseminate as widely as possible the craving for intellectual enjoyment. Our civilisation has made men susceptible to the temptation of excitement and pleasure. . . . The object is to make them crave for intellectual enjoyment, and I do not know that any better plan could be conceived for such a purpose than that of spreading abroad in all parts of the country lecturers who should be able to convey to men's minds a knowledge of the ground that has been already won, and a foretaste of the pleasures which await all those who will exercise their intellects upon the thoughts and discoveries which their predecessors have found for them.' Finally, he declared that the sending out of 'missionaries of knowledge, into all parts of the country where University influence could not otherwise extend,' was 'a truly beneficial mission,' to which he wished all success.

But Mr. Whibley bases his attack upon specific charges, which I will now proceed to examine. (1) He says that University Extension is merely 'a pleasant pastime,' and that 'the published evidences of its superficiality are incontrovertible.' He does not seem to be aware that examinations are held at the end of the courses, and that it is to the reports of the examiners that we must look for proof of the quality of the work done by the students. As for the standard of these examinations, the following sentence occurs in the paper of instructions issued to its examiners by the Oxford University Extension Delegacy: 'The standard of a pass should be, as far as possible, that observed in the Oxford Pass Final Schools; and the examiners are requested to observe an equal standard in all examinations, irrespective of the number of lectures in the course.' In appointing examiners, the delegates select, as far as possible, present or former examiners in the Final Honour Schools of the University. Now, any comparison between the work of University Extension students and that of regular University students must be rough, for three reasons;

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many of the University Extension students (e.g., artisans) naturally suffer in examinations from their defective training in literary expression, and a much larger proportion of the same class of students are prevented by their daily employment from giving as much time to preparing for examination as can easily be spared by an undergraduate; on the other hand, an Extension student studies a comparatively small part of a subject at one time, and has to deal with one examination paper only, instead of with the succession of papers which make up the test of an Honour School in the University itself. But allowance being made for these differences, which often, roughly speaking, balance one another, the following reports from examiners attest the high quality of the work done by the students attending University Extension lectures. The Rev. A. H. Johnson, who speaks from a long experience as tutor and examiner at Oxford, writes as follows about the History examinations in the Oxford branch of the University Extension system: 'It is difficult to compare the papers with those presented for our Honour School of Modern History, owing to the comparatively limited periods offered by the Extension students. But, omitting the papers of the young school-girls, they would certainly count high. A large proportion of them would be fully up to our second-class standard, while some few would reach that of a first class.' Dr. Arthur Whitelegge, who examines for the Oxford Delegacy in Hygiene, writes that 'the papers referred to me have been usually good and often excellent, and I am satisfied that the knowledge gained by the students who enter for the final examinations is no mere smattering, but an intelligent acquaintance with the essentials of the subject.' Similar testimony could be multiplied with regard to the examinations in Literature and in the various branches of Natural Science. I have quoted the reports of Oxford examiners, but equally favourable accounts would doubtless be given by the gentlemen who examine for the Cambridge Syndicate and for the Victoria University. Two years ago the Council of the London University Extension Society asked their lecturers and examiners to favour them with a comparison of the quality of the work done by regular University students and by the students of the University Extension. The reports which were received in answer to this query contain overwhelming proof of the excellence of the papers written by those who attend University Extension lectures in London. Turning over the reports, I repeatedly find such expressions as these: 'Much of the work done in science is of a very high quality; such, indeed, as I should have been pleased to receive from honour students in Cambridge.' 'I have constantly selected certain answers of the best Extension students in political economy, in order to show them to my pupils here (Cambridge) as models of what an answer should be.' 'The work done for me was divided rather sharply into two classes. That done by a few of the best students was in interest and intelli-

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gence quite equal to that of University students for honours in their first and second years, but fell below it in finish and accuracy, and the power of keeping to the point, which comes of continued training in examinations. That done by the rest was pretty nearly on a level with what might be expected from inferior pass-men at the University.' To quote at greater length would be tedious, and I will conclude with a report written by a most distinguished Greek scholar, who had lectured on the *Iliad*. 'I have no doubt,' he writes, 'that, so far as the best of my students were concerned, they were much superior to the average pass-man both in intelligence and application.'

Mr. Whibley, however, singles out for special condemnation an effort made by Mr. R. G. Moulton (who rendered for many years brilliant and disinterested service to the cause of higher education in this country) to acquaint his University Extension students with some of the beauties of Greek tragedy. There lies before me, as I write, the report of Dr. Verrall, of Cambridge, who examined on this course. Against Dr. Verrall's judgment Mr. Whibley, I imagine, will not care to appeal, and this is what he says: 'The work as a whole was very satisfactory, and certainly better than from the novelty of the subject might have been expected. In particular the candidates showed a commendable accuracy in dealing with Greek technical terms, and for the most part wrote in a simple, sensible style.' These reports form a conclusive answer to the charge of superficiality brought against those University Extension students who enter for the final examinations. Nor are the latter an insignificant proportion of the number attending the lectures. In the session 1892-3 (the last for which the returns are complete) no less than 4,256 students passed the final examinations on University Extension courses in England alone.

(2) Mr. Whibley's second charge is that among the qualifications of a University Extension lecturer no mention is made of scholarship or research. He therefore proceeds to disparage them as 'orators, not scholars.' This attack is without foundation or excuse. It also shows that Mr. Whibley is curiously ignorant of the facts of the case. A glance at the lists of the Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Victoria lecturers will show how distinguished a body of men are engaged in University Extension teaching. Taking the Oxford list alone, eleven of the lecturers are Fellows of their College, two of them (Mr. Hudson Shaw, of Balliol, and Mr. Mackinder, of Christ Church) having been elected in recognition of their work for University Extension. Four others on the same list are actively engaged as College lecturers in Oxford. Another is Lecturer on Indian History to the University of Cambridge. Another is the Librarian of the Royal Geographical Society; another is Principal of Bedford College, London; another is Professor of English History and Literature at University College, Cardiff; another Professor of Physiology in the

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same institution; two others are inspectors of schools. It would be difficult to find any body of teachers in the country with a higher level of academic distinction than that possessed by the staffs of University Extension lecturers engaged in the work at the present time.

(3) Mr. Whibley's third allegation is that 'at the very moment when aid is begged from the Government, it is proposed to substitute for the longer courses of study, once imperative, a series of short, sharp sprints. Each province of human knowledge shall thus be exhausted in three lectures.' This is entirely untrue. No certificates are given on courses of less than ten lectures. No change has been made for some years in the regulations which affect the length of the courses, nor is any change in contemplation. The tendency, so far from being in the direction of shortening the courses, is all the other way. The average period of study covered by each course in the Oxford branch of the system has, for example, increased from eight and a half weeks in 1888 to fourteen weeks in 1893.

(4) Mr. Whibley denounces the summer meetings which are held at Oxford and Cambridge as the orgies of a mob of intellectual debauchees. The learning of all the ages is crammed into a fortnight. Browning is mixed with physiology. Plato is served up with chemistry as a sauce. This is like confusing a refreshment tariff with the bill of fare for dinner. For those who have disorderly appetites the schedule of lectures at any University affords an opportunity for 'fine confused feeding?' The schedule would be incomplete if it did not. But, though some students may try to do too much at the University Extension summer meetings, they soon learn by experience, and the great majority work steadily at the one or two subjects of their choice. Some, for example, are now studying in Oxford the history of the seventeenth century under the guidance of such distinguished teachers as Dr. S. R. Gardiner, Mr. Churton Collins, Dr. Fairbairn, Mr. A. L. Smith, Mr. Hassall, Mr. Shaw, Mr. Hutton, Mr. Marriott, Mr. E. J. Payne, Mr. C. W. Furse, Professor Turner, Dr. Mee, Mr. Morse Stephens, Sir Frederick Pollock, Mr. Mallet, Mr. H. C. Beeching, Mr. Arthur Berry, Mr. F. S. Boas, Dr. Lawrence, Mr. D. G. Ritchie, Mr. R. L. Ottley, and Mr. C. R. Ashbee. Others are studying the theory of education under Mr. Courthope Bowen and Professor Rein, of Jena. Others are working in the chemical laboratory, others are studying hygiene, others geology, others economics, others Greek. In fact, the body of students is now divided into groups, large or small, each group giving several hours a day to steady, profitable work. No one who has been present at a summer meeting will deny the zeal and energy of the University Extension students. The experiment of holding summer meetings has been crowned with success, and every meeting shows a marked advance in thoroughness of work and wise concentration of purpose. Some of

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the students may be frivolous, but some undergraduates are frivolous too. And if Mr. Whibley knew the delight which the summer meetings have brought to many a poor and struggling student, he would be far from regarding them as a dishonour to the 'leisured culture of the University.' Hundreds of men and women have, like Charles Lamb, 'been defrauded in their young years of the sweet food of academic institution,' and they, like the gentle Elia, may well be pardoned for taking advantage of the fact that the University vacations 'fall in so pat with theirs.'

(5) I come to Mr. Whibley's last charge. He finds that University Extension has for one of its chief characteristics 'a persistently restless change of interest.' There is no continuity in its work, he says; 'a system debased by a free and varying choice cannot be thorough or continuous.' Here he lays his finger on a real blot, but the blot is smaller than he thinks. In every branch of the University Extension system there is a marked tendency towards greater continuity in the course of instruction. One of the great services which Cambridge has rendered to University Extension lies in the encouragement given by that University to the systematic organisation of the lecture courses. The Cambridge statute of affiliation is now in force with respect to five different centres. Each of these centres is pledged to a carefully ordered sequence of study extending over three years. Moreover, no less than four out of the five centres have been affiliated for a previous period of three years, and are therefore now engaged in their second sequence of systematic study. As showing the kind of influence which is being exerted by the affiliation statute, I would point out that two students from affiliated centres have this year taken first-classes in the final schools at Cambridge. Turning to the Oxford branch of the work, we find that twenty-six centres have this year arranged their lectures in sequence with the course delivered in the preceding session. While finally, in London, Dr. Roberts (whose devoted labours have been largely given to the development of the more systematic side of University Extension) is able to report that out of fifty-five courses given in the Lent term, 1894, forty-five were in direct sequence with courses delivered in the preceding term, whereas out of thirty-two courses given in the Lent term, 1888, only seven were in sequence with those delivered in the previous autumn.

These are healthy signs of real progress in the direction of educational efficiency. But I frankly admit that sequence of study is still greatly to be desired in many centres which at present turn too readily from one subject to another. These frequent changes, however, are not always due to inconstancy of purpose. Much oftener they are caused by the want of funds. The students are few in numbers; by their unaided efforts they cannot support the expense of a course; therefore they have to call in the help of the outside public, and

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the public often outvotes the students and disregards their proper wish for sequence and system.

The remedy, or rather the chief remedy, for this is the provision of funds which may be available for the support of University Extension courses arranged in sequence over a period of years. A wealthy man might do much to develope this side of the work by endowing a lectureship for a term of years, and thus securing continuous and systematic teaching for a town or a group of towns. Wherever such aid has been forthcoming, the educational results have been strikingly good. Two years ago the governing body of Christ Church, Oxford, elected Mr. Mackinder to a Studentship, in order to enable him to systematise the work of the University Extension centre at Reading. Mr. Mackinder is now the Principal of the Reading University Extension College—an institution of an entirely new type, formed by the co-ordination of educational agencies already existing in the town. This college has now 600 regular students, besides 2,000 others who attend occasional lectures; it has a staff of 20 teachers, several of them coming weekly from Oxford, and so helping to keep the college in intimate connection with the University; it is munificently helped by the Town Council and by private liberality; it works harmoniously with the Science and Art Department; it is venturing on a remarkable experiment in agricultural education; three of the neighbouring County Councils aid its work and are represented on its council; and yet all this has sprung from the action of an Oxford College and from the stimulus which it supplied to the development of the educational work at a chosen centre. Other colleges at Oxford and Cambridge would do well to set apart a fellowship for a similar purpose. If this were done, ties of close intimacy and regard would soon be formed between the different colleges in the University and thirty or forty of the chief centres of industry at present unprovided with a local college. Such a policy would strengthen the position of the Colleges in the country. It would also sustain the connection between the leaders of academic and business life, which has already proved of great advantage to both of them.

Very interesting too, though arranged on a somewhat different plan, is the University Extension College at Exeter, which owes its origin to the Cambridge Syndicate, and its chief success to the labours of the Principal (Mr. Clayden) and the Hon. Secretary of the University Extension Centre, Miss Montgomery. The prosperity of this College is another proof that, whenever University Extension is trusted with funds, it knows how to make excellent and educational use of them.

The great need in English education at the present time is the co-ordination of effort. In this work the Universities can render exceptionally valuable service. Their prestige, their impartiality, qualify them for the task. And, if Mr. Whibley protests that it is not

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the business of the Universities to go outside their own borders, let him remember that this is no new policy. It has been maintained by Oxford and Cambridge ever since Sir Thomas Acland and the present Bishop of London founded the local examinations nearly forty years ago. Nor are those who approve this generous policy unable to quote the authority of great scholars and researchers in favour of their view. It was that great champion of academic learning, Mark Pattison, who pleaded before the Oxford University Commissioners in 1850 that 'the ideal of a National University is that it should be co-extensive with the nation; it should be the common source of the whole of the higher instruction for the country.' And, quoting Gordon's words, he wished the University to 'strike its roots freely into the subsoil of society, and draw from it new elements of life and sustenance of mental and moral power.' This is exactly what the English Universities are now doing by means of University Extension.

M. E. SADLER.

Oxford: August 1894.

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THE FACTS ABOUT UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

II

University Extension students with a sense of the ludicrous, and with half an hour to spare, might do worse than read an article, entitled 'The Farce of University Extension,' by Mr. Charles Whibley in the August number of this Review.

'To see ourselves as others see us' is proverbially a salutary though possibly not an exhilarating experience, and no one can accuse Mr. Whibley of blurring his colours or toning down his tints. On the contrary, there stands forth from his canvas a clear, boldly drawn picture of the typical University Extension student as he appears to Mr. Whibley's imagination. He or she (whether in the person of the working man, the 'adventurous housemaid,' or the 'idle young lady') invariably presents the same characteristics—a snug satisfaction with his or her mental achievements, and a cheerful belief that the knowledge of the ages on any given subject can be compressed into some half-dozen lectures. As to the literary housemaid (three times does she do duty as Mr. Whibley's awful example), she has really been done to death lately. We are all familiar *ad nauseam* alike with her and with the cook who burns her mistress's jam while ruminating on the character of Mary Queen of Scots. In the perennial screeches which are poured forth against education for the 'lower orders' these appear as regularly as does apple sauce with duck.

In passing, it is worth noting Mr. Whibley's unveiled contempt for—indeed, special detestation of—women University Extension students. Aghast, he quotes a statement that at certain centres 'women of leisure composed half the audience.' [Parenthetically, it would be interesting to know how far this description of the women in question was accurate, or how far it merely signified those who were occupied in non-masculine pursuits.] Mr. Whibley's attitude concerning women instinctively reminds one of a certain Fellow of Trinity who piously ejaculated, in reference to the less fortunate members of other colleges: 'Never let us forget that they, too, are

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God's creatures.' So with women. Mr. Whibley, from the dizzy heights of his masculine superiority, would surely not deny to them what opportunities for self-culture may come in their way.

The article in question teems with so many conspicuous, albeit unconscious, errors both of omission and of commission, that it is difficult to know what to attack first. To those who know anything of the University Extension movement it will appear almost incredible that not a single mention is made from first to last either of the weekly paper work or of the weekly class in connection with the lecture, where questions can be asked and difficulties solved. Yet both of these are integral parts of the system. Mr. Whibley appears to imagine that an individual can stroll in to some three or four lectures, do no work, give no proof of having assimilated a single item of knowledge, and yet be regarded by the University as a fully fledged Extension student. As a matter of fact, certificates (the sole guarantee of approximate proficiency in the subject-matter of the course) are only granted as the result of examination, and no student is allowed to enter as a candidate for such examination unless (1) he has attended at least two-thirds of the lectures and classes of the so-called 'long course,' and (2) has written at least two-thirds of the weekly papers in such a way as to satisfy the lecturer. Short pioneer courses of three or six lectures are given in some districts, but no University examination is held or certificate granted except in connection with the long courses. Vague bandying of conflicting statements as to the character of the education given is, however, worse than useless. Let me, therefore, appeal unto Cæsar in the person of the Oxford University Extension examiners, many of whom are also examiners in the Honours Schools, as to the quality of the work done.[1] They state in one of their reports that no University Extension student can obtain even an ordinary certificate who does not reach the standard required in the University for a pass degree, while no student is granted a certificate of distinction who does not attain the standard required in the University from a candidate for honours.

If in every centre where the Extension movement has taken root it were possible to get hold of that *rara avis*, a perfectly unprejudiced and at the same time well-informed man, is there any reason to suppose that his testimony would support the belief—which if Mr. Whibley's view is correct must infallibly follow—that superficial, conceited, cock-sure-of-everything individuals have increased since the advent of the Local Lectures? The fact is, Mr. Whibley erects a supposititious popinjay, a disordered figure of his imagination, and proceeds to hurl literary brickbats at it. The testimony of those who have taken a practical part in the movement is that a wholesome and stimulating sense of the inadequacy of the knowledge gained is much more usually induced than a Pecksniffian self-satis-

[1] The reference is of course to the quality and not to the quantity of the work.

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faction. A student begins to attend a course on chemistry, and after a lecture or two becomes immersed in the mysteries of atoms and molecules. His feeling of hopefulness passes into despair: 'Such knowledge is too wonderful for me; it is high, I cannot attain unto it.' Perhaps the first difficulties cause him to give up the effort; in this way many of the people who attend the opening lectures drop off—a most salutary pruning process, leaving the earnest students behind. But if he possesses grit he perseveres, and as the course proceeds, with aid of class teaching, paper work, and home study, light begins to glimmer on some of the darkest mysteries, until at the end of the twelve lectures an illimitable vista opens before him of ground to be trodden before he really knows much about the subject. It is the man who sits boozing in his village public-house and signs his name with a × who is most apt to divide all belief into 'my opinion' and 'humbug,' not the man who with patient feet and slow tries to climb the steep of knowledge.

As so often happens, Mr. Whibley does less than justice to one class only to do more than justice to another. He seems to treasure a touchingly ingenuous belief that every man who goes up to a University is impelled thither by a burning passion for intellectual research and persevering study. Yet it is scarcely an uncharitable assumption to suppose that at any rate a considerable fraction of the young men who, term after term, enter our Universities (genial, honest, healthy-minded young fellows as the vast majority of them are) go up with an ambition quite as keen to excel in sport, make friends and have a good time, as to explore untrodden or even trodden realms of science and literature. 'Mr. Brown presents his compliments to Mr. Jones and begs to say he has a hat which isn't mine. If he has got a hat which isn't yours, perhaps they are the ones,' is a mode of literary composition not unknown among these youthful votaries of sound learning and research. After all, human knowledge is all of it more or less superficial and imperfect, and the main difference between a University Extension student and a Bentley is one of degree. The depths probed by a Porson, a Munro, a Cayley, by Mr. Whibley himself, bear but an infinitesimal relation to the sum total of the knowable, and a man may spend a term in lecturing on the enclitic γε and yet leave a great deal unsaid.

Mr. Whibley complains of the want of sequence in the courses, and here certainly is one of the dangers to be guarded against. That the centres do not, however, invariably pirouette from science to art and *vice versâ* is shown by the fact that in London 'out of fifty-five courses given in the Lent Term of 1894, no less than forty-five were in direct sequence with the courses in the preceding term.' [Report of University Extension Congress, 1894, p. 17.] Sequence is certainly desirable, but it is easy to make a fetish of it. In the case of the majority of University Extension students, the important

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thing is not so much what is taught, as how it is taught. Information is good, but mental training is far better, and in the hands of a capable lecturer a course on literature can be made to inculcate much the same principles of accuracy, method, and research (which after all are the most important things) as a course on science. If a man wants bracing up physically it really does not much matter whether the mountains he climbs be all of gneiss or all of sandstone; the important point is that he should climb something. So with the mental training of most of us in this work-a-day world.

Mr. Whibley rides a-tilt against the whole class of University Extension lecturers. They are contrasted to their detriment with the teachers inside the University walls, whom he describes as 'not orators but scholars'—a curious antithesis suggestive of the 'poor but honest parent.' Now one of the noteworthy features of the Extension movement is that the Universities have all along given of their best to the work. They recognised from the first that 'the more unaccustomed any group of people were to receive higher education the more necessary was it that the individuals who were employed to convey it to them should be of the highest possible attainment.' And this high standard has been rigorously maintained. It is from the ranks of first-class honours men, senior wranglers, high classics and distinguished natural and moral science men, that the ranks of the local lecturers have been and are mainly recruited. 'Not orators but scholars'—to assume that a stuttering delivery, an inability to clothe his thoughts in clear, forcible, eloquent words is *per se* an indication of scholarship is surely one of the most curious of delusions. Probably many of our intramural University lecturers would be immeasurably benefited if they could undergo the salutary training in elocution to which Extension lecturers are week by week submitted. No better discipline can be imagined than for a man to see before him not a handful of undergraduates who come thither by compulsion, and must *nolens volens* remain, however tedious and slipshod and involved the style may be, but an audience who, if he does not speak out distinctly and make his meaning clear, will probably either melt away then and there, or else, like Lewis Carroll's Snark, will 'softly and silently vanish away' before the next lecture night.

I have only space to allude to one more of Mr. Whibley's criticisms. He seems to complain (p. 207) that University Extension students show a predilection for 'tact and sympathy' in their lecturers, apparently imagining that this preference implies a corresponding aversion for thoroughness and method—a curious example of a prevalent fallacy that partiality for one thing necessarily implies dislike of another and a different thing. Yet it really does not follow that because a man likes beef he must necessarily shun mutton.

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It is now nearly twenty-three years since my husband—then a lecturer at the University of Cambridge—addressed a letter to the resident members of the Senate, urging the University to take up the work of supplying the demand for higher education which was springing up in the country. The seed fell on fruitful ground. A syndicate was appointed to consider the matter, and in October 1873 the first Extension courses under the sanction of the University began. It is, by the way, somewhat characteristic of the academic mind when unleavened with the practical common-sense world outside, that a well-meant attempt was made on the part of some of the authorities to drop the original and popular name of University Extension lectures, and substitute for it the perfectly accurate but purely negative, and—to ninety-nine people out of a hundred—absolutely unintelligible title of 'Non-gremial Lectures,' lectures, that is, not given in the bosom of the University. But popular force was too strong, and the name University Extension carried the day. The progress of the movement has been rapid. In 1892–93 (to quote from the latest returns I have at hand) the attendance at the lectures in Great Britain alone was over 57,000, while of these over 7,700 wrote weekly papers. The work has also taken root in America and Australia. The movement has lost many of its early enthusiasts; some, alas! are dead, others have been compelled by the stress of new duties to relinquish the work they loved so well. Fresh workers have, however, risen to fill the gaps; especially is the movement fortunate in its chief secretaries—Mr. Sadler at Oxford, Mr. Berry at Cambridge, and Dr. Roberts in London being men in whom there is a rare blending of ability, enthusiasm, common-sense, and knowledge of the difficulties to be grappled with.

It is possible that University Extension may not have accomplished all of which its founders dreamt, but this at least it has done: it has inspired the lives of countless men and women all over the country by bringing intellectual light to many who before its advent were like infants 'crying for the light, and with no language but a cry,' and it has proved that the Universities, recognising that power in its essence is duty, have been willing to give of themselves in the person of many of their most promising sons to this work of teaching the people.

George Eliot (who at her worst is better worth reading than most authors at their best) says somewhere, with profound truth, that one of the best ways of getting an idea of our fellow-countrymen's miseries is to go and look at their pleasures. Let any sceptic about the University Extension movement picture to himself the kind of life destitute of every shred of intellectual interest which vast masses of the people were compelled to live before the advent of the Local Lectures—men and women who were eager for better things; let him imagine an existence in which single lectures on 'Wit and Humour,

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'The Devil,' 'The Heavenly Bodies' (to quote Mr. Whibley's apposite illustrations) gleamed as intellectual beacons, then no longer, so I venture to think, will he grudge the Extension students the inspiration which the University lectures bring to them.

There is another side to the story, namely, the advantages which have accrued to the Universities themselves through this Extension work, but of this there is no time to speak, further than to express the conviction that the greatest hope for our Universities, those treasure-houses of learning which are the glory of the whole nation, and which many of us love so well, lies in that broadening movement of which the Local Lectures are but one phase.

LAURA E. STUART.

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SMOKE

'I have renounced smoking,' said Egremont; 'tobacco is the tomb of love.'
LORD BEACONSFIELD.

IN the afternoon of a balmy day in early September, there sat in a cottage garden, under the shade of a Spanish chestnut, a small party of friends, enjoying a cup of coffee after luncheon. Their hostess, a middle-aged widow lady, who had not however outgrown her ardent friendships, nor her interest in questions of the day, passed her autumns in the Hermitage, her country retreat on the edge of the Hampshire downs, whence a glorious prospect of hills and wooded vales was spread beneath the view. She had staying with her a young friend recently married to a rising barrister, now absent on the Northern Circuit, and their luncheon had been joined by Sir John, a fine old octogenarian Squire, who had once represented the county, and had many years ago published his travels in the Far East.

The ladies, of course, were discussing the New Woman, whilst the old gentleman, in silence, gently puffed his cigar, with an occasional nod of approval, and now and then a grunt of surprise.

'What a delicious place!' cried the younger lady, 'and what a strange thrill it gives one to see the harvest being gathered from a thousand fields below, whilst we look on, remote—above! We might imagine ourselves the gods on Olympus as they sit watching the struggles of the insect—man.'

'And the insect—woman,' said the hostess; 'though I doubt if the New Woman disturbs the peace of the workers in the weald. But you are right, this vast prospect has a curious effect upon one. One brings a host of agitating problems with one from the town, but here, before the sowing and the reaping, the craving of the peasant to garner the harvest, the love of man for the earth, and, we may almost fancy, the love earth has for man who fashions her, the city problems dwindle and shrink up—perhaps they take a truer proportion. Is there, do you think, a *New Woman*? and, if so, in what does she differ from the old?'

'There has always been the *New Woman* from the time of our great ancestress in the garden,' said Nea, 'and from that day to

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this she has always been gathering new fruits which she has tempted others to eat. But what think you of that apple of discord, tobacco, for women's consumption? I feel sure that you disapprove of it, though I have never heard you say so.'

'I have never thought much about it,' replied the hostess, 'until of late, when so many of my friends have assured me that there is no reason why women should not smoke. I begin to think smoking amongst women is finding acceptance.'

'There is no doubt that many women smoke habitually to-day, and that a far greater number will have learned to smoke to-morrow,' answered her young friend; 'but why not? I have never been able to find any reasonable reason why women should not smoke. If it is a solace for men, why should women be denied it? We may fairly presume that they need such solace a thousand times more. No!' she continued, 'I can see no serious argument'—but here she was interrupted by a smothered gasp from Sir John, to whom his hostess mildly turned.

'You do not agree?' she said.

'My Lady never smokes,' replied Sir John shortly, with an air of profound conviction.

'Ah!' cried Nea, jumping from her seat and pacing up and down the terrace walk, 'did I not say that you were like the gods on Olympus, breathing a serener air than we poor mortals can enjoy. Think how many struggling women there are in all our great cities, women who are not only bread-earners but are weighed down with domestic cares, and if a harmless smoke soothes and comforts them, as we are told it soothes a hard-worked man, who are we that we should deny it them, because, forsooth, it does not fit in with our ideas of what becomes a woman? But, forgive me, you are so good and kind, you do not see how it strikes a wicked person like me,' and Nea seated herself again and choked down her indignation.

'Harmless!' muttered Sir John. 'I take it a good deal hangs upon that word harmless. I am only concerned, my dear young lady,' said he aloud, 'that women should copy us in our follies.'

'You surely mistake, Nea,' said the hostess, 'when you suppose that it is the poor bread-earning and struggling woman who smokes to-day; she would never afford herself such a luxury. I admit that she may learn to do so to-morrow; to-day it is the leisured but overwrought woman of the upper classes who smokes. But here comes my learned neighbour, Mr. Golf, the Cambridge Professor; we will make him tell us what he thinks.'

There was a shuffling of chairs, a fresh supply of coffee was brought out, and the little party settled themselves again for talk, Mr. Golf accepting one of Sir John's cigars.

'Now this is excellent,' said Nea, who had recovered her equa-

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nimity. 'Here are two men and two women, and the two men may hide their defeats and shortcomings in conversation with smoke, whilst we poor women have to insert our best remarks between the puffs—why should not we smoke?'

'I am sure no one prevents you,' said the Professor, curtly. Sir John tossed away his half-smoked cigar.

'But is it really true,' said the last, 'that many women smoke now?'

'A good many do,' answered the Professor, 'though with many of them it is mere *pose*. When you see a woman carefully puffing away her smoke, instead of drawing it in, you may know she does not much care about it. But why should not women smoke if they choose?'

'Well! for one thing, it makes them very unattractive,' muttered Sir John.

'Unattractive to whom?' cried Nea.

'That wouldn't stop them,' jerked the Professor.

'But I say it should stop them,' asserted Sir John.

The hostess interposed. 'I confess I was surprised to discover the other day that the five daughters of our clergyman here all smoke, and two girl friends of mine who have been eager to fresco my summer-house seem to find tobacco smoke an excellent preparation for the walls. I think we shall agree in this, that whether or no tobacco makes women unattractive, the mother in her nursery and the nurse in the sick-room should be above suspicion.'

'Doctors smoke like chimneys!' ejaculated the Professor.

'And I have known women ordered to smoke by their medical advisers,' cried Nea in triumph.

'That is no news to me,' said the hostess, 'for I have been advised to smoke myself in the old days. I did not follow the advice. But we are not concerned now with smoke as a possible medicine, but as a habit of life.'

'Women advised to smoke!' cried Sir John. 'I have often heard men advised to give up tobacco.'

'Well, you see,' said Nea flippantly, 'we are tired of traditions; if you tell us that our grandmothers would not do such and such things, it is a very sufficient reason why we should do them. Restlessness is the fashion of our age; sentiment used to be the fashion, and faintings and tears; now it is restlessness, and smoke they say is good for restlessness. So long ago as George Sand something of the kind was needed. George Sand advised all women to take to needlework as a sedative. She herself, I believe, smoked, and we have followed her example rather than her precept.'

'You have wandered a long way, Nea, from the overstrained workers in the towns,' laughed the hostess. 'I do not fancy they suffer from this new kind of restlessness.'

'I am always,' said the Professor, lazily stretching out his long legs, 'in favour of letting every one do exactly as he pleases. It makes

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the scene more varied, and now that the gospel of Social Evolution by means of experimental failures has been preached to us, I feel that I have taken up not only a scientific but a moral position.'

'I admit,' said Sir John, 'that I have what I suppose would be called a prejudice—I will even say a strong prejudice—against a woman's smoking, and prejudices are always difficult to define and to find reasons for. I was always brought up to expect from women a higher morality than I durst hope to find amongst men, and my eighty years of life have not disillusioned me. I have no doubt that tradition has a good deal to do with my prejudice, but I am so near the time when I must form a part of "tradition" myself, that I am not so scornful of it as it is natural that you should be,' and the old man turned with a smile to Nea.

'I think, however,' he continued, 'that I can urge one very real objection based on the facts around us. We may grant that smoking is an act of pure self-indulgence—it can affect no one save the smoker, except in so far as he annoys other people, or renders himself unfit for his work by over-indulgence. No honest smoker would deny this, as I believe. We may, I take it, go farther, and say that a very considerable number of men suffer in health from the practice, and we are told that certain terrible diseases of the throat and tongue are more or less induced thereby. Even where there is no excess, we observe a subtle nerve-effect from the use of tobacco. I have heard a painter say that he dare not smoke before his work because it made his hand unsteady, and—I speak under correction—men in training are forbidden tobacco. I do not wish to overstate the case—but these are facts. Smoking has, however, I fear, become too much a habit with men to hope for any radical cure, though I am glad to learn that amongst the younger men and in France the fashion is on the decrease. We must always remember, too, that we have got rid of *snuff*! But for women—is it well that they should begin the practice? We cannot doubt that the effects must be greater upon their more sensitive organisation, nor can we doubt that they will more easily fall victims to over-indulgence. Forgive an old man for saying that he trusts the brightest of their sex will rise above the cheap triumph of asserting a personal right, for the sake of the very important issues involved.'

'Now there I am against you, Sir John, dead against you,' said Mr. Golf. 'Where should we all be if we had to give up our pet failings for the sake of the Majority? I am in favour of the Minority. I dare say that in the future when men have given up tobacco, and women have taken to it, a smoking jacket and cap will be the most appropriate present to a young lady. Even now, as you may see in the papers, a wedding cannot be said to be really "smart" unless the presents include at least three cigarette cases for the bride. There is only one thing that troubles me. Is woman great enough

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to soar so high as a pipe? I beg your pardon, Sir John, but the best of cigars is trivial in comparison, and cigarettes are' . . . The Professor here rose and languidly crossed over to an empty chair beside the hostess. 'You are vexed with me,' said he, 'and I will admit that much may be said on the merits of the case. If, as we have been lately told, the competitive struggle is destined ever to become more and more fierce, and we arrange our affairs so much less well than ants or bees, it will tax our scientific resources to the uttermost to resist the abuse of the nervous strain upon individuals. I have little doubt that the whole question of the use of stimulants and sedatives must undergo minute scientific investigation. Under this head will come, of course, alcohol and tobacco, and I would even include black coffee in its indiscriminate use, along with lavender drops, sal volatile, and the many other nerve stimulants and sedatives to which this age is addicted. Of course I admit that the question of the nerve-health of women is a very grave one.'

'When women have reasonable occupations we shall hear no more of their nerve-health than we hear of the nerve-health of men,' said Nea, contemptuously.

'I am very glad to hear you say so,' retorted the Professor; 'but I suppose that a woman may be an overworked doctor, writer, or politician as much as a man. I do not know,' continued he, turning to the hostess, 'if you have seen the result of certain recent biological investigations. They are very important if they hold their ground. I mean the theory that the race needs a storing as well as a spending force, and that the storing force is to the full as necessary to the well-being of man as the spending. By the analogy of many examples in the animal kingdom this power of storage should reside in the females of the race.'

'You mean the theory of Anabolism?' said the hostess.

'Yes,' answered he; 'and if my friend, Professor Geddes, can make that good, it will be at our peril that we impair the store of nerve and other power in women.'

'I do not know that I follow you,' said Sir John. '*Anabolism!* what newfangled thing is that? But if you mean that the health of our women is a sacred trust, that they may be set free to discharge their most important functions, then I am with you. I only wish that I could live to see the important changes that are certainly at hand in this respect. But why *Anabolism*? my dear Professor; we used simpler words in my young days.'

'And rightly so,' answered Mr. Golf. 'Anabolism is only a word to express in terms of biology what the good sense of men had discovered for themselves in the practical and moral world.'

'I fail to see what all this has to do with smoking for women,' cried Nea. 'Spanish and Russian women smoke, and why not English women?'

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'Well! of course what we have been saying has only indirectly to do with it,' said the hostess. 'We three,' and she looked at the two gentlemen, 'are agreed so far, that we want all the health that we can get for women, and we look with suspicion upon tobacco. Even if we suppose that the future will scientifically declare to us the sovereign virtues of smoking for women, that time is not yet. And if some foreign women smoke, and it has become a national custom, that does not prove that the practice is a good one, or conduces to their well-being; what we are concerned with as an immediate question is, whether we think it well that our English women should acquire the habit. Let me tell you what a late very eminent physician said to a young lady, a friend of my own, who had consulted him. Her case was obscure, and the great man had asked her many questions. Just as she was going away a new idea seemed to strike him. "Let me ask you one more question," said he; "have you learned to smoke?" "No," was the answer. "Then *don't*," said he so emphatically that she carried away the strongest impression of his conviction against tobacco. I, too, say "don't" in my humble way, but my strongest reason against it is not the physical reason.'

'I care a thousand times more for what you say than for the opinion of the eminent unknown,' said Nea; 'but I am puzzled at your other reason: you are surely not going to dress up for me the "eternal feminine" in new guise. But look at those children!'

They all looked up, and coming round the corner of the house on to the terrace were seen two small children, a boy and a girl. They were very dirty; their boots and holland smocks were stained with wet sand, and in her pinafore the little girl evidently carried a great treasure.

'My dear children,' said the hostess, 'how dirty you are! Where have you been? and where is nurse?'

'Nurse doesn't understand, Aunt Margaret,' said the little girl, 'but we knew you would understand. We have been hunting snails, and Harry says we must race them up the garden-path. It is lovely —a snail race! and see here, this bit of toffee is to be the prize,' and she produced from the handkerchief which held a little brown snail a very battered piece of hardbake.

'And which is your snail, little man?' said the Professor, who had sauntered up; 'and when you have won, do you or the snail eat the prize?'

'I do, of course,' said Harry, 'if I win. And if I do, Aunt Margaret shall have a bit. Now for a fair start!' and the child carefully placed the two snails side by side on the gravel walk.

'We had better go to tea now, Sissy,' said he; 'they go so slow, we might be giving them a shove,' and the voice of nurse being heard, the little people disappeared as they came.

'We should all like to hear your other reason,' said the Professor;

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'pray tell us whilst Ladas and Isinglass here are having it out on the garden-path.'

'It is rather hard to pick up the thread of so grave a discussion on a racecourse,' said the hostess laughing. 'Let me say first that I do not undervalue the physical reason. Motherhood has always seemed to me the crown of a woman's life,' and she sighed; 'who can suppose nicotine to be a useful preparation for the young life to be launched into the world? And for the nursing mother with a cigarette, what can we say? We should have to bury all our pictures of the Madonna fathoms deep that they might not behold so unlovely a sight! Still my other reason is dear to me, and I should like to recommend it to you. It seems to me that in learning to smoke women are binding themselves with new fetters. There is the cost—no inconsiderable item, as I am told, if one has a fine taste—we may be sure women would have that. Then there is the further burden of a smoking costume—we can hardly suppose women will be less fastidious than men in this respect; but, above all, there is the burden of a constantly recurring necessity of life, which imperatively craves satisfaction. Now, we women are as it is bound hand and foot to artificial wants. We have idols of the house, idols of the toilette, idols of society, idols of fashion; and now, in the name of breaking with an old tradition which, as we see, has much to be said in its defence, we propose to enslave ourselves afresh, and to sacrifice to a new idol, more exacting than any of these. In the matter of clothes alone, think how many times a fashionable woman changes her costume every day, to breakfast in, to ride, to drive, to drink tea in, to dine, and now, alas! to smoke in. A poor girl once said to me, "If we were only little grey squirrels, and could make our toilette every morning with a shake of our grey fur!" I am persuaded that many women suffer so much from the fatigue and weariness of spirit that all these sacred rites involve that they have no health or spirit left for the real enjoyment of life. And surely if we read the signs of the times aright, great social changes are in store for us. I am no Puritan, nor do I believe that a level of uniformity is at hand; but I think that the mass of our people will have to return to a plainer mode of life, to a life as sober as that which our great-grandmothers lived before the manufacturing boom of this century. It will be a very good thing for all of us, and will solve a good many of the problems which now agitate women. You remember what the great Russian said, that if we wanted freedom "we must simplify our lives."'

'Do you mean Tolstoi?' interrupted Nea.

'It was one wiser than Tolstoi,' answered the hostess; 'I mean Turgenieff. It seems to me the problem for us all to-day is to "simplify our lives," and though probably for most of us the "rut of centuries" will be too deep, we may assuredly keep clear of new

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hindrances, and certainly of the tyrant tobacco. If we come to think of it, it is the most purely personal of gratifications, even more completely so than eating and drinking. Tobacco happily is not a necessity of existence, and I have faith in my countrywomen that they will never make it one.'

'Well! I am an individualist, as you know,' said the Professor, 'and you forget our new gospel, of the many unfit that the few may be fit. Tobacco may be a new factor in the survival of the fittest.'

'You are always right, my dear friend,' said Sir John, taking the hand of the hostess, 'and I shall often think on what you have said. For me, I am too old to change the habits of a life time. But this, as you know, is my Lady's hour, and I must bid you a good-bye.'

'The real reason against the woman-smoker,' muttered the Professor to himself as he opened the garden gate for Sir John, 'is that we shall never have the smoking-room to ourselves!'

'What a delightful old man!' cried Nea, as the figure of Sir John was seen going down the hill. 'Tell me, does he always speak of his wife as "my Lady"?'

'Always,' answered the hostess. 'I have never known him speak to her or of her in different fashion. My Lady, too, is quite as charming as Sir John.'

'I feel ashamed to think that we should have entertained him with so unlovely a subject. I am afraid it was all my fault. What an odious creature he must have thought me!' said Nea. 'By the way, I want to confess. Do you know that I smoked two cigarettes out of my bedroom window last night?'

'I suspected as much,' said the hostess.

'See!' suddenly cried the Professor, 'my brown snail, Ladas, wins the race, and the little maid gets the prize. It is a pity they go so slow, or I would race them again!'

'Ah!' said the hostess laughing, 'they are like us poor women-folk, they carry such a weight of shell upon their backs.'

E. B. Harrison.

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MUTUAL AID IN THE MEDIÆVAL CITY

II

THE mediæval cities were not organised upon some preconceived plan in obedience to the will of an outside legislator. Each of them was a natural growth in the full sense of the word—an always varying result of struggle between various forces which adjusted and re-adjusted themselves in conformity with their relative energies, the chances of their conflicts, and the support they found in their surroundings. Therefore, there are not two cities whose inner organisation and destinies would have been identical. Each one, taken separately, varies from century to century. And yet, when we cast a broad glance upon all the cities of Europe, the local and national unlikenesses disappear, and we are struck to find among all of them a striking resemblance, although each has developed for itself, independently from the others, and in different conditions. A small town in the north of Scotland, with its population of coarse labourers and fishermen; a rich city of Flanders, with its world-wide commerce, luxury, love of amusement and animated life; an Italian city enriched by its intercourse with the East, and breeding within its walls a refined artistic taste and civilisation; and a poor, chiefly agricultural, city in the marsh and lake district of Russia, seem to have little in common. And nevertheless, the leading lines of their organisation, and the spirit which animates them, are imbued with a strong family likeness. Everywhere we see the same federations of small communities and gilds, the same 'sub-towns' round the mother city, the same folkmote, and the same insigns of its independence. The *defensor* of the city, under different names and in different accoutrements, represents the same authority and interests; food supplies, labour and commerce, are organised on closely similar lines; inner and outer struggles are fought with like ambitions; nay, the very formulæ used in the struggles, as also in the annals, the ordinances, and the rolls, are identical; and the architectural monuments, whether Gothic, Roman, or Byzantine in style, express the same aspirations and the same ideals; they are conceived and

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built in the same way. Many dissemblances are mere differences of age, and those disparities between sister cities which are real are repeated in different parts of Europe. The unity of the leading idea and the identity of origin make up for differences of climate, geographical situation, wealth, language and religion. This is why we can speak of *the* mediæval city as of a well-defined phase of civilisation; and while every research insisting upon local and individual differences is most welcome, we may still indicate the chief lines of development which are common to all cities.[1]

There is no doubt that the protection which used to be accorded to the market-place from the earliest barbarian times has played an important, though not an exclusive, part in the emancipation of the mediæval city. The early barbarians knew no trade within their village communities; they traded with strangers only, at certain definite spots, on certain determined days. And, in order that the stranger might come to the barter-place without risk of being slain for some feud which might be running between two kins, the market was always placed under the special protection of all kins. It was inviolable, like the place of worship under the shadow of which it was held. With the Kabyles it is still *annaya*, like the footpath along which women carry water from the well; neither must be trodden upon in arms, even during inter-tribal wars. In mediæval times the market universally enjoyed the same protection.[2] No feud could be

[1] The literature of the subject is immense; but there is no work yet which treats of the mediæval city as of a whole. For the French Communes, Augustin Thierry's *Lettres* and *Considérations sur l'histoire de France* still remain classical, and Luchaire's *Communes françaises* is a beautiful addition on the same lines. For the cities of Italy, the great work of Sismondi (*Histoire des républiques italiennes du moyen âge*, Paris, 1826, 16 vols.), Leo and Botta's *History of Italy*, Ferrari's *Révolutions d'Italie*, and Hegel's *Geschichte der Städteverfassung in Italien*, are the chief sources of general information. For Germany we have Maurer's *Städteverfassung*, Barthold's *Geschichte der deutschen Städte*, and, of recent works, Hegel's *Städte und Gilden der germanischen Völker* (2 vols. Leipzig, 1891), and Dr. Otto Kallsen's *Die deutschen Städte im Mittelalter* (Halle, 1891, not yet completed), as also Janssen's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes* (5 vols. 1886), which, let us hope, will soon be translated into English (French translation in 1892). For Belgium, A. Wauters, *Les Libertés communales* (Bruxelles, 1869–78, 3 vols.). For Russia, Byelaeff's, Kostomaroff's and Sergievich's works. And finally, for England, we possess one of the best works on cities of a wider region in Mrs. J. R. Green's *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century* (2 vols. London, 1894), which, to my regret, I could peruse only too late to borrow from it more illustrations of English town life. We have, moreover, a wealth of well-known local histories, and several excellent works of general or economical history which I have so often mentioned in this and the preceding essay. The richness of literature consists, however, chiefly in separate, sometimes admirable, researches into the history of separate cities, especially Italian and German; the gilds; the land question; the economical principles of the time; the economical importance of gilds and crafts; the leagues between cities (the Hansa), and communal art. An incredible wealth of information is contained in works of this second category, of which only some of the more important are named in these pages.

[2] Kulischer, in an excellent essay on primitive trade (*Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie*, Bd. x. 380), also points out that, according to Herodotus, the Argippæans

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prosecuted on the place whereto people came to trade, nor within a certain radius from it; and if a quarrel arose in the motley crowd of buyers and sellers, it had to be brought before those under whose protection the market stood—the community's tribunal, or the bishop's, the lord's, or the king's judge. A stranger who came to trade was a guest, and he went on under this very name. Even the lord who had no scruples about robbing a merchant on the high road, respected the *Weichbild*, that is, the pole which stood in the market-place and bore either the king's arms, or a glove, or the image of the local saint, or simply a cross, according to whether the market was under the protection of the king, the lord, the local church, or the folkmote—the *vyeche*.[3]

It is easy to understand how the self-jurisdiction of the city could develop out of the special jurisdiction in the market-place, when this last right was conceded, willingly or not, to the city itself. And such an origin of the city's liberties, which can be traced in very many cases, necessarily laid a special stamp upon their subsequent development. It gave a predominance to the trading part of the community. The burghers who possessed a house in the city at the time being, and were co-owners in the town-lands, constituted very often a merchant gild which held in its hands the city's trade; and although at the outset every burgher, rich and poor, could make part of the merchant gild, and the trade itself seems to have been carried on for the entire city by its trustees, the gild gradually became a sort of privileged body. It jealously prevented the outsiders who soon began to flock into the free cities from entering the gild, and kept the advantages resulting from trade for the few 'families' which had been burghers at the time of the emancipation. There evidently was a danger of a merchant oligarchy being thus constituted. But already in the tenth, and still more during the two next centuries, the chief crafts, also organised in gilds, were powerful enough to check the oligarchic tendencies of the merchants. The craft gild being then a common seller of its produce and a common buyer of the raw materials, its members were merchants and manual workers at the same time; and the predominance taken by the old craft gilds from the very beginnings of the free city life guaranteed to manual labour the high position which it afterwards occupied

were considered inviolable, because the trade between the Scythians and the northern tribes took place on their territory. A fugitive was sacred on their territory, and they were often asked to act as arbiters for their neighbours.

[3] Some discussion has lately taken place upon the *Weichbild* and the *Weichbild*-law, which still remain obscure (see Zöpfl, *Alterthümer des deutschen Reichs und Rechts*, iii. 29; Kallsen, i. 316). The above explanation seems to be the more probable, but, of course, it must be tested by further research. It is also evident that, to use a Scotch expression, the 'mercet cross' could be considered as an emblem of Church jurisdiction, but we find it both in bishop cities and in those in which the folkmote was sovereign.

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in the city.[4] In fact, in a mediæval city manual labour was no token of inferiority; it bore, on the contrary, traces of the high respect it had been kept in in the village community. Manual labour in a 'mystery' was considered as a pious duty towards the citizens, as a public function (*Amt*), as honourable as any other. An idea of 'justice' to the community, of 'right' towards both producer and consumer, which would seem so extravagant now, penetrated production and exchange. The tanner's, the cooper's, or the shoemaker's work must be 'just,' fair, they wrote in those times. Wood, leather or thread which are used by the artisan must be 'right'; bread must be baked 'in justice,' and so on. Transport this language into our present life, and it would seem affected and unnatural; but it was natural and unaffected then, because the mediæval artisan did not produce for an unknown buyer, or to throw his goods into an unknown market. He produced for his gild first; for a brotherhood of men who knew each other, knew the technics of the craft, and, in naming the price of each product, could appreciate the skill displayed in its fabrication or the labour bestowed upon it. Then the gild, not the separate producer, offered the goods for sale in the community, and this last, in its turn, offered to the brotherhood of allied communities those goods which were exported, and assumed responsibility for their quality. With such an organisation, it was the ambition of each craft not to offer goods of inferior quality, and technical defects or adulterations became a matter concerning the whole community, because, an ordinance says, 'they would destroy public confidence.'[5] Production being thus a social duty, placed under the control of the whole *amitas*, manual labour could not fall into the degraded condition which it occupies now, so long as the free city was living.

A difference between master and apprentice, or between master and worker (*compayne*, *Geselle*), existed in the mediæval cities from their very beginnings; but this was at the outset a mere difference of age and skill, not of wealth and power. After a seven years' apprentice-

[4] For all concerning the merchant gild see Mr. Gross's exhaustive work, *The Gild Merchant* (Oxford, 1890, 2 vols.); also Mrs. Green's remarks in *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, vol. ii. chaps. v. viii. x.; and A. Doren's review of the subject in Schmoller's *Forschungen*, vol. xii. If the considerations indicated in the first part of this essay (according to which trade was communal at its beginnings) prove to be correct, it will be permissible to suggest as a probable hypothesis that the gild merchant was a body entrusted with commerce in the interest of the whole city, and only gradually became a gild of merchants trading for themselves; while the merchant adventurers of this country, the Novgorod *povolniki* (free colonisers and merchants) and the *mercati personati*, would be those to whom it was left to open new markets and new branches of commerce for themselves. Altogether, it must be remarked that the origin of the mediæval city can be ascribed to no separate agency. It was a result of *many* agencies in different degrees.

[5] Janssen's *Geschichte des deutschen Volkes*, i. 315; Gramich's *Würzburg*; and, in fact, any collection of ordinances.

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ship, and after having proved his knowledge and capacities by a work of art, the apprentice became a master himself. And only much later, in the sixteenth century, after the royal power had destroyed the city and the craft organisation, was it possible to become master in virtue of simple inheritance or wealth. But this was also the time of a general decay in mediæval industries and art.

There was not much room for hired work in the early flourishing periods of the mediæval cities, still less for individual hirelings. The work of the weavers, the archers, the smiths, the bakers, and so on, was performed for the craft and the city; and when craftsmen were hired in the building trades, they worked as temporary corporations (as they still do in the Russian *artels*), whose work was paid *en bloc*. Work for a master began to multiply only later on; but even in this case the worker was paid better than he is paid now, even in this country, and very much better than he used to be paid all over Europe in the first half of this century. Thorold Rogers has familiarised English readers with this idea; but the same is true for the Continent as well, as is shown by the researches of Falke and Schönberg, and by many occasional indications. Even in the fifteenth century a mason, a carpenter, or a smith worker would be paid at Amiens four *sols* a day, which corresponded to forty-eight pounds of bread, or to the eighth part of a small ox (*bouvard*). In Saxony, the salary of the *Geselle* in the building trade was such that, to put it in Falke's words, he could buy with his six days' wages three sheep and one pair of shoes.[6] The donations of workers (*Geselle*) to cathedrals also bear testimony of their relative well-being, to say nothing of the glorious donations of certain craft gilds nor of what they used to spend in festivities and pageants.[7] In fact, the more we learn about the mediæval city, the more we are convinced that at no time has labour enjoyed such conditions of prosperity and such respect as when city life stood at its highest.

More than that; not only many aspirations of our modern radicals were already realised in the middle ages, but much of what is described now as Utopian was accepted then as a matter of fact. We are laughed at when we say that work must be pleasant, but—'everyone must be pleased with his work,' a mediæval Kuttenberg ordi-

[6] Falke, *Geschichtliche Statistik*, i. 373–393, and ii. 66; quoted in Janssen's *Geschichte*, i. 339; J. D. Blavignac, in *Comptes et dépenses de la construction du clocher de Saint-Nicolas à Fribourg en Suisse*, comes to a similar conclusion. For Amiens, De Calonne's *Vie Municipale*, p. 99 and Appendix. For a thorough appreciation and graphical representation of the mediæval wages in this country and their value, see G. Steffen's excellent article in this Review for 1891.

[7] To quote but one example out of many which may be found in Schönberg's and Falke's works, the sixteen shoemaker workers (*Schusterknechte*) of the town Xanten, on the Rhine, gave, for erecting a screen and an altar in the church, 75 guldens of subscriptions, and 12 guldens out of their box, which money was worth, according to the best valuations, ten times its present value.

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nance says, 'and no one shall, while doing nothing, (*mit nichts thun*), appropriate for himself what others have produced by application and work, because laws must be a shield for application and work.'[8] And amidst all present talk about an eight hours' day, it may be well to remember an ordinance of Ferdinand the First relative to the Imperial coal mines, which settled the miner's day at eight hours, 'as it used to be of old' (*wie vor Alters herkommen*), and work on Saturday afternoon was prohibited. Longer hours were very rare, we are told by Janssen, while shorter hours were of common occurrence. In this country, in the fifteenth century, Rogers says, 'the workmen worked only forty-eight hours a week.'[9] The Saturday half-holiday, too, which we consider as a modern conquest, was in reality an old mediæval institution; it was bathing-time for a great part of the community, while Wednesday afternoon was bathing-time for the *Geselle*.[10] And although school meals did not exist—probably because no children went hungry to school—a distribution of bath-money to the children whose parents found difficulty in providing it was habitual in several places. As to Labour Congresses, they also were a regular feature of the middle ages. In some parts of Germany craftsmen of the same trade, belonging to different communes, used to come together every year to discuss questions relative to their trade, the years of apprenticeship, the wandering years, the wages, and so on; and in 1572, the Hanseatic towns formally recognised the right of the crafts to come together at periodical congresses, and to take any resolutions, so long as they were not contrary to the cities' rolls, relative to the quality of goods. Such Labour Congresses, partly international like the Hansa itself, are known to have been held by bakers, founders, smiths, tanners, sword-makers and cask-makers.[11]

The craft organisation required, of course, a close supervision of the craftsmen by the gild, and special jurates were always nominated for that purpose. But it is most remarkable that, so long as the cities lived their free life, no complaints were heard about the supervision; while, after the State had stepped in, confiscating the property of the gilds and destroying their independence in favour of its own bureaucracy, the complaints became simply countless.[12] On the other hand, the immensity of progress realised in all arts under the

[8] Quoted by Janssen, *l.c.* i. 343.

[9] Janssen, *l.c.* See also Dr. Alwin Schultz, *Deutsches Leben im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert*, grosse Ausgabe, Wien, 1892, pp. 67, *seq.*

[10] *The Economical Interpretation of History*, London, 1891, p. 303.

[11] W. Stieda, 'Hansische Vereinbarungen über städtisches Gewerbe im XIV. und XV. Jahrhundert,' in *Hansische Geschichtsblätter*, Jahrgang 1886, p. 121. Schönberg's *Wirthschaftliche Bedeutung der Zünfte*; also, partly, Roscher.

[12] See Toulmin Smith's deeply felt remarks about the royal spoliation of the gilds, in Miss Smith's Introduction to *English Gilds*. In France the same royal spoliation and abolition of the gilds' jurisdiction was begun from 1306, and the final blow was struck in 1382 (Fagniez, *l.c.* pp. 52–54).

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mediæval gild system is the best proof that the system was no hindrance to individual initiative.[13] The fact is, that the mediæval gild, like the mediæval parish, 'street,' or 'quarter,' was not a body of citizens, placed under the control of State functionaries; it was a union of all men connected with a given trade: jurate buyers of raw produce, sellers of manufactured goods, and artisans—masters, 'compaynes,' and apprentices. For the inner organisation of the trade its assembly was sovereign, so long as it did not hamper the other gilds, in which case the matter was brought before the gild of the gilds—the city. But there was in it something more than that. It had its own self-jurisdiction, its own military force, its own general assemblies, its own traditions of struggles, glory, and independence, its own relations with other gilds of the same trade in other cities: it had, in a word, a full organic life which could only result from the integrality of the vital functions. When the town was called to arms, the gild appeared as a separate company (*Schaar*), armed with its own arms (or its own guns, lovingly decorated by the gild, at a subsequent epoch), under its own self-elected commanders. It was, in a word, as independent a unit of the federation as the republic of Uri or Geneva was fifty years ago in the Swiss Confederation. So that, to compare it with a modern trade union, divested of all attributes of State sovereignty, and reduced to a couple of functions of secondary importance, is as unreasonable as to compare Florence or Brügge with a French commune vegetating under the Code Napoléon, or with a Russian town placed under Catherine the Second's municipal law. Both have elected mayors, and the latter has also its craft corporations; but the difference is—all the difference that exists between Florence and Fontenay-les-Oies or Tsarevokokshaisk, or between a Venetian doge and a modern mayor who lifts his hat before the *sous-préfet's* clerk.

The mediæval gilds were capable of maintaining their independence; and, later on, especially in the fourteenth century, when, in consequence of several causes which shall presently be indicated, the old municipal life underwent a deep modification, the younger crafts proved strong enough to conquer their due share in the management of the city affairs. The masses, organised in 'minor' arts, rose to wrest the power out of the hands of a growing oligarchy, and mostly succeeded in this task, opening again a new era of prosperity. True, that in some cities the uprising was crushed in blood, and mass

[13] Adam Smith and his contemporaries knew well what they were condemning when they wrote against the *State* interference in trade and the trade monopolies of *State* creation. Unhappily, their followers, with their hopeless superficiality, flung mediæval gilds and State interference into the same sack, making no distinction between a Versailles edict and a gild ordinance. It hardly need be said that the economists who have seriously studied the subject, like Schönberg (the editor of the well-known course of *Political Economy*), never fell into such an error. But, till lately, diffuse discussions of the above type went on for economical 'science.'

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decapitations of workers followed, as was the case in Paris in 1306, and in Cologne in 1371. In such cases the city's liberties rapidly fell into decay, and the city was gradually subdued by the central authority. But the majority of the towns had preserved enough of vitality to come out of the turmoil with a new life and vigour.[14] A new period of rejuvenescence was their reward. New life was infused, and it found its expression in splendid architectural monuments, in a new period of prosperity, in a sudden progress of technics and invention, and in a new intellectual movement leading to the Renaissance and to the Reformation.

The life of a mediæval city was a succession of hard battles to conquer liberty and to maintain it. True, that a strong and tenacious race of burghers had developed during those fierce contests; true, that love and worship of the mother city had been bred by these struggles, and that the grand things achieved by the mediæval communes were a direct outcome of that love. But the sacrifices which the communes had to sustain in the battle for freedom were, nevertheless, cruel, and left deep traces of division on their inner life as well. Very few cities had succeeded, under a concurrence of favourable circumstances, in obtaining liberty at one stroke, and these few mostly lost it equally easily; while the great number had to fight fifty or a hundred years in succession, often more, before their rights to free life had been recognised, and another hundred years to found their liberty on a firm basis—the twelfth century characters thus being but one of the stepping-stones to freedom.[15] In reality, the mediæval city was a fortified oasis amidst a country plunged into feudal submission, and it had to make room for itself by the force of its arms. In consequence of the causes briefly alluded to in the first part of this paper, each village community had gradually fallen under the yoke of some lay or clerical lord. His house had grown to be

[14] In Florence the seven minor arts made their revolution in 1270–82, and its results are fully described by Perrens (*Histoire de Florence*, Paris, 1877, 3 vols.), and especially by Gino Capponi (*Storia della repubblica di Firenze*, 2da edizione, 1876, i. 58–80; translated into German). In Rostock the same movement took place in 1313; in Zürich in 1336; in Bern in 1363; in Braunschweig in 1374, and next year in Hamburg; in Lübeck in 1376–84; and so on. See Schmoller's *Strassburg zur Zeit der Zunftkämpfe* and *Strassburg's Blüthe*; Brentano's *Arbeitergilden der Gegenwart*, 2 vols. Leipzig, 1871–72; Eb. Bain's *Merchant and Craft Gilds*, Aberdeen, 1887, pp. 26–47, 75, &c. As to Mr. Gross's opinion relative to the same struggles in England, see Mrs. Green's remarks in her *Town Life in the Fifteenth Century*, ii. 190–217; also the chapter on the Labour Question, and, in fact, the whole of this extremely interesting volume. Brentano's views on the crafts' struggles, expressed especially in §§ iii. and iv. of his essay 'On the History and Development of Gilds,' in T. Smith's *English Gilds*, remain classical for the subject, and may be said to have been again and again confirmed by subsequent research.

[15] To give but one example—Cambrai made its first revolution in 907, and, after three or four more revolts, it obtained its charter in 1076. This charter was repealed twice (in 1107 and 1138), and twice obtained again (in 1127 and 1180). Total, 223 years of struggles before conquering the right to independence.

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ac astle, and his brothers-in-arms were now the scum of adventurers, always ready to plunder the peasants. In addition to three days a week which the peasants had to work for the lord, they had also to bear all sorts of exactions for the right to sow and to crop, to be gay or sad, to live, to marry, or to die. And, worst of all, they were continually plundered by the armed robbers of some neighbouring lord, who chose to consider them as their master's kin, and to take upon themselves, their cattle, or their crops, the revenge for a feud he was fighting against their owner. Every meadow, every field, every river, and road around the city, and every man upon the land belonged to some lord.[16]

Freedom could not be maintained in such surroundings, and the cities were compelled to carry on the war outside their walls. The burghers sent out emissaries to lead revolt in the villages; they received villages into their corporations, and they waged direct war against the nobles. In Italy, where the land was thickly sprinkled with feudal castles, the war assumed heroic proportions, and was fought with a stern acrimony on both sides. Florence sustained for seventy-seven years a succession of bloody wars, in order to free its *contado* from the nobles; but when the conquest had been accomplished (in 1181) all had to begin anew. The nobles rallied; they constituted their own leagues in opposition to the leagues of the towns, and, receiving fresh support from either the Emperor or the Pope, they made the war last for another 130 years. The same took place in Rome, in Lombardy, all over Italy.

Prodigies of valour, audacity, and tenaciousness were displayed by the citizens in these wars. But the bows and the hatchets of the arts and crafts had not always the upper hand in their encounters with the armour-clad knights, and many castles withstood the ingenious machinery and the perseverance of the citizens. Some cities, like

[16] The hatred of the burghers towards the feudal barons is best expressed in the wording of the charters which they compelled them to sign. Heinrich der Fünfte is made to sign in the charter granted to Speier in 1111, that he frees the burghers from 'the horrible and execrable law of mortmain, through which the town has been sunk into deepest poverty (*von dem scheusslichen und nichtswürdigen Gesetze, welches gemein Budel genannt wird*) (Kallsen, i. 307). The *coutume* of Bayonne, written about 1273 contains such passages as: 'The people is anterior to the lords. It is the people, more numerous than all others, who, desirous of peace, has made the lords for bridling and knocking down the powerful ones,' and so on (Giry, *Etablissements de Rouen*, i. 117, quoted by Luchaire, p. 24). A charter submitted for King Robert's signature is equally characteristic. He is made to say in it: 'I shall rob no oxen nor other animals. I shall seize no merchants, nor take their moneys, nor impose ransom. From Lady Day to the All Saints' Day I shall seize no horse, nor mare, nor foals, in the meadows. I shall not burn the mills, nor rob the flour. . . . I shall offer no protection to thieves,' &c. (Pfister has published that document, reproduced by Luchaire). The charter 'granted' by the Besançon Archbishop Hugues, in which he has been compelled to enumerate all the mischiefs due to his mortmain rights, is equally characteristic (see Tuetey, 'Etude sur le droit municipal . . . en Franche-Comté,' in *Mémoires de la Société d'émulation de Montbéliard*, 2e série, ii. 129, *seq.*). And so on.

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Florence, Bologna, and many towns in France, Germany, and Bohemia, succeeded in emancipating the surrounding villages, and they were rewarded for their efforts by an extraordinary prosperity and tranquillity. But even here, and still more in the less strong or less impulsive towns, the merchants and artisans, exhausted by war, and misunderstanding their own interests, bargained over the peasants' heads. They compelled the lord to swear allegiance to the city; his country castle was dismantled, and he agreed to build a house and to reside in the city, of which he became a co-burgher (*com-bourgeois, con-cittadino*); but he maintained in return most of his rights upon the peasants, who only won a partial relief from their burdens. The burgher could not understand that equal rights of citizenship might be granted to the peasant upon whose food supplies he had to rely, and a deep rent was traced between town and village. In some cases the peasants simply changed owners, the city buying out the barons' rights and selling them in shares to her own citizens.[17] Serfdom was maintained, and only much later on, towards the end of the thirteenth century, it was the craft revolution which undertook to put an end to it, and abolished personal servitude, but dispossessed at the same time the serfs of the land.[18] It hardly need be added that the fatal results of such policy were soon felt by the cities themselves; the country became the city's enemy.

The war against the castles had another bad effect. It involved the cities in a long succession of mutual wars, which have given origin to the theory, till lately in vogue, namely, that the towns lost their independence through their own jealousies and mutual fights. The imperialist historians have especially supported this theory, which, however, is very much undermined now by modern research. It is certain that in Italy cities fought each other with a stubborn animosity, but nowhere else did such contests attain the same proportions; and in Italy itself the city wars, especially those of the earlier period, had their special causes. They were (as was already shown by Sismondi and Ferrari) a mere continuation of the war against the castles—the free municipal and federative principle unavoidably entering into a fierce contest with feudalism, imperialism, and papacy. Many towns which had but partially shaken off the yoke of the bishop, the lord, or the Emperor, were simply driven against the free cities by the nobles, the Emperor, and Church, whose policy was to divide the cities and to arm them against each other. These special circumstances (partly reflected on to Germany also)

[17] This seems to have been often the case in Italy. In Switzerland Bern bought even the towns of Thun and Burgdorf.

[18] Such was, at least, the case in the cities of Tuscany (Florence, Lucca, Sienna, Bologna, &c.), for which the relations between city and peasants are best known. (Luchitzkiy, 'Slavery and Russian Slaves in Florence,' in Kieff University *Izvestia* for 1885, who has perused Rumohr's *Ursprung der Besitzlosigkeit der Colonien in Toscana*, 1830).

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explain why the Italian towns, some of which sought support with the Emperor to combat the Pope, while the others sought support from the Church to resist the Emperor, were soon divided into a Gibelin and a Guelf camp, and why the same division appeared in each separate city.[19]

The immense economical progress realised by most Italian cities just at the time when these wars were hottest,[20] and the alliances so easily concluded between towns, still better characterise those struggles and further undermine the above theory. Already in the years 1130–1150 powerful leagues came into existence; and a few years later, when Frederick Barbarossa invaded Italy and, supported by the nobles and some retardatory cities, marched against Milan, popular enthusiasm was roused in many towns by popular preachers. Crema, Piacenza, Brescia, Tortona, &c., went to the rescue; the banners of the gilds of Verona, Padua, Vicenza, and Trevisa floated side by side in the cities' camp against the banners of the Emperor and the nobles. Next year the Lombardian League came into existence, and sixty years later we see it reinforced by many other cities, and forming a lasting organisation which had half of its federal war-chest in Genoa, and the other half in Venice.[21] In Tuscany, Florence headed another powerful league, to which Lucca, Bologna, Pistoia, &c., belonged, and which played an important part in crushing down the nobles in middle Italy, while smaller leagues were of common occurrence. It is thus certain that although petty jealousies undoubtedly existed, and discord could be easily sown, they did not prevent the towns from uniting together for the common defence of liberty. Only later on, when separate cities became little States, wars broke out between them, as always must be the case when States struggle for supremacy or colonies.

Similar leagues were formed in Germany for the same purpose. When, under the successors of Conrad, the land was the prey of the interminable feuds between the nobles, the Westphalian towns concluded a league against the knights, one of the clauses of which was never to lend money to a knight who would continue to conceal stolen goods.[22] When 'the knights and the nobles lived on plunder, and murdered whom they chose to murder,' as the *Wormser Zorn* complains, the cities on the Rhine (Mainz, Cologne, Speier, Strasburg, and Basel) took the initiative of a league which soon numbered

[19] Ferrari's generalisations are often too theoretical to be always correct; but his views upon the part played by the nobles in the city wars are based upon a wide range of authenticated facts.

[20] Only such cities as stubbornly kept to the cause of the barons, like Pisa or Verona, lost through the wars. For many towns which fought on the barons' side, the defeat was also the beginning of liberation and progress.

[21] Ferrari, ii. 18, 104, *seq.*; Leo and Botta, i. 432.

[22] Joh. Falke, *Die Hansa als Deutsche See- und Handelsmacht*, Berlin, 1868, pp. 31, 55.

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sixty allied towns, repressed the robbers, and maintained peace. Later on, the league of the towns of Suabia, divided into three 'peace districts' (Augsburg, Constance, and Ulm), had the same purpose. And even when such leagues were broken,[23] they lived long enough to show that while the supposed peacemakers—the kings, the emperors, and the Church—fomented discord, and were themselves helpless against the robber knights, it was from the cities that the impulse came for re-establishing peace and union. The cities—not the emperors—were the real makers of the national unity.[24]

Similar federations were organised for the same purpose among small villages, and now that attention has been drawn to this subject by Luchaire we may expect soon to learn much more about them. Villages joined into small federations in the *contado* of Florence, so also in the dependencies of Novgorod and Pskov. As to France, there is positive evidence of a federation of seventeen peasant villages which has existed in the Laonnais for nearly a hundred years (till 1256), and has fought hard for its independence. Three more peasant republics, which had sworn charters similar to those of Laon and Soissons, existed in the neighbourhood of Laon, and, their territories being contiguous, they supported each other in their liberation wars. Altogether, Luchaire is of the opinion that many such federations must have come into existence in France in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, but that documents relative to them are mostly lost. Of course, being unprotected by walls, they could easily be crushed down by the kings and the lords; but in certain favourable circumstances, when they found support in a league of towns and protection in their mountains, such peasant republics became independent units of the Swiss Confederation.[25]

As to unions between cities for peaceful purposes, they were of quite common occurrence. The intercourse which had been established during the period of liberation was not interrupted afterwards. Sometimes, when the *scabini* of a German town, having to pronounce judgment in a new or complicated case, declared that they knew not the sentence (*des Urtheiles nicht weise zu sein*), they sent delegates to another city to get the sentence. The same happened also in France;[26] while Forli and Ravenna are known to have mutually

[23] For Aachen and Cologne we have direct testimony that the bishops of these two cities—one of them bought by the enemy—opened to him the gates.

[24] See the facts, though not always the conclusions, of Nitzsch, iii. 133, *seq.*; also Kallsen, i. 458, &c.

[25] On the Commune of the Laonnais, which, until Melleville's researches (*Histoire de la Commune du Laonnais*, Paris, 1853), was confounded with the Commune of Laon, see Luchaire, pp. 75, *seq.* For the early peasants' gilds and subsequent unions see R. Wilman's 'Die ländlichen Schutzgilden Westphaliens,' in *Zeitschrift für Kulturgeschichte*, neue Folge, Bd. iii., quoted in Henne-am-Rhyn's *Kulturgeschichte*, iii. 249.

[26] Luchaire, p. 149.

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naturalised their citizens and granted them full rights in both cities. To submit a contest arisen between two towns, or within a city, to another commune which was invited to act as arbiter, was also in the spirit of the times.[27] As to commercial treaties between cities, they were quite habitual.[28] Unions for regulating the production and the sizes of casks which were used for the commerce in wine, 'herring unions,' and so on, were mere precursors of the great commercial federations of the Flemish Hansa, and, later on, of the great North German Hansa, the history of which alone might contribute pages and pages to illustrate the federation spirit which permeated men at that time. It hardly need be added, that through the Hanseatic unions the mediæval cities have contributed more to the development of international intercourse, navigation, and maritime discovery than all the States of the first seventeen centuries of our era.

In a word, federations between small territorial units, as well as among men united by common pursuits within their respective gilds, and federations between cities and groups of cities constituted the very essence of life and thought during that period. The first five of the second decade of centuries of our era may thus be described as an immense attempt at securing mutual aid and support on a grand scale, by means of the principles of federation and association carried on through all manifestations of human life and to all possible degrees. This attempt was attended with success to a very great extent. It united men formerly divided; it secured them a very great deal of freedom, and it tenfolded their forces. At a time when particularism was bred by so many agencies, and the causes of discord and jealousy might have been so numerous, it is gratifying to see that cities scattered over a wide continent had so much in common, and were so ready to confederate for the prosecution of so many common aims. They succumbed in the long run before powerful enemies; not having understood the mutual aid principle widely enough, they themselves committed fatal faults; but they did not perish through their own jealousies, and their errors were not a want of federation spirit among themselves.

The results of that new move which mankind made in the mediæval city were immense. At the beginning of the eleventh century the towns of Europe were small clusters of miserable huts, adorned but with low clumsy churches, the builders of which hardly knew how to make an arch; the arts, mostly consisting of some

[27] Two important cities, like Mainz and Worms, would settle a political contest by means of arbitration. After a civil war broken out in Abbeville, Amiens would act, in 1231, as arbiter (Luchaire, 149); and so on.

[28] See, for instance, W. Stieda, *Hansische Vereinbarungen*, *l.c.* p. 114.

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weaving and forging, were in their infancy; learning was found in but a few monasteries. Three hundred and fifty years later, the very face of Europe had been changed. The land was dotted with rich cities, surrounded by immense thick walls which were embellished by towers and gates, each of them a work of art in itself. The cathedrals, conceived in a grand style and profusely decorated, lifted their bell-towers to the skies, displaying a purity of form and a boldness of imagination which we now vainly strive to attain. The crafts and arts had risen to a degree of perfection which we can hardly boast of having superseded in many directions, if the inventive skill of the worker and the superior finish of his work be appreciated higher than rapidity of fabrication. The navies of the free cities furrowed in all directions the Northern and the Southern Mediterranean; one effort more, and they would cross the oceans. Over large tracts of land well-being had taken the place of misery; learning had grown and spread. The methods of science had been elaborated; the basis of natural philosophy had been laid down; and the way had been paved for all the mechanical inventions of which our own times are so proud. Such were the magic changes accomplished in Europe in less than four hundred years. And the losses which Europe sustained through the loss of its free cities can only be understood when we compare the seventeenth century with the fourteenth or the thirteenth. The prosperity which formerly characterised Scotland, Germany, the plains of Italy, was gone. The roads had fallen into an abject state, the cities were depopulated, labour was brought into slavery, art had vanished, commerce itself was decaying.[29]

If the mediæval cities had bequeathed to us no written documents to testify of their splendour, and left nothing behind but the monuments of building art which we see now all over Europe, from Scotland to Italy, and from Gerona in Spain to Breslau in Slavonian territory, we might yet conclude that the times of independent city life were times of the greatest development of human intellect during the Christian era down to the end of the eighteenth century. On looking, for instance, at a mediæval picture representing Nuremberg with its scores of towers and lofty spires, each of which bore the stamp of free creative art, we can hardly conceive that three hundred years before the town was but a collection of miserable hovels. And our admiration grows when we go into the details of the architecture and decorations of each of the countless churches, bell towers, gates, and communal houses which are scattered all over Europe as far east as Bohemia

[29] Cosmo Innes's *Early Scottish History* and *Scotland in Middle Ages*, quoted by Rev. Denton, *l.c.* pp. 68, 69; Lamprecht's *Deutsches wirthschaftliche Leben im Mittelalter*, review by Schmoller in his *Jahrbuch*, Bd. xii.; Sismondi's *Tableau de l'agriculture toscane*, pp. 226, *seq.* The dominions of Florence could be recognised at a glance through their prosperity.

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and the now dead towns of Polish Galicia. Not only Italy, that mother of art, but all Europe is full of such monuments. The very fact that of all arts architecture—a social art above all—had attained the highest development, is significant in itself. To be what it was, it must have originated from an eminently social life.

Mediæval architecture attained its grandeur—not only because it was a natural development of handicraft; not only because each building, each architectural decoration, had been devised by men who knew through the experience of their own hands what artistic effects can be obtained from stone, iron, bronze, or even from simple logs and mortar; not only because each monument was a result of collective experience, accumulated in each 'mystery' or craft [30]—it was grand because it was borne out of a grand idea. Like Greek art, it sprang out of a conception of brotherhood and unity fostered by the city. It had an audacity which could only be won by audacious struggles and victories; it had that expression of vigour, because vigour permeated all the life of the city. A cathedral or a communal house symbolised the grandeur of an organism of which every mason and stonecutter was the builder, and a mediæval building appears—not as a solitary effort to which thousands of slaves would have contributed the share assigned them by one man's imagination; all the city contributed to it. The lofty bell tower rose upon a structure, grand in itself, in which the life of the city was throbbing—not upon a meaningless scaffold like the Paris iron tower, not as a sham structure in stone intended to conceal the ugliness of an iron frame, as has been done in the Tower Bridge. Like the Acropolis of Athens, the cathedral of a mediæval city was intended to glorify the grandeur of the victorious city, to symbolise the union of its crafts, to express the glory of each citizen in a city of his own creation. After having achieved its craft revolution, the city often began a new cathedral in order to express the new, wider, and broader union which had been called into life.

The means at hand for these grand undertakings were disproportionately small. Cologne Cathedral was begun with a yearly outlay of but 500 marks; a gift of 100 marks was inscribed as a grand donation; [31] and even when the work approached completion, and gifts

[30] Mr. John J. Ennett (*Six Essays*, London, 1891) has excellent pages on this aspect of mediæval architecture. Mr. Willis, in his appendix to Whewell's *History of Inductive Sciences* (i. 261–262), has pointed out the beauty of the mechanical relations in mediæval buildings. 'A new decorative construction was matured,' he writes, 'not thwarting and controlling, but assisting and harmonising with the mechanical construction. Every member, every moulding, becomes a sustainer of weight; and by the multiplicity of props assisting each other, and the consequent subdivision of weight, the eye was satisfied of the stability of the structure, notwithstanding curiously slender aspects of the separate parts.' An art which sprang out of the *social* life of the city could not be better characterised.

[31] Dr. L. Ennen, *Der Dom zu Köln, seine Construction und Anstaltung*. Köln, 1871.

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poured in in proportion, the yearly outlay in money stood at about 5,000 marks, and never exceeded 14,000. The cathedral of Basel was built with equally small means. But each corporation contributed its part of stone, work, and decorative genius to *their* common monument. Each gild expressed in it its political conceptions, telling in stone or in bronze the history of the city, glorifying the principles of 'Liberty, equality, and fraternity,'[32] praising the city's allies, and sending to eternal fire its enemies. And each gild bestowed its *love* upon the communal monument by richly decorating it with stained windows, paintings, 'gates, worthy to be the gates of Paradise,' as Michel Angelo said, or stone decorations of each minutest corner of the building.[33] Small cities, even small parishes,[34] vied with the big agglomerations in this work, and the cathedrals of Laon and St. Ouen hardly stand behind that of Rheims, or the Communal House of Bremen, or the folkmote's bell tower of Breslau. 'No works must be begun by the commune but such as are conceived in response to the grand heart of the commune, composed of the hearts of all citizens, united in one common will'—such were the words of the Council of Florence; and this spirit appears in all communal works of common utility, such as the canals, terraces, vineyards, and fruit gardens around Florence, or the irrigation canals which intersected the plains of Lombardy, or the port and aqueduct of Genoa, or, in fact, any works of the kind which were achieved by almost every city.[35]

All arts had progressed in the same way in the mediæval cities, those of our own days mostly being but a continuation of what had grown at that time. The prosperity of the Flemish cities was based upon the fine woollen cloth they fabricated. Florence, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, before the black death, fabricated from 70,000 to 100,000 *panni* of woollen stuffs, which were valued at 1,200,000 golden florins.[36] The chiselling of precious metals, the

[32] The three statues are among the outer decorations of Notre Dame de Paris.

[33] Mediæval art, like Greek art, did not know those curiosity-shops which we call a National Gallery or a Museum. A picture was painted, a statue was carved, a bronze decoration was cast to stand in its proper place in a monument of communal art. It lived there, it was part of a whole, and it contributed to give unity to the impression produced by the whole.

[34] Cf. J. T. Ennett's 'Second Essay,' p. 36.

[35] Sismondi, iv. 172; xvi. 356. The great canal, *Naviglio Grande*, which brings the water from the Tessino, was begun in 1179, *i.e.* after the conquest of independence, and it was ended in the thirteenth century. On the subsequent decay, see xvi. 355.

[36] In 1336 it had 8,000 to 10,000 boys and girls in its primary schools, 1,000 to 1,200 boys in its seven middle schools, and from 550 to 600 students in its four universities. The thirty communal hospitals contained over 1,000 beds for a population of 90,000 inhabitants (Capponi, ii. 249, *seq.*). It has more than once been suggested by authoritative writers that education stood, as a rule, at a much higher level than is generally supposed. Certainly so in democratic Nuremberg.

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art of casting, the fine forging of iron, were creations of the mediæval 'mysteries' which had succeeded in attaining in their own domains all that could be made by the hand, without the use of a powerful prime motor. By the hand and by invention, because, to use Whewell's words:

> Parchment and paper, printing and engraving, improved glass and steel, gunpowder, clocks, telescopes, the mariner's compass, the reformed calendar, the decimal notation; algebra, trigonometry, chemistry, counterpoint (an invention equivalent to a new creation of music); these are all possessions which we inherit from that which has so disparagingly been termed the Stationary Period (*History of Inductive Sciences*, i. 252).

True that no new principle was illustrated by any of these discoveries, as Whewell said; but mediæval science had done something more than the actual discovery of new principles. It had prepared the discovery of all we know at the present time in mechanical sciences by accustoming the explorer to observe facts and to reason from them. It was inductive science, even though it had not yet fully grasped the importance and the powers of induction; and it laid the foundations of both mechanics and natural philosophy. Lord Bacon, Galileo, and Copernicus were the direct descendants of a Roger Bacon and a Michael Scot, as the steam engine was a direct product of the researches carried on in the Italian universities and of the mathematical and technical learning which characterised Nuremberg.

But why should one take trouble to insist upon the advance of science and art in the mediæval city? Is it not enough to point to the cathedrals in the domain of skill, and to the Italian language and the poem of Dante in the domain of thought, to give at once the measure of what the mediæval city *created* during the four centuries it lived?

The mediæval cities have undoubtedly rendered an immense service to European civilisation. They have prevented it from being drifted into the theocracies and despotical states of old; they have endowed it with the variety, the self-reliance, the force of initiative, and the immense intellectual and material energies it now possesses, which are the best pledge for its being able to resist any new invasion of the East. But why did these centres of civilisation, which attempted to answer to deeply seated needs of human nature, and were so full of life, not live further on? Why were they seized with senile debility in the sixteenth century? and, after having repulsed so many assaults from without, and only borrowed new vigour from their interior struggles, why did they finally succumb to both?

Various causes contributed to this effect, some of them having

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their roots in the remote past, while others originated in the mistakes committed by the cities themselves. Towards the end of the fifteenth century, mighty States, reconstructed on the old Roman pattern, were already coming into existence. In each country and each region some feudal lord, more cunning, more given to hoarding, and often less scrupulous than his neighbours, had succeeded in appropriating to himself richer personal domains, more peasants on his lands, more knights in his following, more treasures in his chest. He had chosen for his seat a group of happily situated villages, not yet trained into free municipal life—Paris, Madrid, or Moscow—and with the labour of his serfs he had made of them royal fortified cities, whereto he attracted war companions by a free distribution of villages, and merchants by the protection he offered to trade. The germ of a future State, which began gradually to absorb other similar centres, was thus laid. Lawyers, versed in the study of Roman law, flocked into such centres; a tenacious and ambitious race of men issued from among the burgesses, who equally hated the naughtiness of the lords and what they called the lawlessness of the peasants. The very forms of the village community, unknown to their code, and federalism were repulsive to them as 'barbarian' inheritances. Cæsarism, supported by the fiction of popular consent and by the force of arms, was their ideal, and they worked hard for those who promised to realise it.[37]

The Christian Church, once a rebel against Roman law and now its ally, worked in the same direction. The attempt at constituting the theocratic Empire of Europe having proved a failure, the more intelligent and ambitious bishops now yielded support to those whom they reckoned upon for reconstituting the power of the Kings of Israel or of the Emperors of Constantinople. The Church bestowed upon the rising rulers her sanctity, she crowned them as God's representatives on earth, she brought to their service the learning and the statesmanship of her ministers, her blessings and maledictions, her riches, and the sympathies she had retained among the poor. The peasants, whom the cities had failed or refused to free, on seeing the burghers impotent to put an end to the interminable wars between the knights—which wars they had so dearly to pay for—now set their hopes upon the King, the Emperor, or the Great Prince; and while aiding them to crush down the mighty feudal owners, they aided them to constitute the centralised State.

[37] Cf. L. Ranke's excellent considerations upon the essence of Roman law in his *Weltgeschichte*, Bd. iv. Abth. 2, pp. 20–31. Also Sismondi's remarks upon the part played by the *légistes* in the constitution of royal authority, *Histoire des Français*, Paris, 1326, viii. 85–99. The popular hatred against these '*weise Doktoren und Beutelschneider des Volks*' broke out with full force in the first years of the sixteenth century in the sermons of the early Reform movement.

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And finally, the invasions of the Mongols and the Turks, as well as the terrible wars which soon broke out between the growing centres of sovereignty—Ile de France and Burgundy, Scotland and England, England and France, Lithuania and Poland, Moscow and Tver, and so on—contributed to the same end. Mighty States made their appearance; and the cities had now to resist not only loose federations of lords, but strongly organised centres, which had armies of serfs at their disposal.

The worst was, that the growing autocracies found support in the divisions which had grown within the cities themselves. The fundamental idea of the mediæval city was grand, but it was not wide enough. Mutual aid and support cannot be limited to a small association, they must spread to its surroundings, or else the surroundings will absorb the association. And in this respect the mediæval citizen had committed a formidable mistake at the outset. Instead of looking upon the peasants and artisans who gathered under the protection of his walls as upon so many brothers who would contribute their part to the making of the city—as they really did—a sharp division was traced between the 'families' of old burghers and the new-comers. For the former, all benefits from communal trade and communal lands were reserved, and nothing was left for the latter but the right of freely using the skill of their own hands. The city thus became divided into 'the burghers' or 'the commonalty,' and 'the inhabitants.'[38] The trade, which was formerly communal, now became the privilege of the merchant and artisan 'families,' and the next step—that of becoming individual, or the privilege of oppressive trusts—was unavoidable.

The same division took place between the city proper and the surrounding villages. The commune had well tried to free the peasants, but her wars against the lords soon became, as already mentioned, wars for freeing the city itself from the lords, rather than for freeing the peasants. She left to the lord his rights over the villeins, on condition that he would molest the city no more and would become co-burgher. But the nobles 'adopted' by the city, and now residing within its walls, simply carried on the old war within its very precincts. They disliked to submit to a tribunal of simple artisans and merchants, and fought their old feuds in the streets. Each city had now its Colonnas and Orsinis, its Overstolzes and Wises. Drawing large incomes from the estates they had still retained, they surrounded themselves with numerous clients and feudalised the customs and habits of the city itself. And when discontent began to be felt in the artisan classes of the town, they

[38] Brentano fully understood the fatal effects of the struggle between the 'old burghers' and the new comers. Miaskowski, in his work on the village communities of Switzerland, has indicated the same for village communities.

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offered their sword and their followers to settle the differences by a free fight, instead of letting the discontent find out the channels which it did not fail to secure itself in olden times.

The greatest and the most fatal error of most cities was to base their wealth upon commerce and industry, to the neglect of agriculture. They thus repeated the error which had once been committed by the cities of antique Greece, and they fell through it into the same crimes.[39] The estrangement of so many cities from the land necessarily drew them into a policy hostile to the land, which became more and more evident in the times of Edward the Third,[40] the French Jacqueries, the Hussite wars, and the Peasant War in Germany. On the other hand, a commercial policy involved them in distant enterprises. Colonies were founded by the Italians in the south-east, by German cities in the east, by Slavonian cities in the far north-east. Mercenary armies began to be kept for colonial wars, and soon for local defence as well. Loans were contracted to such an extent as to totally demoralise the citizens; and internal contests grew worse and worse at each election, during which the colonial politics in the interest of a few families was at stake. The division into rich and poor grew deeper, and in the sixteenth century, in each city, the royal authority found ready allies and support among the poor.

And there is yet another cause of the decay of communal institutions, which stands higher and lies deeper than all the above. The history of the mediæval cities offers one of the most striking illustrations of the power of *ideas* and *principles* upon the destinies of mankind, and of the quite opposed results which are obtained when a deep modification of leading ideas has taken place. Self-reliance and federalism, the sovereignty of each group, and the construction of the political body from the simple to the composite, were the leading ideas in the eleventh century. But since that time the conceptions had entirely changed. The students of Roman law and the prelates of the Church, closely bound together since the time of Innocent the Third, had succeeded in paralysing the idea—the antique Greek idea—which presided at the foundation of the cities. For two or three hundred years they taught from the pulpit, the University chair, and the judges' bench, that salvation must be sought for in a strongly centralised State, placed under a semi-divine authority;[41] that *one* man

[39] The trade in slaves kidnapped in the East was never discontinued in the Italian republics till the fifteenth century. Feeble traces of it are found also in Germany and elsewhere. See Cibrario, *Della schiavitù e del serraggio*, 2 vols. Milan, 1868; Professor Luchitskiy, 'Slavery and Russian Slaves in Florence in the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Centuries,' in *Izvestia* of the Kieff University, 1885.

[40] J. R. Green's *History of the English People*, London, 1878, i. 455.

[41] See the theories expressed by the Bologna lawyers, already at the Congress of Roncaglia in 1158.

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can and must be the saviour of society, and that in the name of public salvation he can commit any violence: burn men and women at the stake, make them perish under indescribable tortures, plunge whole provinces into the most abject misery. Nor did they fail to give object lessons to this effect on a grand scale, and with an unheard-of cruelty, wherever the king's sword and the Church's fire, or both at once, could reach. By these teachings and examples, continually repeated and enforced upon public attention, the very minds of the citizens had been shaped into a new mould. They began to find no authority too extensive, no killing by degrees too cruel, once it was 'for public safety.' And, with this new direction of mind and this new belief in one man's power, the old federalist principle faded away, and the very creative genius of the masses died out. The Roman idea was victorious, and in such circumstances the centralised State had in the cities a ready prey.

Florence in the fifteenth century is typical of this change. Formerly a popular revolution was the signal of a new departure. Now, when the people, brought to despair, insurged, it had constructive ideas no more; no fresh idea came out of the movement. A thousand representatives were put into the Communal Council instead of 400; 100 men entered the *signoria* instead of 80. But a revolution of figures could be of no avail. The people's discontent was growing up, and new revolts followed. A saviour—the 'tyran'—was appealed to; he massacred the rebels, but the disintegration of the communal body continued worse than ever. And when, after a new revolt, the people of Florence appealed to their most popular man, Gieronimo Savonarola for advice, the monk's answer was:—'Oh, people mine, thou knowest that I cannot go into State affairs . . . . purify thy soul, and if in such a disposition of mind thou reformest thy city, then, people of Florence, thou shalt have inaugurated the reform in all Italy!' Carnival masks and vicious books were burned, a law of charity and another against usurers were passed, and the democracy of Florence remained where it was. The old spirit had gone. By too much trusting to government, they had ceased to trust to themselves; they were unable to open new issues. The State had only to step in and to crush down their last liberties.

And yet, the current of mutual aid and support did not die out in the masses, it continued to flow even after that defeat. It rose up again with a formidable force in answer to the communist appeals of the first propagandists of the reform, and it continued to exist even after the masses, having failed to realise the life which they hoped to inaugurate under the inspiration of a reformed religion, fell under the dominions of an autocratic power. It flows still even now, and it seeks

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its way to find out a new expression which would not be the State, nor the mediæval city, nor the village community of the barbarians, nor the savage clan, but would proceed from all of them, and yet be superior to them in its wider and more deeply humane conceptions.

P. KROPOTKIN.

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THE HADRAMUT:
A JOURNEY IN SOUTHERN ARABIA

BETWEEN Aden and Maskat, Mokalla is the only spot which has any pretensions to be called a seaport town. It is three hundred miles from Aden, and here we were deposited last December by a chance steamer, to begin our journey to the Hadramut valley, which anciently was the centre of the frankincense and myrrh trade, one of the most famed commercial centres of Araby the Blest, before Mohammedan fanaticism blighted all industries and closed the peninsula to the outer world.

Immediately behind Mokalla rise grim arid mountains of a reddish hue, and the town is plastered against this rich-tinged background. By the shore, like a lighthouse, stands the white minaret of the mosque, the walls and pinnacles of which are covered with dense masses of seabirds and pigeons; not far from this the huge palace where the Sultan dwells reminds one of a whitewashed mill with a lace-like parapet; white, red and brown are the dominant colours of the town, and in the harbour the Arab dhows with fantastic sterns rock to and fro in the unsteady sea, forming altogether a picturesque and unusual scene. Nominally Mokalla is ruled over by a Sultan of the Al Kaiti family, whose connection with India has made them very English in their sympathies, and his Majesty's general appearance, with his velvet coat and jewelled daggers, is far more Indian than Arabian. Really the most influential people in the town are the money-grubbing Parsees from Bombay, and it is essentially one of those commercial centres where Hindustani is spoken nearly as much as Arabian. We were lodged in a so-called palace hard by the bazaar, which reeked with mysterious smells and was alive with flies; so we worked hard to get our preparations made and to make our sojourn in this uncongenial burning spot as short as possible.

For our journey inland we were entrusted by the Sultan to a tribe of Bedouins and their camels. Mikaic was the name of our *Mokadam*, or headman, and his tribe rejoiced in the name of Khailike, all tiny spare men with long shaggy hair bound up with leather thongs, very dark, naked save for a loin cloth, and the girdle to which were

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attached their brass powder-flasks, shaped like a ram's horn, their silver cases for flint and steel, their daggers and their thorn extractors. They are far different from the stately Bedouin of Syria and Egypt, and are, both as to religion and physique, distinctly an aboriginal race of Southern Arabia, as different from the Arab as the Hindu is from the Anglo-Saxon.

Never shall we forget the confusion of our start. Mikaic and ten of his men appeared at seven in the morning in our rooms, and were let loose on our seventy packages like so many devils from hell, yelling and quarrelling with one another, and with all the diseased beggars of Mokalla in their train. First of all the luggage had to be divided into loads for twenty-two camels, then they drew lots for these loads with small sticks, then they drew lots for us riders, and finally we had a stormy bargain as to the price, which, when finally decided upon, was ratified by placing the first two fingers of one contractor on the hand of the other.

We felt worn and weary when a start was made at midday, and our cup of bitterness was full when we were deposited, bag and baggage, a few hundred yards from the gate, and told that we must spend the night amidst a sea of small fish drying on the shore, and surrounded on all sides by dirty Bedouin huts. These fish are put out to dry by thousands along this coast; men feed on them and so do the camels; they make lamp-oil out of them; large sacks of them are taken into the interior as merchandise, and the air is everywhere redolent with their stench. We had just enough strength of mind to commence the first of many quarrels with our camel-men, and insist on being taken two miles further on away from the smells, where beneath the pleasant shade of some palm trees we halted for the remainder of the day, and recovered from the agonies of our start.

Three days' camel riding up one of the short valleys which leads towards the high plateau offered little of interest beyond arid rocks and burnt-up, sand-covered valleys. Here and there, where warm volcanic streams rise out of the ground, the wilderness is converted into a luxurious garden, in which palms, tobacco, and other green things grow. One of the scrub trees which clothe the wilderness is called by the Arabs *rack*, and is used by them for cleaning their teeth; it amused us to chew this as we went along—it is slightly bitter, but cleans the teeth most effectually.

Then we entered the narrow tortuous valley of Howeri, which ascends towards the plateau, in which the midday heat was intense; and at our evening halts we suffered not a little from camel ticks, which abound in the sand, until we learnt to avoid old camping-grounds, and not to pitch our tents in the immediate vicinity of the wells. There are two villages at the head of the Wadi Howeri, where there is actually a 'ghail'—that rare phenomenon in Arabia, a running stream. Here the Bedouin inhabitants cultivate the date palm,

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and have green patches of lucerne and grain, very refreshing to the eye. At Al Bat-ha we actually reposed under a spreading tree, a wild unedible fig called *Luthba* by the Arabs, a nickname given to all worthless, idle individuals in these parts. Bedouin women crowded around us, closely veiled in indigo-dyed masks, with narrow slits for their eyes, carrying their babies with them in rude cradles resembling hencoops, with a cluster of charms hung from the top, which has the twofold advantage of amusing the baby and keeping off the evil eye. After much persuasion we induced one of the good ladies to sit for her photograph, or rather to sit still whilst something was being done which she did not in the least understand.

Leaving these villages behind us, we climbed rapidly higher and higher, until, at an elevation of over 5,000 feet, we found ourselves at last on a broad level plateau, stretching as far as the eye could reach in every direction, and shutting off the Hadramut from the coast. This is the 'mons excelsus' of Pliny;[1] here we have the vast area where once flourished the frankincense and the myrrh. Of the latter shrub there is plenty left, and it is still tapped for its odoriferous sap; but of the former we only saw one specimen on the plateau, for in the lapse of ages the wealth of this country has steadily disappeared; further east, however, in the Mahri country, there is, I understand, a considerable quantity left.

Words cannot express the desolate aspect of this vast plateau. *Akaba*, or 'the going up,' as the Arabs call it, is exclusively Bedouin property, and wherever there is a little herbage to be found, thither the nomads drive their flocks and young camels: there is no sign of habitation over its whole expanse; only here and there a few tanks are dug to collect rain water if any falls, but the air is fresh and invigorating after the excessive heat of the valleys below. After travelling along this plateau for three days we at length reached the valley system which centres in the broad Hadramut. To the south and to the north of the main valley are cut out of this plateau, like slices out of a cake, numerous collateral branches, deep, narrow and straight. From all points of the plateau the descent into them is precipitous, and on either side of them rise these red stratified walls nearly a thousand feet high.

Our first peep down into the Wadi Al Aisa, towards which our Bedouins had conducted us, was striking in the extreme, and as we gazed down into the narrow valley with its line of vegetation and numerous villages, we felt as if we were on the edge of another world. It had not been our intention to visit the Wadi Al Aisa, but to approach the Hadramut by another valley called Dowan; but our camel-men would not take us that way, and purposely got up a scare that the men of Khoreba at the head of Wadi Dowan were going to

[1] Pliny, xii. 14, § 52: 'In medio Arabiæ fere sunt Adramitæ pagus Sabæorum in monte excelso.'

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attack us, and would refuse to let us pass. A convenient old woman was found who professed to bring this news, a dodge subsequently resorted to by another Bedouin tribe which wanted to govern our progress. So we humbly descended into the Wadi Al Aisa, and found ourselves encamped hard by the village of Khaileh, the headquarters of the Khailike tribe, within a stone's throw of Mikaic's father's house and under the shadow of the castle of his uncle, who is the sheikh of the tribe. These worthies both extorted from us substantial sums of money and sold us food at exorbitant prices, and thus it was that we learnt why we were not permitted to go to Khoreba, and why the old woman and her story had been produced.

We thought Mikaic and his men little better than naked savages when on the plateau, but when we were introduced to their relatives, and when we saw their castles and their palm groves and their long line of gardens in the narrow valley, our preconceived notions of the wild homeless Bedouin and his poverty underwent considerable change. During the two days we encamped at Khaileh we were gazed upon uninterruptedly by a relentless crowd of men, women and children. It amused us at first to see the women here for the most part unmasked, with their exceedingly heavy girdles of brass, their anklets of brass half a foot deep, their bracelets of brass, their iron nose rings, and their massive and numerous earrings which tore down the lobe of the ear with their weight. Every Bedouin, male or female, has a ring or charm of cornelian set in base silver, and agates and small tusks also set in silver. Not far from Khaileh we saw a fine village which we were told was inhabited by Arabs of pure blood, so we sent a polite message to the Seyyid, or headman of the place, to ask if we might pay him our respects. His reply was to the effect that if we paid thirty dollars we might come and pass four hours in his town. Needless to say, we declined the invitation with thanks, and on the morrow when we marched up the Wadi Al Aisa we gave the abode of this hospitable Seyyid a wide berth.

Shief was the name of the next village at which we halted for a night, also inhabited by pure Arabs, who treated us with excessive rudeness. It is a very picturesque spot, perched on a rock, with towers and turrets constructed of sun-dried brick; only here, as elsewhere in these valleys, the houses are so exactly the same colour as the rock behind them that they lose their effect. The rich have evidently recognised this difficulty and whitewash their houses, but in the poorer villages there is no whitewash, and consequently nothing to make them stand out from their surroundings. Arab girls before they enter the harem and take the veil are a curious sight to behold. Their bodies and faces are dyed a bright yellow with turmeric; on this ground they paint black lines with antimony over their eyes; the fashionable colour for the nose is red; green spots adorn the cheek, and the general aspect is grotesque beyond description. My wife tells

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me that the belles in the Sultan's harem are also painted in this fashion, and that they also paint gloves on their hands and shoes on their feet, and thus bedizened hope to secure the affections of their lords. At Shief the men would not allow my wife to approach or hold any intercourse with the Arab women, using opprobrious epithets when she tried to make friendly overtures, with the quaint result that whenever Mrs. Bent advanced towards a group of gazing females they fled precipitately like a flock of sheep before a collie dog. These women wear their dresses high in front, showing their yellow legs above the knee, and long behind; they are of deep blue cotton decorated with fine embroidery and patches of yellow and red sewn on in pattern. It is the universal female dress in Hadramut, and looks as if the fashion had not changed since the days when Hazarmaveth the patriarch settled in this valley and gave it his name (Gen. x. 28). The tall tapering straw hat worn by these women when in the fields contributes with the mask to make the Hadrami females as externally repulsive as the most jealous of husbands could desire.

The town of Hajarein is the principal one in the collateral valleys, and is built on a lofty isolated rock in the middle of the Wadi Kasr, about twenty miles before it joins the main valley. With its towers and turrets it recalled to our minds as we saw it in the distance certain hill-set mediæval villages of Germany and Italy. Here a vice-sultan governs on behalf of the Al Kaiti family, an ill-conditioned, extortionate individual, whose bad reception of us contributed to his subsequent removal from office. Internally Hajarein is squalid and dirty in the extreme; each street is but a cesspool for the houses on either side of it, and the house allotted to us produced specimens of most smells and most insects, and the day of rest we proposed for ourselves here was spent in fighting with our old camel-men who left us here, and in fighting with the new ones who were to take us on to the main valley, and in indignantly refusing to pay the Sultan the sum of money which our presence in his town led him to think it his right to demand.

During the days we were at Hajarein several weddings were celebrated. To form a suitable place for conviviality they cover over a yard with mats, just like the Abyssinians do, and the women, to show their hilarity on the occasion, utter the same gurgling noises as the Abyssinian women do on a like occasion, and call *ululta*. From our roof we watched the bridegroom's nocturnal procession to his bride's house, accompanied by his friends bearing torches, and singing and speechifying to their hearts' content. On a subsequent occasion at Ghail ba Wazir our roof happened to command a view of the terrace where a bride and her handmaidens were making merry with drums and coffee. In spite of the frowns and gesticulations of the order keeper, who flourished her stick at us and bid us begone, we were able to get a peep, forbidden to males, at the blushing bride. She wore on

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her head large silver bosses like tin plates; her ears were weighed down with jewels, her fingers were straight with rings, and her arms a mass of bracelets up to the elbow, and her breast was hidden by a multiplicity of necklaces. Her face, of course, was painted yellow, with black lines over her eyes and mouth like heavy moustaches reaching to her ears, and from her nose hung something which looked to us like a gold coin. The bride herself evidently had no objection to our presence, but the threatening aspect of her women compelled us reluctantly to retire.

Near Hajarein are many traces of the olden days when the frankincense trade flourished, and when the town of Dowani, which name is still retained in the Wadi Dowan, was a great emporium for this trade. Acres and acres of ruins, dating from the centuries immediately before our era, lie stretched along the valley here, just showing their heads above the weight of superincumbent sand which has invaded and overwhelmed the past glories of this district. The ground lies strewn with fragments of Himyaritic inscriptions, pottery, and other indications of a rich harvest for the excavator, but the hostility of the Nahad tribe prevented us from paying these ruins more than a cursory visit, and even to secure this we had to pay the sheikh of the place nineteen dollars; and his greeting was ominous as he angrily muttered, 'Salaam to all who believe Mohammed is the true prophet.' The Nahad tribe occupy about ten miles of the valley through which we passed, and the toll-money we paid to this tribe for the privilege of passing by was the most exorbitant demanded from us on our journey. When once you have paid the toll-money (*siyar*), and have with you the escort (*siyara*) of the tribe, you are practically safe wherever you may travel in Arabia; but this did not prevent us from being grossly insulted as we passed by certain Nahad villages, the inhabitants of which crowded round our camels, calling us 'dogs' and 'pigs,' and bidding us come down, that they might cut our infidel throats. A town called Kaidun is the chief centre of this tribe, where dwells a very holy man celebrated all the country round for his miracles and good works. We purposely avoided passing too near this town, and afterwards learnt that it was owing to the influence of this very holy Seyyid that our reception was so bad amongst the Nahad tribe. At Assab they would not allow us to dip our vessels in their well, nor take our repast under the shadow of their mosque: even the women of this village ventured to insult us, peeping into our tent at night, and tumbling over the guys in a manner most aggravating to the weary occupants.

Our troubles on this score were happily terminated at Haura, where a huge castle belonging to the Al Kaiti family dominates a humble village surrounded by palm groves. Without photographs to bear out my statement, I should hardly dare to describe the magnificence of these castles in the Hadramut. That at Haura is seven stories high, and covers fully an acre of ground beneath the beetling

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cliff, with battlements, towers, and machicolations bearing a striking likeness to Holyrood. But Holyrood is built of stone, and Haura, save for the first storey, is built of sun-dried bricks; and if Haura stood where Holyrood does, or in any other country save dry, arid Arabia, it would long ago have melted away. The vice-sultan of Haura received us right well, and immediately gave us hot spiced coffee in his spacious guest-hall, and sent kids to our camp as a present, for we were now nearing the palace of Sultan Salah bin Mohammad Al Kaiti of Shibahm, the most powerful monarch in the Hadramut, who has spent twelve years of his life in India, and whose reception of us was going to be magnificent, our escort told us.

The day after leaving Haura we entered the main valley, and were then in the Hadramut proper, for this name is only used by the natives to indicate the most inhabited portion of the big main valley, and is never applied by them to the collateral valleys, the plateau, or the coast line. At the village of Alimanieh, where we entered the main valley, it is very broad, eight miles at least from cliff to cliff, receiving at this point collateral valleys from all sides, which form a basin in its midst. Until we were within a mile of the castle of Al Katan, where the Sultan of Shibahm resides, all was desert and sand, but suddenly the valley narrows, and a long vista of cultivation was spread before us. Here miles of the valley are covered with palm groves, bright green patches of lucerne, almost dazzling to look upon after the arid waste, and numerous other kinds of grain are raised by irrigation, for the Hadramut has beneath its expanse of sand a river running, the waters of which are obtained by digging deep wells. Skin buckets are let down by ropes and drawn up by cattle by means of a steep slope, and then the water is distributed for cultivation by narrow channels; it is at best a fierce struggle with nature to produce these crops, for the rainfall can never be depended upon. Sultan Salah sent a messenger to beg us not to arrive till the following morning, that his reception of us might be suitable to our dignity, as the first English travellers to visit his domains. So we encamped just outside the cultivation, and were soon visited by the Sultan's two viziers, magnificent individuals mounted on spirited Arab steeds, with plaided turbans, long lances, and many gold mohrs fixed on to their dagger handles, all of which argued well for our reception on the morrow by the Sultan of Shibahm.

Like a fairy palace of the Arabian Nights, white as a wedding-cake and with as many battlements and pinnacles, with its windows painted red and its balustrades decorated with the inevitable chevron pattern, the palace of Al Katan rears its battlemented towers above the neighbouring brown houses and expanse of palm groves; behind it rise the steep red rocks of the encircling mountains, the whole forming a scene of oriental loveliness difficult to describe in words. We were mounted on horses sent expressly by the Sultan, and as we

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approached *feux de joie* announced our arrival, and at his gate stood Sultan Salah to greet us, clad in a long robe of canary-coloured silk, and with a white silk turban twisted around his swarthy brow. He is a large, stout man, negroid in type, for his mother was a slave, and he is generous as he is large, to Arab and European alike. He placed at our disposal a room spread with oriental carpets and cushions, and not a mouthful of our own food would he allow us to touch, a hospitality which had its drawbacks, for the Arab cuisine is not one suited to Western palates. After struggling for some days with soups of oil, vegetables, and spices, with ill-cooked rice flavoured with a nasty nut, with dry meat and bread like leather, we were at length compelled to humbly crave his Majesty to allow us to employ our own cook. This he graciously permitted, and during the three weeks we passed under his hospitable roof our cook was daily supplied by the Sultana—a most excellent housewife we thought her—with everything we needed.

One of the most striking features of these Arabian palaces is the wood-carving. The doors are exquisitely decorated with intricate patterns, and with a text out of the Koran carved on the lintel; the locks and keys are all of wood, and form a study for the carver's art, as do the cupboards, the niches, the supporting beams and the windows, which are adorned with fretwork instead of glass. The dwelling-rooms are above, the ground floor being exclusively used for merchandise, and the first floor for the domestics. We lived on the second floor, and the next two stories were occupied by the Sultan and his family, and above was the terraced roof where the family sleep during the summer heat. Every guest room has its coffee corner, provided with a carved oven, where the grain is roasted and the water boiled; around are hung old china dishes for spices, brass dishes for the cups, and fans to keep off the flies; also the carved censers, in which frankincense is burnt and handed round to the guests, each one of whom fumigates his garments with it before passing it on. It is also customary to fumigate with frankincense a tumbler before putting water into it, a process we did not altogether relish, as it imparts a sickly flavour to the fluid.

We got very friendly with Sultan Salah during our long stay under his roof, and he would come and sit for hours together in our room and talk over his affairs. He took special interest in our pursuits, conducting us in person to archæological sites, and manifesting a laudable desire to have his photograph taken. He assisted both our botanist and naturalist in pursuing their investigations into the somewhat limited flora and fauna of his dominions, and he would freely discourse, too, on his own domestic affairs, giving us anything but a pleasing picture of Arab harem life, which he described as 'a veritable hell.' Whenever he saw my wife working or developing photographs, he would smile sadly and contrast her capa-

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cities with those of his own wives, who, as he expressed it, 'are capable of nothing but painting themselves and quarrelling.' Poor Sultan Salah has had twelve wives in his day, and he assured us that their dissensions and backbitings had made him grow old before his time; he looked sixty, but only confessed to forty-six, so the balance must be put down to the cares of polygamy. At Al Katan the Sultan has at present only two properly acknowledged wives, whom he wisely keeps apart; his chief wife, or Sultana, is sister to the Sultan of Mokalla, and the Sultan of Mokalla is married to a daughter of Sultan Salah by another wife. In this way do Arabic relationships get hopelessly mixed. This lady's influence is considerable, and he is obviously in awe of her—so much so, that when he wants to visit his other wife he has to invent a story of pressing business at Shibahm. 'Our wives,' said he one day, 'are all like servants, and try to get all out of us they can; they have no interest in their husband's property, as they know they may be sent away at any time.' And in this remark he seems to have properly hit off the chief evil of polygamy.

Then, again, he would continually lament over the fanaticism and folly of his fellow-countrymen, who systematically oppose all his attempts at introducing improvements from civilised countries; more especially the priestly element in the Hadramut, the Seyyids and the mollahs dislike him—the former, who trace their descent from the daughter of Mohammed, forming a sort of hierarchical nobility in this district; and on several occasions he has been publicly cursed in the mosques as an unbeliever and friend of the infidel. But Sultan Salah has money which he made in India, and owns property in Bombay; consequently he has the most important weapon to wield that anyone can have in a Semitic country.

'Before I went to India I was a rascal (*harami*) like these men here,' he constantly asseverated; and his love for things Indian and English is unbounded. 'If only the Indian Government would send me a Mohammedan doctor here, I would pay his expenses, and his influence, both political and social, would be most beneficial to this country.' It is certainly a great thing for England to have so firm a friend in the centre of the narrow habitable coastline between Aden and Muscat, which ought by rights to be ours—not that it is a very profitable country to possess, but in the hands of another power it might unpleasantly affect our road to India, and in complying with this simple request of Sultan Salah's an easy way is open to us for extending our influence in that direction.

Likewise, from a humane point of view, this suggestion of Sultan Salah's is of great value, for the inhabitants of the Hadramut are more hopelessly ignorant of things medical than some of the savage tribes of Africa. Certain quacks dwell in the towns, and profess to diagnose the ailments of a Bedouin woman by smelling one of her hairs brought by her husband. For every pain, no matter where, they brand

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the patient with a red-hot iron; to relieve a person who has eaten too much fat, they will light a fire around him to melt it; to heal a wound they will plug up the nostrils of the sufferer, believing that certain scents are noxious to the sore. We had crowds of patients to treat whilst stationed at Al Katan, and I have entered quantities of quaint experiences with these poor helpless invalids in my notebook.

Once, however, the Arabs had a good laugh at the expense of three members of our party. One morning our botanist went forth in quest of plants and found a castor-oil tree, the berries of which pleased him exceedingly. Unwilling to keep so rare a treat for himself, he brought home some branches of the tree, and placed the delicacy before two of our servants, who also partook heartily. Terrible was the anguish of the two victims, which was increased by the Arabs, veritable descendants of Job's comforters, who told them they were sure to die, as camels did which ate these berries. The botanist did not succumb as soon as the others, who vowed vengeance on his head if they should recover: to our great relief, the botanist was at last seized, and thereby proved his innocence of a practical joke, and three more miserable men I never saw for the space of several hours. However, they were better, though prostrate, next day, and for some time to come the popular joke was to imitate the noises and contortions of the sufferers during their anguish.

We had many an interesting stroll round the Sultan's gardens at Al Katan, and watched the cultivation of spices and vegetables for the royal table, or rather floor; the lucerne and clover for his cattle, the indigo and henna for dyeing purposes, and the various kinds of grain; but on the cultivation of the date palm the most attention is lavished, and it was just then the season at which the female spathe has to be fructified with the male pollen, and we watched with interest a man going round with an apron full of male spathes With these he climbed the stem of the female palm and with a knife cut open the bark which encircles the female spathe, and as he shook the male pollen over it he chanted in a low voice, 'May God make you grow and be fruitful.' No portion of the palm is wasted in the Hadramut: with the leaves they thatch huts and make fences, the date stones are ground into powder as food for cattle, and they eat the nutty part which grows at the bottom of the spathes and which they call *Kourzan*. On a journey a man requires nothing but a skin of dates, which will last him for days; and when we left, Sultan Salah gave us three goat-skins filled with his best dates and large tins of delicious honey, for which the Hadramut was celebrated as far back as Pliny's time.[2]

Innumerable wells are dotted over this cultivated area, the water from which is distributed over the fields before sunrise and after sun-

[2] Pliny, vi. 28, § 161.

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set. The delicious creaking noise made by heaving up the buckets greeted us every morning when we woke, and these early morning views were truly exquisite. A bright crimson tinge would gradually creep over the encircling mountains, making the parts in shade of a rich purple hue, against which the feathery palm trees and white-washed castles stood out in strong contrast. All the animals belonging to the Sultan are stabled within the encircling wall, and immediately beneath the palace windows; the horses' stable is in the open courtyard, where they are fed with fresh lucerne and dates where we should give corn. Here too reside the cows and bullocks, which are fed every evening by women, who tie together bunches of dried grass and make it appetising by mixing therewith a few blades of fresh lucerne; the sheep and the goats are penned on another side, whilst the cocks and hens live in and around the main drain. All is truly patriarchal in character.

Outside the cultivation in its arid waste of sand the Hadramut produces but little; now and again we came across groups of the camel thorn, tall trees somewhat resembling the holm oak. It is in Arabic a most complicated tree. Its fruit, like a small crab apple, is called *b'dom*, very refreshing, and making an excellent preserve; its leaves, out of which they make soap, are called *ghasl*, whereas the tree itself is called *aïlb*, and it is dearly loved by the camels, which stretch their long necks to feed off its topmost branches.

Sultan Salah arranged several interesting excursions for us during our stay at Al Katan. One of these, which lasted five days, was up the Wadi Ser to the north of the main valley, which led us to the confines of the great central desert of Arabia, during which we had interesting experiences of the wild Bedouin life, and visited one of their own peculiar sacred places which is in this valley, the tomb of the prophet Saleh, which is forty feet long; he was a giant, they said, and the worker of many miracles in his day. We also found interesting remains of an old Himyaritic town in the Wadi Ser, as we did at two other points to which our good-natured Sultan sent us.

Then he sent us to reside for five more days in his capital of Shibahm, which is twelve miles distant from Al Katan, and is one of the principal towns in the Hadramut valley. It is built on rising ground in the centre of the narrowest point of the valley, so that no one can pass between it and the cliffs of the valley out of gunshot of the walls. This rising ground has doubtless been produced by many generations of towns built of sun-dried bricks, for it is the best strategical point in the neighbourhood. Early Arab writers tell us that the Himyarite population of this district came here when they abandoned their capital at Sabota, or Shabwa, further up the valley, early in our era, but we found evident traces of an earlier occupation than this—an inscription and a seal with the name 'Shibahm' engraved

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on it, which cannot be later than the third century B.C. And as a point for making up the caravans which started from the frankincense-growing district, Shibahm must always have been very important.

The town of Shibahm offers a curious appearance as you approach; above its mud-brick walls with bastions and watch towers appear the tall whitewashed houses of the wealthy, which make it look like a large round cake with sugar on it. Outside the walls several industries are carried on, the chief of which is the manufacture of indigo dye. The small leaves are dried in the sun and powdered and then put into huge jars—which reminded us of the Forty Thieves—filled with water. Next morning these are stirred with long poles, producing a dark blue frothy mixture; this is left to settle, and then the indigo is taken from the bottom and spread out on cloths to drain; the substance thus procured is taken home and mixed with dates and saltpetre. Four pounds of this indigo to a gallon of water makes the requisite and universally used dye for garments, the better class of which are calendered by beating them with wooden hammers on stones.

Another industry carried on outside Shibahm is making ropes out of the fibres of the fan palm, which grows wild in the narrower valleys; the leaves are first left to soak in water and then beaten till the fibres separate. Yet another is that of making lime for whitewash in kilns: it is curious to watch the Bedouins beating the lime thus produced with long sticks, singing quaint little ditties as they thump in pleasant harmony to the beating of their sticks. The Bedouins are rather clever at impromptu verses, and when we were in the Wadi Ser they made night hideous by dancing in our camp. The performers ranged themselves in two rows, as in Sir Roger; time is kept by a drum and by perpetual hand-clapping and stamping of the feet, whilst two men execute elaborate capers in the centre, singing as they do so such words as these, 'The ship has come from Europe with merchandise; they shot at the minaret with a thousand cannon.' Bedouin women also take part in these dances, and the Arabs think them very impious; it was very weird by the light of the moon and the camp-fire, but wearisome when we wanted to sleep.

We were lodged at Shibahm in a huge palace eight storeys high, with spacious rooms richly decorated with carving, and looking out on the square, where there is now a ruined mosque and a huge puddle, into which the surrounding houses drain; and it is a proof of the scarcity of water in this part of Arabia that they carefully carry this filthy fluid away in skins to make bricks with. In fact, it scarcely ever rains in the Hadramut: for two years prior to our visit they had not had any rain; but nevertheless, where irrigation is not employed, they prepare the ground for cultivation every year in the hopes of rain, scraping off the surface sand which has accumulated

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with wooden boxes drawn by camels, and slightly ploughing it; and then if it rains the crop in one year is so good that it will last them for three of drought—a sufficient proof of the fertility of this soil, were it not for the want of water and that arch-enemy the desert sand, which comes down upon it in huge clouds whenever the north wind blows.

From the roof of our lofty palace we had an excellent view straight up the broad Hadramut valley, dotted with towns, villages, palm groves and cultivation for fully thirty miles, embracing the two towns of Siwoun and Terim, ruled over by two brother Sultans of the Kattiri tribe. Close to Shibahm several collateral valleys from north and south fall into the Hadramut; and a glance at the map made by our cartographer, Iman Sharif Khan Bahadur, will at once show the importance of this situation.

The inhabitants of Shibahm were not at all amicably disposed to us. On the day of our arrival I ventured with two of the Sultan's soldiers into the bazaar and through the narrow streets, but only this once, for the people of Shibahm crowded round me, yelled at me, and insulted me, trying their best to trip me up and impede my progress, and altogether made my investigations so exceedingly disagreeable that I became seriously alarmed for my safety, and never tried to penetrate into the heart of Shibahm again. Altogether I should accredit Shibahm with a population of certainly not less than 6,000 souls: there are thirteen mosques in it, and fully 600 houses, tall and gaunt, to which an average population of ten souls is but a moderate estimate. The slave population of Shibahm is considerable. Many slave families have houses here, and wives of their own; the Sultan's soldiers are nearly all slaves or of slave origin, and one of them, Muoffok, who had been one of our escort from Mokalla, took us to his house, where his wife, seated unveiled in her coffee corner, dispensed refreshments to quite a large party there assembled, whilst Muoffok discoursed sweet music to us on a mandoline and a flute made out of the two bones of an eagle placed side by side. The lot of the slaves in the Hadramut is an exceedingly happy one: their work is easy, they are seldom punished, they can amass money and live as ordinary citizens when they have done so; the only grievances they can possibly have, as far as I could see, are that they are obliged to become Mohammedans, whatever their previous persuasion may have been, and they cannot bear purely Arabic names, but are usually known by nicknames generally chosen from some personal peculiarity.

Shibahm is the frontier town of the Yafi tribe, the Kattiri occupying the valley about two miles to the east, and these two tribes are constantly at war. Sultan Salah's big standard was in one of our dwelling-rooms ready to be unfurled at a moment's notice. He has cannon on his walls pointed in the direction of his enemy—old

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fieldpieces belonging once to the East India Company, the youngest of which bore the date of 1832. From the soldiers we obtained a specimen of the great conch shells they use as trumpets in battle, and which are hung to the girdle of the watchmen, who are always on the look-out to prevent a surprise.

We stayed five days in Shibahm, and on the first three took sundry walks in the neighbourhood, but during the last two we never ventured out, as the inhabitants manifested so unfriendly a disposition towards us. After the Friday's prayer in the mosque, a fanatical mollah alluded to our unwelcome presence, and offered up the following prayer three times: 'O God! this is contrary to our religion; remove them away!' and two days afterwards his prayer was answered. As we halted at the well outside the town, whilst the various members of our caravan collected, we overheard a woman chide a man for drawing too much water from the well, to which he replied, 'We have to wash our town from the infidel this day.' Needless to say, we gladly shook the dust of Shibahm off our feet, and returned to the flesh-pots of Al Katan with considerable satisfaction. Of a truth, religion and fanaticism are together so deeply engrained in the Hadrami that anything like friendly intercourse with the people is at present next to impossible.

We delayed several days longer at Al Katan, hoping against hope that the Sultans of Siwoun and Terim would grant us permission to pass through their territories, that we might prosecute our investigations further eastwards in the Hadramut. His Majesty of Terim actually did respond to Sultan Salah's letter, and sent us a pressing invitation, as also did the tribes of Tamimi, Menhali, and Amri, who dwelt beyond; but the lord of Siwoun, urged on by the Seyyids of the Kattiri tribe, refused to let us pass. We were publicly cursed in the mosque at Siwoun, and under these circumstances it was deemed advisable to return by another road to the coast, taking on our way the Wadis Ben Ali and Adim, both of which are inhabited by the Jabberi tribe, who manifested friendly intentions towards us, and the chief sent his son Talib with an escort to convey us thither. Our departure from Al Katan was almost as serious an affair as our start from Mokalla. Sultan Salah, with the instincts of true hospitality, not only refused to receive remuneration for our entertainment, but loaded us with presents of food for the way and fodder for our animals, intimating that '*backshish*' to some of his dependents would not be altogether unacceptable. With the object of receiving rewards for their services, the grand viziers, the munshi (the scribe), the hall-porter, the water-carriers, the slaves who had waited on us, were all brought in a barefaced manner to our room; as we descended the stairs, expectant menials lined the passages; we had to remember the grooms, the soldiers, and the gardeners. Never again will the irksome custom

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of tipping be half so appalling as when we left the palace of Sultan Salah.

The next day we had a very tiresome adventure. Starting off early before our caravan, we intended to ascend to the plateau before the heat of midday came on. We were accompanied by a few soldiers, who it turned out did not know the way; and having ridden for a hour and a half up a narrow gorge, with wild figs, wild date, and fan palms growing around us, and really magnificent cliffs seven to eight hundred feet on either side of us—a truly fearful and awe-inspiring place—we suddenly came to an abrupt termination of our valley, and found that unless Sindbad's roc came to our assistance we could not possibly get out of it. Consequently we were regretfully obliged to retrace our steps, but glad of having had an opportunity of seeing one of these valleys to its bitter end. Our caravan and servants were anxiously awaiting us at a curious spot called Mikadeh, about a quarter of the way up the cliff, where the road which we had missed goes through a natural tunnel about twenty yards long, with lovely pools of rain water preserved in its recesses, with which we eagerly refreshed ourselves. The rest of the ascent to the plateau was marvellously steep. I never could have imagined it possible for camels to ascend the roof-like slope of rock up which they had to clamber for the last fifty yards, and indeed one poor animal did fall, and injured itself so that it had to be unloaded and taken back, whereupon those Bedouins who did not own it heartlessly regretted that it had not been killed, as they would have liked some of its flesh for supper. Just at the end everything had to be unloaded and the camels literally dragged up to the top, while we sat dangling our legs over the cliff. Such yelling and shrieking I never heard amongst the Bedouins, our soldiers and our servants all calling each other rascals, and no one doing more than he could help; and inasmuch as we had about five Salehs, four Umbarreks, and other duplicated names amongst our men, the shouts of 'So and so, son of so and so,' made us fully realise the clumsiness of Arab nomenclature.

We crossed the plateau next day and descended into the Wadi Ben Ali, and thereby avoided passing through the territory of the hostile Kattiri. At the village of Bazahel, where there is a picturesque modern fort built on an old Himyaritic foundation, Abdullah, chief of the Jabberi, welcomed us to his house. He is much stained with indigo, a very elastic and naked sovereign, who bends his fingers back in a way horrible to behold when he wishes to emphasise his remarks; and as we sat around drinking his coffee, he boasted of his direct descent from Jabber of Hiyal, the friend and councillor of Mohammed, and told us that his family pedigree was safely kept at Terim, with those of all the surrounding tribes of Arabs. Somehow or other we did not care for the Jabberi at all, and for the rest of our journey to the coast our quarrels with Talib, the son of Abdullah, and

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the difficulties he would throw in our way were daily sources of annoyance to us.

Then, with the object of again avoiding those hateful Kattiri, we once more ascended to the plateau out of the Wadi Ben Ali, and after two weary marches again descended into the Wadi Adim. On our way we sighted a long caravan of merchants on their way to Shibahm, who were greatly frightened of us, for our friends the Jabberi have a bad reputation for brigandage in these parts. 'However, we have nothing to fear,' was the consoling remark, 'as we have the chief of the robbers with us;' and, perhaps out of deference to us, the caravan was allowed to proceed on its way unmolested.

The Wadi Adim is a long winding valley, with much more water in it and much more natural vegetation than any of the collateral valleys we had as yet passed through. It penetrates much further into the plateau than the other valleys, and its slope is much more gradual; consequently during the dry season, which it then was, it is the most frequented caravan route to the Hadramut. We met plenty of people coming up, and one day we passed a caravan of 150 camels going north, with Hadrami merchants returning from India to enjoy the fruits of their rascality and end their days on the sacred soil of Arabia.

For several days we pursued the course of this valley, and had we known what would befall us as we approached the head of the Wadi Adim, I think nothing would have induced us to take this route. It appears that a very wicked branch of the Hamoumi tribe hold a portion of this valley, and were determined that their enemies, the Jabberi, who stole their cattle and plundered their caravans, should not have the exclusive patronage of the lucrative English travellers on their way to the coast. Consequently, about an hour after leaving our camp one day, our caravan was fired upon as we approached a village. They fired from the fort in the village, and sent six men with their matchlocks to fire from behind a rock, so that our onward course was impossible. For fully half an hour we halted, uncertain what to do, and then Talib and our soldiers went up to the village under a flag of truce, where they wrangled for some time and we were permitted to pass. What arguments were used we never knew, but I have little doubt that they took the form of a financial compromise. Barely an hour elapsed before another village opened fire upon us, but this time Talib made us pass on, and bid us pay no heed to this unpleasant reception, and as we imagined that they were only firing upon us with blank cartridges we did not feel much alarmed. However, three miles further on another village had to be passed, the inhabitants of which peppered us from their tower with real bullets, one of which hit the ground just in front of Mrs. Bent's horse and another narrowly escaped hitting me. With undignified haste we hurried along until we reached the friendly shelter of some trees, where we

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held council together, and were forced to accept the consolation of Talib, who assured us that no more danger awaited us; and such mercifully proved to be the case, and the next village at which we halted for the night received us in a more friendly manner. Subsequently, however, that rascal Talib himself, anxious for a day's carouse with a friendly sheikh and to extort more money from us, actually had the impudence to organise an alarm on his own account; and when we insisted on going on and were passing through a narrow, densely wooded gorge, cross fires of blank cartridge were opened upon us, which, needless to say, alarmed us considerably; but eventually we found that our own camel-men had done it under Talib's orders. It was fruitless to try to pass on under these circumstances, so we encamped for the night about two miles beyond the village where Talib and our soldiers were enjoying themselves. After this, every night Talib started fresh alarms of attack to extract more dollars from us. At one place he told us the hills were full of robbers, and men must be posted to guard us; and our feeling of helplessness made us regularly pay up whatever Talib demanded. However, when we reached the coast at Sheher we got the Sultan to arrest him, and he was not released or his gun restored to him until he had returned the money he had extorted. However, no money could repay us for the anxiety of this journey under the protection of the Jabberi, and we quite consider it as the worst experience we have ever undergone in the course of any travels.

Sheher is a detestable place by the sea, set in a wilderness of sand. Once it was the chief commercial port of the Hadramut valley, but now Mokalla has quite superseded it, for Sheher is nothing but an open roadstead and its buildings are now falling into ruins. Ghalib, the eldest son and heir of the chief of the Al Kaiti family, rules here as the viceregent of his father, who is in India as jemadar or general of the Arab troops, chiefly all Hadrami, in the service of the Nizam of Hyderabad. Ghalib is quite an oriental dandy, who lived a life of some rapidity when in India, so that his father thought it as well to send him to rule in Sheher, where the capabilities for mischief are not so many as at Bombay. He dresses very well in various damask silk coats and faultless trousers; his swords and daggers sparkle with jewels; in his hand he flourishes a golden-headed cane; and, as the water is hard at Sheher, he sends his dirty linen in dhows to Bombay to be washed. He was exceedingly good to us; and as we wanted to go along the coast for about eighty miles to get a sight of the mouth of the Hadramut valley near Saihut, where it empties itself into the Indian Ocean, he arranged that the chief of the dreaded Hamoumi tribe should personally escort us, so that there might be no further doubt about our safety. As the feast of Ramadan was then on, we could get no pious Arab to accompany us; in fact, when not occupied in prayer and nocturnal orgies, our Arabs were now entirely given up

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to sleep, and Sheher by day was like a city of the dead. Even the children of Sheher observe Ramadan like their elders, and are provided with a miniature mosque near the chief gateway, not unlike a doll's house, about three feet high and three feet square, all correctly white-washed and with its minaret, which they illuminate at night, and during the holy month of Ramadan they are encouraged to play at mosque.

The Hamoumi tribe occupy all the mountainous district east of Sheher between the Hadramut valley and the sea, and they are reported to be very powerful. One evening when we were strolling along the shore outside the town, amusing ourselves by picking up shells and watching the scavenger crabs which line this coast in myriads, some soldiers ran after us and warned us to return for fear of the Hamoumi. Even Sultan Ghalib himself cannot ride far out of his capital unprotected, but when the chief was with us no danger was to be apprehended, and during the eight days that this expedition along the coast lasted we never had the slightest hitch or difficulty, and parted quite regretfully with the funny, wizened old chief whose power in these parts is so great.

Certainly the coast-line of Arabia bordering the Indian Ocean is the most dreary, barren land I ever saw, getting narrower and narrower as the mountains approach the sea near Saihut. Here and there hot streams bubble up, as at Ghail ba Wazir, Hami and Dis, enabling the inhabitants to cultivate the land immediately around them; otherwise water is very scarce, though more rain falls here than inland. Near Cape Bagashwa we came upon a long shallow puddle of rain water near which we were to halt for the night; before we could raise the least objection our camels, our horses and our men were all wallowing in it, and on this water, strongly impregnated with ammonia, we had to subsist for two days, and from drinking this water Mrs. Bent's horse got three leeches in its mouth, which produced a mysterious and alarming bleeding, the cause for which we did not discover for two days.

Some pastoral Bedouins were encamped near here, whose abodes are the simplest I ever saw—just four posts stuck in the ground with a roof of mats to afford some shelter from the sun. On to this roof they hang their cooking utensils, their only impedimenta when they move. One old woman was boiling a pot of porridge, another was grinding grain on a stone, another was frying little fish on a stick, whilst the men were engaged in picqueting the kids on a rope with a noose round each little neck, and preparing the oil-cakes for their camels. We had just sunlight enough left to photograph them and perpetuate the existence of this most primitive life.

Near the town of Kosair is a curious effusion of basalt stretching along the coast in a continuous black line for miles, jutting out into the sea here and there in small black capes. The Arabs say this

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basalt represents the ashes of infidel towns; but the Arabs here are very superstitious, and we were confidently told that not a single soul had entered a certain ruin dating from the Persian occupation, up the valley Sirwan behind Kosair, before we visited it, for fear of the jins which inhabit it.

Passing by a small Hamoumi village east of Kosair our nostrils were assailed by a fearful smell, which we discovered arose from a newly made grave in a cemetery, the occupant of which was thus suffered in his or her decay to pollute the atmosphere for yards around. Thankful were we, when our object was attained, to quit the inhospitable shore in a boat from Kosair. We could only get one of the small fishing-boats here used, which are made of planks sewn together with cords. There are only about half a dozen of these, and they nestle behind the jutting basaltic rock which forms the tiny port of Kosair about a mile from the town. Near this there is a tall watch-tower and several tombs of saints, around which the fishermen pile their nets, their sailing gear and their treasures, with as much security as if they were in the strongest storehouse, for from a saint's tomb it would be sacrilege to steal.

Our frail craft took us in sixteen hours back to Sheher, from whence we hired a dhow which, with an excellent wind behind us, took us in four days to Aden with no other discomforts than those incident to every voyage in every Arab dhow.

J. THEODORE BENT.

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THE GOLD QUESTION: AN APPEAL TO MONOMETALLISTS

1. WHAT is a monometallist? A monometallist desires to continue the legal standards of the world in the conditions in which they have been since 1873, and refuses to support any attempt to re-establish the conditions of the legal standards which existed throughout the world before 1873.

2. Before 1873 the metallic monetary mass, on the basis of which all values rested, consisted of all the gold and all the silver in the world linked together at a fixed ratio, and thus forming *one money* equally available throughout the world in payment of all debts. There was thus before 1873 one money and one standard of value for the whole world. The monometallists are unwilling to aid in a return to this position, and, on the contrary, urge that there ought to continue to be two moneys in the world, and two standards of value constantly fluctuating in terms of each other.

3. The most prominent monometallists in this country are Mr. R. Giffen, C.B., chief of the Statistical Department of the Board of Trade, and a frequent contributor to the *Times*; Mr. Bertram Currie, a partner in the firm of Messrs. Glyn, Mills & Co., a representative of the English Government at the Brussels Monetary Conference in 1892, and a member of the Council of the India Office; Mr. Henry Dunning Macleod, M.A., of Trinity College, Cambridge, a received authority on political economy among monometallists; Sir Rivers Wilson, Secretary of the National Debt Office, who also represented the English Government at the Brussels Conference, and who is responsible for the celebrated 'profession of faith' which broke up that conference, and Mr. T. Lloyd, the editor of the *Statist*.

We are indebted to Mr. Giffen for *The Case against Bimetallism*, which clearly states the reasons which influence him.

Mr. Bertram Currie has never published any of the arguments with which he supports his opinions, though he made one short speech at the Brussels Conference in 1892; this is the more to be regretted from the fact that of the leaders of the monometallists Mr. Bertram Currie is the only one having a practical experience of business.

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Mr. Macleod has recently published a book called *Bimetallism*. This book derives additional value from the fact that Mr. Macleod states in the preface that—

> The object of the present tract is to supply to monometallists a concise but sufficiently full statement of the facts and arguments upon which their system is founded and by which they must defend it.

Sir Rivers Wilson has published nothing, and possibly, being a Government official, he represents no more than the opinion of the First Lord of the Treasury for the time being.

Mr. T. Lloyd has recently published a series of articles in the *Statist* called 'The Latin Union Argument.'

4. It is necessary to bear in mind that the foundation of the system of monometallism is of very recent date; it is only since 1873 that there have been two moneys in the world, and two standards of value not linked together by a ratio fixed by law by one country or another. Before 1873, from the earliest history of coinage, a ratio had been fixed with more or less perfection, the period of greatest stability having been from 1803 to 1873, when the ratio was fixed by French law, and thus secured for the world the advantage of one money and of one standard of value for the whole world.

'Two ratios of value between gold and silver cannot co-exist in the world,' as M. Cernuschi truly points out, and therefore, although America had during part of the time a legal fixed ratio of 16 to 1, this was inoperative on the trade of the world as long as the French law maintained a ratio of $15\frac{1}{2}$ to 1: it is therefore solely to the French law of 1803 that the world was indebted up to 1873 for a fixed ratio between gold and silver. Monometallism only began to exist in 1873, when for the first time in the history of the world the two standards of value—gold and silver—became *antagonistic*.

Again to quote M. Cernuschi:

> But the great reason why English monometallism should be a little less proud of its biography is that it did not live by its own strength; it was French bimetallism which saved the value of gold in 1852 and following years. It was French bimetallism which enabled English monometallism to live on good terms with its antipodes, Indian monometallism. Whatever the quantity of bills the India Office had to sell, French bimetallism furnished England with a par of exchange as mathematical as that which she had with Australia, a country like her, coining only sovereigns.

The broad truth of this statement cannot be denied, and was admitted by the whole of the members of the Gold and Silver Commission of 1888; it is the position of trade since that date that has to be defended, and the advantages to England which have to be proved by the monometallists.

It is unfortunate that, owing to the extremely recent period of the foundation of the creed of the monometallist, this creed has received no attention from the great political economists of the

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past: from Oresme in the fourteenth century to John Stuart Mill in the nineteenth, all have died too long ago to consider the possibility of the existence of two *antagonistic* standards of value in the world. As Mr. Henry Dunning Macleod remarks (p. 7) in speaking of Oresme, the political economist of the fourteenth century:

At this period (1364) and for centuries afterwards, coins were issued at a fixed legal ratio to each other, which at the present day is called bimetallism. Oresme did not then perceive the impossibility of maintaining such a system.

5. Oresme saw no difficulties; but Mr. Macleod proceeds to point out that these difficulties are now insurmountable.

Mr. Macleod states (*Bimetallism*, p. 7, paragraph 2):

If coins of two kinds of metals such as gold and silver are allowed to circulate together in unlimited quantities, and if a legal ratio is attempted to be enforced between them which differs from their natural value in the market of the world, the coin which is underrated disappears from circulation. . . .

3. And as a necessary corollary it follows that it is impossible to establish and maintain a fixed par of exchange between countries which use different metals as their standard coin.

Mr. Macleod's argument is, that it is impossible to enforce a legal ratio between gold and silver 'which differs from the natural value in the market of the world.'

Again to quote M. Cernuschi: 'Whether good or bad, no money is ever in its own country below par.'

The market value in every country of its own legal enforced standard of value, whether good or bad, is always par. This is self-evident, and, being so, there can be no country with any standard, good or bad, in which there is a market value in its own country for its own currency differing from the legal value.

There is no *market value* for an English sovereign in London: it is only in Paris or Buenos Ayres or Bombay that there is a market value and quotation for English sovereigns.

There is no *market value* for an Argentine Government bank-note in Buenos Ayres: a dollar note is worth a dollar, and is a legal discharge of every debt of a dollar in Buenos Ayres. It is only in London, or elsewhere out of the country, that there is a market value for an Argentine bank-note differing from the legal value.

There is, therefore, no *market value* of any currency which differs from the legal value *in its own country*. It is only out of the country that there is a market and a *market value* differing from the internal or legal value.

This is so plain that a succeeding paragraph on p. 21 is an absurdity. The paragraph is as follows:

So if the law allows debtors to pay their debts equally in coins of different metals, which are rated equally in law, but whose values differ in the markets of the world, they will naturally pay their debts in the coin which is rated too highly and keep the coins which are rated too low at home. . . . *And this is true whether the world does so or only single and separate countries.*

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The absurdity of the last paragraph is glaring. If the *whole world* agreed to rate two metals as money equally in law, there could not be in this world any outside market to quote a different value.

6. It follows from this that if England, France, America, and Germany fixed the legal standard at an equal agreed ratio between gold and silver, these countries would furnish a mathematical par of exchange, as England has 'with Australia, a country like her, coining only sovereigns.'

If the legal ratio necessarily prevailed in London, Paris, New York, and Berlin, where else in the world would a market on a gold basis be found of sufficient power to establish a different market rate? Nowhere.

7. To what extent, then, does Mr. Giffen agree with Mr. Macleod?

In *The Case against Bimetallism: a Problem in Money*, p. 112, Mr. Giffen thus states his opinion. It was the

> unbroken experience of centuries when Locke took up the question, as it has been the experience ever since, that side by side with the legal ratio there is immediately a market ratio, and there is no discernible tendency for the former to govern the latter. The foundation of the bimetallic idea is thus rotten from the beginning. . . .

The subject of Locke's report as to the existence of a market ratio differing from the legal ratio in England arose *solely from the fact of the want of international agreement in legal ratio between England and Holland*, and is clearly set forth in Locke's report to the House of Commons on the 22nd of September, 1698.

It must be borne in mind that at this time the standard of England was silver; but that gold coins were by law rated to silver coins as legal tender in payment of all debts, without the precaution, which alone renders the fixing of a ratio sound in principle, of taking care that the ratio fixed is the same as that fixed by other commercial nations: without this precaution there will always be a market ratio for export differing from the legal ratio, or, rather, the overrated coins will alone remain in circulation, and the underrated coins will be exported. Gold coins had continually been over-valued in England, and consequently all the silver had been exported and nothing but gold remained; all the early difficulties as to currency legislation in England arose from the scarcity of silver.

Locke states

> that gold in Holland, from whence the greater part of what has been lately coined here has been brought over to us, is about 6 per cent. cheaper than it is here; that is to say, the same quantity of gold that will yield here at the mint a sum equivalent to one hundred ounces of silver will there be bought for less than ninety-four ounces of the same silver, and from whence it follows that whoever imports gold gains 6 per cent. more here than if he imported silver; . . . that the exportation of silver will continue to the very great loss to this kingdom in trade so long as gold here shall have the value of 22*s.* sterling for a guinea.

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Locke goes on to recommend 'that it is necessary that guineas in their common currency be brought down to 21*s.* 6*d.* at least,' as the fixing of the value of gold

> in any country so that it cannot be readily accommodated to the course it has in other neighbouring countries will *be always prejudicial to the country which does it.*

After this, how can Mr. Giffen argue that Locke was opposed to fixing a ratio between gold and silver? Locke was rightly opposed to fixing any ratio which differed from that of Holland; a ratio between gold and silver is an international question, and is only soundly established if by concurrent legislation the same ratio is fixed by the most important commercial nations. It was Locke who recommended the ratio of 15½ to 1.

Our disregard of silver, the single money standard of four-fifths in number of the inhabitants of the world, in favour of our own single money gold standard, is to our disadvantage, as was in 1698 our over-valuation of gold under our own bimetallic standard as against the valuation of gold in the bimetallic standard of Holland.

In 1698 the prejudice or loss of 6 per cent. fell on the English Government, with a corresponding profit to the dealers in foreign bullion, whereas now the prejudice or loss arising from the disregard of the silver standard of Asia amounts to 50 per cent. and falls on the English producer.

Increasing cheapness of any particular produce from increasing supplies or improved methods of production or distribution is an unmixed blessing, but it is equally necessary to point out that increased cheapness of produce brought about by the relative over-valuation of standard money falls hardly short of a fraud on the producer. Even the most cynical consumer, content with cheap produce, who, like the receiver of stolen goods, 'asks no questions'—even he can understand this.

8. Mr. Giffen devotes his chief argument to prove that the legal French ratio from 1803 to 1873 was inoperative, and that, therefore, it is impossible for any number of commercial nations to fix such a ratio as will be operative.

It is not necessary to dispute the figures given by Mr. Giffen to prove that he exaggerates in stating that the French ratio from 1803 to 1873 was what he calls 'inoperative.' Inoperative, forsooth! These are Mr. Giffen's words:

> In point of fact, France was not bimetallic almost the whole of the period, and the bimetallic law was completely inoperative, . . . but apart from this it may suffice to note that in half the years from 1803 to 1820 gold was at a premium compared with the legal ratio in France, in three of the years on the average over 3 per cent. premium.

Mr. Giffen forgets to point out that during this period Bank of England notes were not redeemable in specie, and that during these

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years both gold *and* silver were at a premium in London as against Bank of England notes. This omission is, however, very important.

During the period from 1803 to 1820, according to Mr. Giffen's tables, the largest divergence from the ratio of 15½ to 1 was in the year 1813. During that year, however, the average market price for gold in London was 5*l.* 1*s.* per ounce, payable in Bank of England notes, or a premium of 27 per cent., and there were coined in French mints 3,037,054 gold pieces of 20 francs, or 60,741,080 francs, which at an exchange of 25 francs equals 2,429,643*l.*

If this 'inoperative' ratio were now operative to the same limited extent, and during seventeen years no more than three years could be found during which the premium on gold exceeded 3 per cent., what saving would this mean to the Indian taxpayer on his gold payments in London, which, according to the estimate for 1894–95, amount to 15,657,100*l.* net?

To provide this sum at 3 per cent. premium on gold, or say 23¼*d.* per rupee, it would be necessary to raise . .	161,621,678 rupees.
To provide the same sum at the existing rate of exchange, say 13*d.* per rupee, it will be necessary to raise . .	289,054,153 rupees.

The saving to the Indian taxpayer, with no corresponding loss to the English creditor, or to anyone else, if the 'inoperative' French law now existed, would amount to 127,432,475 rupees annually.

Why, then, trouble to discuss if seventy-five years ago the French ratio was completely operative or not? As Senator Wolcott remarked: 'The English monometallist regards with singular equanimity the needless suffering of the Indian taxpayer.'

9. Every legal metallic standard as a measure of value is artificial: the gold metallic standard of England is not more artificial and not less artificial than was (before the blunder of closing the Indian mints) the silver standard of India; the fixing of a ratio between the two standards does not make either standard more or less artificial, but it makes both standards more stable; stability in a standard or measure of value is rightly judged by every economist to be the aim and object of all sound currency legislation.

Those in favour of fixing a ratio desire stability in our standard of value; the monometallists desire that our standard of value shall continue daily to fluctuate in value.

Mr. Gladstone and those statesmen who agree with him on currency questions express their earnest desire for a stable standard, but do not yet understand that as long as the two standards are not linked together by an international ratio, every quotation, by cable from New York or in Messrs. Pixley & Abell's London list, reporting a fluctuation in the gold value of silver is a quotation of a fluctuation in our standard of value.

The stability of each standard linked together by an equal international ratio is assured by the power of supplying any special

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external demand for one metal, and retaining the other metal for internal circulation or reserve. When Mr. Giffen states, therefore, that France was never 'bimetallic,' and that 'the bimetallic law was completely inoperative,' and seeks to prove this statement by the fact that from 1820 to 1847 the internal circulation of France was chiefly silver, and from 1850 to 1873 chiefly gold, he states a fact which furnishes a perfect example of the successful working of the 'bimetallic' theory.

There was no divergence of ratio for internal payments in France. The divergence was only visible abroad by the quotations in London for bills on Paris. When a Government has furnished a mathematical par of exchange it has done all it can be asked to do.

A dealer in bills of exchange does not exist to prove the mathematical truth of a theory, but to get as large a profit as possible for himself; the buyer in London of a bill on Paris payable in French currency always bought as many francs and centimes as possible for a sovereign, without troubling to think that in making a large profit he might be supplying for future generations an argument against fixing a ratio between gold and silver.

If England, France, Germany, and America agreed upon a fixed parity of exchange, there would be no town of commercial importance in the world on which a bill drawn would represent the power to demand payment in gold *as a right*, or where gold in particular would be required as a necessity.

10. The statements of Mr. Giffen as to supposed purchases or sales of the precious metals by France are seriously incorrect, and are not justified by the records of the Bank of France.

Words too strong could hardly be used to blame such carelessness as Mr. Giffen shows in making the following mis-statement (p. 127): 'France sold silver after 1850 and bought gold. . . . In about fifteen years after 1850, France sold about 50,000,000*l.* of silver and bought 200,000,000*l.* of gold.' Mr. Giffen names these imaginary figures to support his theory that France maintained the ratio of parity by large sales or purchases of bullion.

Here the looseness of Mr. Giffen's language makes it necessary to state, for the information of Mr. Giffen's readers if not for that of Mr. Giffen himself, that a bank of issue such as the Bank of England or the Bank of France never on its own initiative sells specie.

The profits of a bank of issue depend on the amount of notes unsecured by bullion in circulation; repeated sales of specie in exchange for its own notes would be the same thing as if a private banker asked a customer to withdraw his balance.

With the courteous permission of M. Magnin, the Governor of the Bank of France, M. Billotte, the Secretary of the Bank of France, has kindly prepared the following statement, detailing the purchases of gold and silver, and showing that the object of these

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limited operations had nothing to do with any effort to support the ratio, but solely with the justifiable object of strengthening the cash reserves of the Bank of France.

M. Billotte's memorandum is as follows, and is now published for the first time:

LES ACHATS DE NUMÉRAIRE DE LA BANQUE DE FRANCE.—La Banque de France n'a jamais acheté de métaux précieux, spécialement d'argent, pour en soutenir les cours; d'ailleurs cette opération n'aurait pas eu d'objet tant que la frappe libre du métal permettait à chacun d'obtenir 3,437 francs de monnaie contre 1 kilo d'or fin et 218 francs 89 c. contre un kilo d'argent fin. Les achats qui ont été faits à différentes époques ont eu simplement pour but de renforcer l'encaisse métallique, comme on le verra par l'exposé suivant:

1855–57. ACHATS EXTRAORDINAIRES.—Le développement des affaires industrielles et financières et les excès de spéculation qui signalèrent les premières années du Second Empire causèrent de sérieux embarras monétaires. Au mois de juillet 1855 la Banque de France, qui avait eu à fournir des sommes considérables pour le paiement de soies du Levant, pour des achats de grain à l'étranger et pour la solde de l'armée de Crimée, n'avait presque plus d'or, et l'argent s'épuisait rapidement. Pour reconstituer son encaisse elle se livra, pendant les anneés 1855, 1856, 1857, à d'importants achats à prime de métaux, qui se résument ainsi:

	Achats d'or montant	Achats d'argent montant
	Francs	Francs
2e semestre, 1855 . . .	215,263,854	39,130,766
1er „ 1856 . . .	164,911,083	41,090,591
2e „ 1856 . . .	331,502,016	9,783,536
1er „ 1857 . . .	292,643,812	1,797,008
2e „ 1857 . . .	270,187,753	—
Total . .	1,274,508,518	91,801,901

Les primes payées sur l'or ont été de 11,790,708 francs et les primes payées sur l'argent de 2,575,064 francs.

OPÉRATIONS PENDANT LA CRISE DE 1863–64. La guerre de Sécession et le déplacement du marché du coton qui en fut la conséquence, en forçant le commerce à s'adresser à l'Egypte et à l'Asie Mineure et à l'extrême Orient, tous pays petits consommateurs de produits européens, amenèrent des sorties de numéraire de France et d'Angleterre qui ne tarderènt pas à prendre des proportions inquiétantes.

L'escompte fut élevé à 8 pour cent en France, à 9 pour cent en Angleterre.

La Banque de France dans le courant de l'année 1864 acheta 229,658,273f. 55c. d'or moyennant une prime de 719,488f. 47c. à la fois dans le but d'alimenter son encaisse et de prouver qu'elle ne reculait devant aucun sacrifice pour conjurer ou du moins pour atténuer la nécessité de l'élévation du taux de l'escompte.[1]

5 juillet 1894.

[1] 'PURCHASES OF BULLION BY THE BANK OF FRANCE.—The Bank of France has not at any time bought the precious metals, especially silver, in order to raise the quotation; besides, there would be no occasion for this operation as long as the free coinage of the metal allowed anyone to obtain 3,437 francs of money for one kilogramme of fine gold and 218 francs 89 centimes of money for one kilogramme of fine silver. The purchases which have been made at different times have simply been in order to strengthen the metallic reserve, as will be seen from the following statement:

'1855–57. EXTRAORDINARY PURCHASES.—The development of industrial and

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It will be seen that in the years 1855–56, during the period when Mr. Giffen states that France *sold* silver to the extent of 50,000,000*l.* sterling, the Bank of France actually *bought* silver to the extent of 91,801,901 francs, or about 3,672,000*l.* sterling, paying a premium of about 100,300*l.*, or 2·80 per cent.

What can justify an English Government official, using the columns of the *Times*, and thereby obtaining the publicity and authority of that influential paper, being so careless as to his statements? What reparation can ever be made for misleading the public, even unintentionally, on a subject of such vast importance?

It is little short of a public scandal that Mr. Giffen should sit on the Royal Commission on Agricultural Depression, holding, as it were, a brief for the new creed of monometallism, and cross-examine farmers who know even less than he does himself of the laws of legal tender as applied to actual banking operations, in order to obtain statements or admissions, from these farmers, which may be used, not for their advantage, but to bolster up the failing faith in the creed of the monometallist.

financial business and the excessive speculation which distinguished the early years of the Second Empire brought about serious monetary embarrassment. In the month of July 1855 the Bank of France, which had been obliged to provide considerable sums for the payment of silk from the Levant, for purchases of grain abroad, and for the pay of the army in the Crimea, had hardly any gold, and the stock of silver was becoming rapidly exhausted. To re-establish the cash reserve, the Bank of France undertook during the years 1855, 1856, and 1857 the following important purchases of the precious metals at a premium:

	Purchases of Gold	Purchases of Silver
	Francs	Francs
2nd half, 1855	215,263,854	39,130,766
1st „ 1856	164,911,083	41,090,591
2nd „ 1856	331,502,016	9,783,536
1st „ 1857	292,643,812	1,797,008
2nd „ 1857	270,187,753	—
Total . .	1,274,508,518	91,801,901

'The premium paid on gold amounted to 11,790,708 francs, and the premium paid on silver amounted to 2,575,054 francs.

'OPERATIONS DURING THE CRISIS OF 1863–64.—The American Civil War and the consequent change in the market for cotton forced manufacturers to rely for supplies on Egypt, Asia Minor, and the extreme East, countries which took in exchange but small quantities of European products, and occasioned exports of specie from France and England which soon assumed disturbing proportions.

'The Bank rate of discount was raised to 8 per cent. in France and 9 per cent. in England.

'The Bank of France in the course of the year 1864 bought gold to the amount of 229,658,273 francs 55 centimes at a premium of 712,488 francs 47 centimes, with the aim both of strengthening the cash reserve and of proving that the Bank would grudge no sacrifice to avoid or, at least, to lessen the effect of a further rise in the rate of discount.

5th July, 1894.'

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11. Again, on p. 148, Mr. Giffen states that:

The presumption is certainly against the idea that the fact of the French Government having fixed a price between gold and silver in 1803–1873 was the cause of the steadiness for gold and silver in that period.

Surely Mr. Giffen knows that it is incorrect to say that France 'fixed a price between gold and silver.' France did nothing of the sort. By the law of 1803 it is enacted in effect that 15½ kilogrammes of silver shall have equal debt-paying power to 1 kilogramme of gold, but neither the law of 1803 nor any other French law fixes the price of gold or of silver. The French Monetary Act of 1803 is very short, and it is impossible to believe that Mr. Giffen has never read it; how, then, can Mr. Giffen state that France ever *fixed a price* between gold and silver?

12. The most important part of Mr. Giffen's book is to be found on pp. 118, 119. Here Mr. Giffen changes the *rôle* of genial optimist telling us that our disasters are only temporary, and, assuming the mantle of the prophet, foretells that if we join other nations in fixing a ratio between the two moneys of the world the result will be 'a financial crash to which the world has yet seen no parallel.'

These are the words:

There is a curious initial difficulty in the matter. International bimetallism at any ratio likely to find favour with bimetallists cannot be introduced at all in countries with an existing monometallic gold standard, except at the cost of a financial crash to which the world has yet seen no parallel. What bimetallists desire is that gold and silver should be made legal tender at a ratio in which silver would be rated at a higher value than it now is.

The answer is this: Those in favour of fixing a ratio desire that gold and silver should be made legal tender at a ratio *in which gold would be rated at a lower value than it now is.*

Mr. Giffen may be disposed at first to say that this is the same thing; it is nothing of the sort. Although one metal cannot rise without the other falls, the difference of standpoint is vital, and is one of the foundations of the dispute between monometallists and those in favour of again fixing an international ratio between gold and silver; the vital importance of the distinction cannot be too strongly insisted upon.

Silver has not changed in relative value to commodities, but gold has: the relative value of silver as against corn, iron, or most articles of the first utility is still approximately the same as it was when the ratio of silver to gold was 15½ to 1 as before 1873: 15½ ounces of uncoined silver will even in England still exchange for the same unit of quantity of most articles of the widest daily consumption that they did before 1873; the only exception is gold: 15½ ounces of silver, instead of buying one ounce, will only buy half an ounce of gold, to the prejudice of those nations using gold as a standard of value.

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If then, as before 1873, throughout the world the ratio of silver against the most useful commodities continues still approximately as before 1873, why should Mr. Giffen treat the proposal to restore the relative value of gold to silver to 15½ to 1 as preposterous?

13. Why, further, should depositors in London banks on the announcement of a Bill to fix a ratio between gold and silver seek to withdraw their deposits, and at great loss and risk to themselves hoard gold; what future profit could they hope to gain, and when and how?

What possible reason is there to lead anyone to withdraw and hoard gold because in terms of gold silver is about to rise in value, any more than if coals, corn, or London and North-Western Railway stock were about to rise in value?

Would not a depositor rather argue thus: Gold is at last to be lowered in value. A gold sovereign can now be exchanged for eight ounces of silver, and when the future ratio is established may only exchange for four ounces of silver—a gold sovereign will now exchange for one quarter of wheat, and when the future ratio is established it may only exchange for half a quarter of wheat—why, therefore, withdraw my gold sovereign and hoard it when I can so profitably employ it in buying eight ounces of silver or one quarter of wheat? When a ratio is established, I may be able to obtain two sovereigns for my eight ounces of silver, or for my quarter of wheat. Nothing will induce me to be so foolish as to hoard gold which has evidently reached its maximum over-valuation. *I* will not be caught at the 'top of the market' for gold, but will use my gold in buying silver, corn or iron, or such securities as will be influenced by the fixing of a ratio, and will give every assistance to support a Bill fixing such ratio between the two standards of value.

In spite of Mr. Giffen's prediction, the prospect of such a Bill will cause no panic. There will be few so foolish as to sit on their gold at the top price of the market, while their neighbours profitably employ their gold in purchases; there will be a revival in trade from the first moment that our Government gives the least sign that it is willing to join France and America in fixing a ratio; there will be an ever-increasing revival with the increased chances of a ratio being fixed; and if at last another Sir Rivers Wilson should destroy the chances of an arrangement, then, and then only, will there be danger of a panic.

14. As an artist while painting a picture, by looking at a reflection of his picture in a looking-glass, is from time to time able to detect faults which would otherwise pass unnoticed, so there is no surer way to test an argument if applied to one metallic standard than to apply it to the other standard. It is this mode of reasoning which clearly shows the fatuous nature of the policy of the English Government in closing the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver. Imagine for

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a moment a proposal to close the Mint in London to the free coinage of gold, and at the same time to put an import duty of 5 per cent. on all gold coming to this country, in order to endeavour to make sovereigns artificially scarce and to raise their value. The closing of the Indian mints and the imposition of a 5 per cent. duty on silver is equally monstrous; it can be justified by no economic law, and has signally failed to accomplish its avowed object—namely, to make the coined rupees issued by the Government artificially scarce, and so to raise their value in gold. It has not only failed to raise the value in gold of coined rupees, but has still further lowered that value, or, in other words, has still further raised the value of a sovereign.

15. Mr. Giffen constantly asserts that if England joined other great commercial nations in fixing a ratio between gold and silver, England must, before long, pay away all her gold, and remain afterwards a silver-standard country. Mr. Giffen gives no reasons, so that it is difficult to see how this could happen under a currency union between England, France, Germany, and America.

The gold now held in State banks or treasuries by these four countries amounts to upwards of 160,000,000*l.*, without counting gold in private hands; no one could withdraw this gold as a right, and it could not disappear. What individual or nation could, then, acquire by purchase for a consideration sufficient gold to embarrass these four great nations? The yearly supply of gold, which now amounts to nearly 30,000,000*l.*, would surely more than supply any infatuated individuals who might amuse themselves by hoarding gold. No creditor having a legitimate use for gold need fear being refused gold at the Bank of England; it will cause no injury to any individual or to any trade or business in the United Kingdom if the Bank of England possesses the same power which the Bank of France has always possessed, and has always used with discretion—the power, namely, of putting a check on any illegitimate use or accumulation of gold. After the fixing of a ratio of parity, the Bank of England, although not bound to pay in gold, would probably adopt similar rules to those now existing at the Bank of France: as is generally known, the Bank of France is not bound to redeem its notes otherwise than in gold or silver *at its own option*—that is to say, it cannot be forced to pay gold. The existing rule is, however, to pay any customer engaged in trade any gold he may require for the purposes of his business without limit. If a stranger requires gold for notes, it is given him to the extent of 3,000 francs; the weight of 3,000 francs in gold is nearly a kilogramme, or as much as anyone could carry in his pocket; but the stranger, having taken away his 3,000 francs, can, if he wishes, return during the day as often as he pleases, and again obtain 3,000 francs. If the same rule were followed in England, there would, therefore, be no difficulty in obtaining from the Bank of England any amount of gold required for household

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purposes, even though the Bank of England was not bound to pay gold.

16. Mr. Lloyd devotes a large quantity of space in his articles to show that 'it is credit and not coin which regulates prices.' Mr. Lloyd does not say that it is credit and not coin which regulates *value*.

As this branch of the discussion has only an indirect bearing on the great question as to whether or not England should assist in establishing, by international agreement, a fixed par of exchange between the United Kingdom and the Indian Empire, it is not proposed to discuss the point in this paper. It may be mentioned, however, that, as M. Edmond Théry so ably points out in the columns of the *Economiste Européen* for the 21st of July, 1894, the antagonism of the two standards prevents the exchange of *credit* between a silver-standard and a gold-standard country.

If only a standard of *value* is once settled between England and India, those who will may continue the discussion on the relative influence upon *prices* of credit or the precious metals. Once settle the standard of *value*, and prices will take care of themselves.

Mr. Lloyd's other arguments have not been specially considered, but, speaking generally, he agrees with Mr. Giffen. In order to promote the discussion and elucidation of this all-important subject, Mr. Lloyd, to his infinite credit, has opened the columns of his own paper, the *Statist*, and has printed full replies to his own articles by Mr. T. E. Powell and Mr. H. R. Beeton. Those interested can consult both Mr. Lloyd's articles and the replies in recent numbers of the *Statist*.

My thanks and acknowledgments are due to Mr. Henry Hucks-Gibbs for the use that I have made of his admirable pamphlet, *The Fall in the Gold Price of Silver*,[2] and also to M. Cernuschi, whose pamphlet, *Bimetallism in England and Abroad*,[3] I have freely quoted, and especially to Mr. S. Dana Horton, who in his book, *The Silver Pound*,[4] published for the first time the report of Locke to the House of Commons in 1698.

The chief objects of this paper are to show—

(1) That monometallism is a new creed dating from 1873.

(2) That the leaders or exponents of the monometallic creed are, though influential, very few in number.

(3) That of the five whose names are mentioned, one only, Mr. Bertram Currie, has practical experience of business.

(4) That three only out of the five—Mr. Giffen, Mr. Macleod, and Mr. Lloyd—have published their views.

(5) That silver has practically not fallen in exchangeable value in any part of the world, except as against gold.

(6) That the disregard of the silver standard by England, France,

[2] *The Fall in the Gold Price of Silver.* 1892. Effingham Wilson.
[3] *Bimetallism in England and Abroad.* 1879. P. S. King.
[4] *The Silver Pound.* 1887. Macmillan & Co.

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Germany, and America, has been to the great disadvantage of each and all of them.

(7) Lastly, to appeal to Mr. Giffen, Mr. Macleod, Mr. Lloyd and Mr. Bertram Currie to publish their views as to what advantages England has gained by refusing to promote an international ratio of parity.

How long will men of business in the City of London be content to allow their own livelihood and the business interests of the country to be under the supreme influence of five gentlemen, of whom four have no practical business experience, and of whom the remaining one, having a large business experience, has never made any statement of the reasons for his opinions? How long will men of business in London remain in culpable ignorance of the causes of their want of prosperity—

> Warm nestled in the down of prejudice,
> And be content . . . . .
> . . . . . to hop about from perch to perch
> In paltry cages of dead men's dead thoughts—

boasting almost that questions of currency are beyond their comprehension?

Will they wait until some fresh and crowning disaster opens their eyes when too late? Will they wait until England shall have lost her pre-eminence in commerce and in finance?

J. P. HESELTINE.

August 14, 1894.

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MRS. SIDNEY WEBB'S ATTACK ON THE LABOUR COMMISSION

JUST before I sailed for America at the beginning of July, my attention was called to Mrs. Sidney Webb's article on the Labour Commission in the current number of this Review. I must confess that my first impression was one of unqualified mirth. Three years' close practical study of the school of which Mr. and Mrs. Webb are the leaders has made me so familiar with 'their ways which are dark and their tricks which are vain,' that the article in question appeared to me nothing more than a very diverting specimen of latter-day Socialist methods. On second thoughts, however, it occurred to me that those who had not enjoyed the same advantages as myself might possibly be led to take the article seriously, and, as the courteous editor of this Review informed me that no one had a better right than myself to reply to it, I take up my pen with the intention of treating Mrs. Webb with all the respect a scientific writer could demand, a respect with which a hasty perusal of her book on the *History of Trade Unionism* has failed to inspire me. As a woman of the new advanced school she would, of course, not expect to be treated with deference on any other ground.

A word may perhaps be permitted to me at the outset with regard to the book I have just mentioned, as it is the work on which Mrs. Webb's title to be heard as a critic of such a body as the Labour Commission would probably be based by her friends.

A great deal has been said and written of the new spirit which is abroad in scientific as well as in political spheres, and we have been led to connect it with a higher morality founded on a new gospel, the preachers of which have been somewhat reluctant to preach in places where they would be made to answer for their statements. We were presented with a manifestation of that spirit in Mrs. Webb's book which, with the touching modesty of the new school, has been proclaimed to the world by the *Daily Chronicle* as a masterpiece.

But a cursory examination of the book shows—

1. A series of errors in matters on which full and trustworthy official evidence is at hand. For instance, on page 387 it is stated

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that 'many of the old societies were already shrinking up into insignificant minorities of inferior workmen,' &c. No facts are given in support of the statement. It is, however, stated further on that 'the eleven principal societies in the shipbuilding and metal trades had been since 1885 on the decline.' 'The ten largest building trades had also declined in numbers between 1885 and 1888.'

The figures given in Mr. Burnett's Fifth Report on Trade Unions are as follows:—

(*a*) Of the nine largest building societies (reference numbers 5, 6, 8, 14, 15, 31, 35, 39, 46), five had decreased in membership in the period, and one (No. 14) only to the extent of eleven members.

The insignificant minorities to which they had shrunk in the case of the larger unions were—

(No. 6) 25,781 to 25,050.

(No. 39) 11,285 to 10,161. (See Report, p. 55.)

(*b*) Of the eleven principal societies in the shipbuilding and metal trades (reference numbers 129, 136, 137, 138, 139, 152, 264, 282, 341, 357, 359), six had decreased in membership, while five had increased. In the larger unions the 'insignificant minorities' were as follows:—

(No. 129) 12,376 in 1885 to 12,202 in 1888.

(No. 264) 28,212 in 1885 to 26,545 in 1888.

(No. 341) 4,535 in 1885 to 3,833 in 1888.

(No. 357) 5,611 in 1885 to 5,360 in 1888.

2. A series of omissions which it seems difficult to attribute to ignorance, for instance:—

Page 389, the account of the South Metropolitan gas strike. Quite apart from the fact that an absolutely one-sided account is given of the causes leading up to the strike, no mention is made of the intimidation which was one of its chief features.

3. A vague use of terms, likely to mislead: for instance (p. 19): 'The fundamental purpose of the trade union is the protection of the Standard of Life—that is to say, the organised resistance to any innovation likely to tend to the degradation of wage-earners as a class.'

(Cf. p. 298.) 'But the most noticeable and perhaps the most important of these resemblances is the constancy with which both the miners and the cotton operatives have adhered to the legislative protection of the Standard of Life as a leading principle of their Trade Unionism.'

If the last sentence means that the miners and cotton operatives have always desired that the State should regulate wages, it is, as Mr. and Mrs. Webb should know, inaccurate. (Cf. Labour Commission evidence.) Cf. also p. 355, 'From time immemorial one of the leading tenets of Trade Unionism has been the desirability of maintaining by law the minimum Standard of Life.'

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4. A series of misleading and partial statements showing a distinct bias against a certain school of trade union leaders—*e.g.* with regard to what is called the 'Front Bench' (p. 382). 'No *honest* attempt was made to carry out the repeated directions of Congress.'

5. A distinct bias against the Conservative party, to which practically all the social reforms of the last fifty years are due. (Cf. pp. 271, 274, and 275, note.)

6. A distinct bias against an individual employer universally respected (cf. p. 324). It is suggested that Mr. David Dale, seeing that the sliding scales were a benefit to the masters, convinced the men that it was to their advantage.

7. An inadequate and unfair account of particular institutions —*e.g.* sliding scales. (Cf. p. 324 and onwards.)

It is stated (p. 324): 'We see the sturdy leaders of many trade union battles gradually and insensibly accepting the capitalists' axiom that wages must necessarily fluctuate according to the capitalists' profits, and even with every variation of market prices. The course of prices since 1870 demonstrates how disastrously this principle would have operated for the wage-earners had it been universally adopted.'

Mrs. Webb should know that it is never proposed that sliding scales shall be absolutely fixed irrespective of change in the general condition of the labour market; they are subject to revision from time to time.

8. A reckless use of one and the same institution to prove or disprove whatever is necessary to the main argument.

(*a*) Pp. 344, 469, (*b*) pp. 360, 395 and 476.

In the earlier of these passages it is stated that the Trade Union Congress is no longer a guide to the opinion of the trade union world, yet it is on the opinions expressed by the Trade Union Congress that the statement of the conversion of the trade unions to socialism is founded.

9. Contradictions between different parts of the work itself. *E.g.* (p. 20), it is stated in a footnote that 'there is no evidence of any durable combination of the journeymen compositors for a hundred years' after 1666. 'Benjamin Franklin, who worked in London in 1725, makes no mention of trade unions.' Yet (p. 66) in a footnote as to printers' unions it is stated that Benjamin Franklin mentions 'the Chapel' and its regulations as early as 1725.

10. In addition to the above there are a host of minor inaccuracies in this unwieldy volume which one would certainly not expect in the work of investigators 'who are accustomed to spend several months in mastering the organisation and problems of one industry in a single district in their own country.'

However, I have given enough to raise the query, If these are the errors revealed in matters of common knowledge, what must be the

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case with historical questions in which accuracy and judicial fairness are required?

But the fact is that Mrs. Webb's *History of Trade Unionism* is one immense piece of special pleading with regard to the labour movement, and she has yet contrived to let out on page 393 the one fact which it is intended to conceal—namely, that the so-called Socialist movement is an outside intrigue which has nothing to do with the labour movement properly so called. The so-called Socialist movement in England is an effort on the part of the lower middle class to obtain social recognition, political power and place, by means of the trade union movement, which it dislikes and misrepresents.[1]

Political power is at present in the hands of what one may call the upper middle class—that is, the class educated at the large public schools. This class Mrs. Webb and her friends dislike almost as much as they do the old trade-union leaders. (Cf. pp. 232, 241, 277, 282, 352, and 476.)

The fact is that the average Eton or Winchester boy and the average trade unionist have much the same self-respect and self-reliance, and much the same admiration and capacity for self-denial which is so abhorrent to the advocate of State interference, State pensions, and grandmotherly legislation generally. The average girl from Lady Margaret Hall shares the prejudice of the wives and daughters of trade unionists as to the Socialist doctrine of free love and other extreme views of the new woman as exhibited in the 'new' literature. Neither men nor women of the classes above referred to have as yet shown much liking for the Marx-Aveling philosophy, which may be roughly compared to that of the tailless fox of the fable. Advocates of views which involve loss of self-respect and self-reliance generally desire to persuade other men and women that these qualities are despicable.

The strength of the labour movement in England and the reason of its success as compared with foreign movements lies in the fact that the lower middle-class proletariate, who cannot dig yet are not ashamed to beg, have hitherto been unceremoniously pushed aside at the Trade Union Congress. The workmen have hitherto been content to ask this kind of Socialist what he has done. I venture to answer for these Socialists in their own words: they have done nothing but put conundrums which they cannot themselves answer. They claim to preach a new religion. On examination it appears to be a kind of parody of the Sermon on the Mount, with the central figure left out, to be replaced no doubt by that of a London County Councillor. They write history, claiming for a small club which only recently came into existence the work of Lord Shaftesbury, Charles Kingsley, and Vansittart Neale!

[1] Cf. Socialist pamphlet '*To Hell with Trade Unionism*,' and Mrs. Webb's book *passim*.

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They show their appreciation of that section of the younger working men called the New Unionists, who have with unerring insight seized on the practical side of Ruskin's doctrine, by attacks on Mr. John Burns and Mr. Tom Mann, with which the public are too imperfectly acquainted. This class, I may remark in passing, was not represented on the Labour Commission. An examination of Mrs. Webb's credentials and an acquaintance with the party to which she belongs would hardly lead one to expect that she would prove an impartial critic. But her partiality has exceeded my wildest anticipations. There is not one page of her Review which does not contain, as I shall show, statements which not only are inaccurate, but which one would think Mrs. Webb must have known to be so.

It is said, and I believe with truth, in spite of the sneers of Mrs. Sidney Webb at her own sex (cf. Review, p. 6, paragraph 2, and p. 5, 'an almost feminine horror of statistics'), that the advent of women into public life will prove a public advantage, but it is certain that man in his most unregenerate days has never dared to adopt in a Review of the standing of the *Nineteenth Century* the method pursued by Mrs. Webb.

Having dealt briefly with Mrs. Webb, her credentials, and the party she represents, let us now turn to the body which she has undertaken to criticise, and which, on her own admission, included in its ranks some of the keenest and most highly trained intellects in the country, and the system adopted by its chairman, whom she has described as courteous and impartial.

The Commission was appointed, as is well known, in 1891, and held its first meeting on the 1st of May.

It decided to adopt all the possible methods of inquiry, viz.:

1. The taking of oral evidence and the subjecting of that oral evidence to cross-examination *vivâ voce*.

2. The issue of schedules of questions to associations of employers and employed and individual employers.

3. The utilisation of existing materials in the form of literature, Parliamentary papers, and official documents connected with the bodies concerned.

4. The appointment of individual investigators to conduct inquiries which could not conveniently be otherwise made.

I may deal with the last first, as it is the only division of the work of the Commission which has met with any portion of the approval of our critic. It is the basis of a division of the Report to which she has not even referred, and includes the work of the Assistant Commissioners appointed to investigate questions relating to agriculture and the employment of women as well as the Foreign Reports with which the Secretary was entrusted.

Let us take them in the order of merit assigned by Mrs. Webb.

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The work of Mr. Little and his colleagues, the Assistant Agricultural Commissioners, meets at her hands with the praise of being 'competent,' a phrase which implies the same doubts as to the author's command of the English language as the use of 'backwardation' (p. 13) and other similar terms. There is no attempt at criticism, so we may pass on not without a regret. It would indeed have been delicious to have heard Mrs. Webb, with her wide knowledge of agriculture, taking Mr. Little to task.

The work of the Lady Assistant Commissioners comes next. Although Mrs. Webb was not fortunate enough to be selected for the post, she forwarded a memorandum as to the way in which this inquiry should be conducted. It is, therefore, without astonishment that I read that the Commission was fortunate enough to secure four accomplished women for the task. This is a statement founded on fact and dictated by prudence. But the statement that the Lady Assistant Commissioners were handicapped by an impossible reference and unworkable conditions provokes a smile. Will it be believed that the reference thus condemned, which included (apparently now to Mrs. Webb's wrath and indignation) the difference of wages of women and men, and the effect of women's industrial employment on their health, morality, and the home, was based largely on Mrs. Webb's memorandum, which, with the single exception of the moral effect of the employment of women, contains the subjects specifically objected to? Will it be further believed that the Lady Assistant Commissioners, so far from holding, as Mrs. Webb suggests, that the conditions of the inquiry were unworkable, passed a resolution at their first meeting unanimously approving of those conditions?

With regard to the Foreign Reports, I positively blushed to find that Mrs. Webb 'was appalled at the wide range of knowledge' displayed, and I rubbed my eyes when I read that she felt 'of course' unable to form any judgment on 'this stupendous work considered as a whole;' but I was relieved to find that she contrived to imply that they were the product of a few weeks' work, and further, that if she had time to investigate them they would prove totally untrustworthy. She will not, I trust, feel offended when I humbly deprecate some of the praise she has been good enough to award me. After making all deductions she readily admits (a phrase redolent of impartiality in a critic) that I have supplied a useful bibliography and index. It is precisely what I have not done; I have appended to the Reports lists of works consulted and have prefixed tables of contents. If anyone would like to see Mrs. Webb's idea of what a bibliography and what an index is, they have only to look at her book on trade unions. Mrs. Webb adds in a footnote 'a few not unimportant inaccuracies.' I give the inaccuracies which appear to her to be not unimportant, and which she states she has discovered in the French Report: 'In

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the French volume the lengthy table of profit-sharing firms (pp. 78–9) omits the four most celebrated examples (Leclaire, Boucicaut, Godin, and Laroche-Joubert). The case of Messrs. Mame et Fils (p. 79), given as a good example of profit-sharing, is, as Mr. Drage's own description shows, not profit-sharing at all, but merely a species of piece-work bonus wholly irrespective of the rate of profit realized.' Of course the four celebrated profit-sharing firms above mentioned are not to be found in the table referred to because they are no longer properly included in it. The criticism suggests that no mention is made of them. Will it be believed that they are treated in their own proper place earlier in the section? A column and a half is devoted to M. Godin's work, and M. Leclaire's name appears on several pages. If any of my readers possess a copy of the Report in question they will find that the part played by all four firms in the development of co-operation and profit sharing is adequately recognised. I may further point out that Mrs. Webb is apparently ignorant of the fact that the Maison Godin and the Maison Boucicaut are now working under the names respectively of Dequenne et Cie. and Plassard, Morin, Fillod et Cie.

With regard to Mrs. Webb's contention that the Maison Mame et Fils is not properly a profit-sharing firm as she avers, I state—will it be believed (waiving for the moment the question whether it is so or not)?—that I have expressed no personal opinion on the subject, but have merely quoted the greatest French authorities—(1) the Jury International of 1889, (2) MM. Ch. Robert and A. Trombert in the *Guide Pratique pour l'application de la Participation.*

I regret that I have not here (Beverly, near Boston, Mass.) the material for checking the few inaccuracies which Mrs. Webb states she has discovered in vol. ii. of my Foreign Reports, but which look like misprints. I think I recollect that one Act which she upbraids me for not printing was not received till after the Report was published. I hardly think that the other objections will be considered as vital.

In any case, the public may be interested to read an opinion to which probably some weight will be attached as to the first volume of the Reports in question.[2] Competent authorities have given similar opinions as to the remaining ten volumes of the series. In fact (as I have stated in the Introduction to the last volume), with

[2] Department of Labour, Washington, D.C.:
March 21st, 1893.

My Lord Duke,—The Secretary of the Royal Commission on Labour, Geoffrey Drage, Esq., has kindly sent me a copy of his Report on the United States. This I have carefully examined, and I find the work so admirably well done that I cannot refrain from writing you, as Chairman of the Commission, to express to you how gratified I am with Mr. Drage's Report. The labour, the care, and the accuracy which have entered into his work are something quite remarkable. So far as I am able to judge without verifying the authorities which he has quoted, his Report is free from fault. When so difficult a piece of work has been so thoroughly well done,

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the exception of a few misprints, and in spite of close criticism in the countries referred to, none of my facts, figures, or conclusions have been disputed.

The volumes of the Commission hitherto dealt with form, however, as Mrs. Webb truly observes, only a subordinate part of the work undertaken. Although they are awarded only faint praise, one may remark in passing, inasmuch as they do receive some praise, that they are the work in every instance of persons who were not imbued with officialism and were for the most part composed in defiance of the official traditions which the Socialists so much admire.

Let us now pass to the work which forms the chief part of the inquiry, the final Report which is based thereon and Mrs. Webb's criticism. Mrs. Webb has given, and has given accurately, the terms of the reference. The Labour Commission was appointed in April 1891 to inquire into 'the questions affecting the relations between employers and employed, the combinations of employers and employed, and the conditions of labour which have been raised during the recent trade disputes in the United Kingdom, and to report whether legislation can with advantage be directed to the remedy of any evils that may be disclosed, and, if so, in what manner.'

It will be observed that the Commission was directed to report *whether* legislation 'can with advantage,' &c. The Commission, after conducting its inquiry, came to the conclusion that such legislation could only be recommended within certain limits. Mrs. Webb's article attacks the recommendations of the Commissioners solely on the ground that they do not go far enough in the direction which she advocates, and by a truly exquisite *petitio principii* asserts in the first sentence of her article that the Report is a national disappointment; that is to say, the nation, like Mrs. Webb, had determined beforehand how the Commission was to report. In fact, Mrs. Webb suggests that the words 'to report *whether* legislation, &c.,' mean in fact 'to report *what* legislation, &c.'

All through the article the critic is obliged to admit the impartiality of the Commissioners. The head and front of their offending is that they carefully weighed all the evidence, and in some cases altered their preconceived opinions when the balance of evidence seemed to go against them. This affords a marked contrast to the view taken by Mrs. Webb of the Minority Report, which, she informs us, 'does not

it is only fair that proper praise should be given, and I feel that you will be as glad of this expression as I am to make it.

I am, your Grace's obedient servant,

CARROLL D. WRIGHT,
Commissioner.

His Grace the Duke of Devonshire, K.G.,
Chairman, Royal Commission on Labour,
London, England.

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originate in the work of the Commission,' and 'might in fact as well have been written without any Commission at all.' Were the Commissioners then appointed merely to reproduce in Blue-book form the programmes they had previously adopted? and *what does Mrs. Webb mean* by the statement that the Minority Report 'did not originate in the work of the Commission'? Are we to understand that the confidential documents of the Commission were handed by one of the Minority Commissioners to a third party, who drafted the Minority Report? If this was done, was it done on the initiative of the minority or at an invitation from outside? Who was the honourable gentleman who was a party to this grave breach of confidence, which seems to fall under the Official Secrets Act 1889, and what does Mrs. Webb know about it, as the Americans say, 'any way'?

Will the defence be on this grave charge, which Mrs. Webb has apparently brought with a light heart, that there was no legal or economic expert on the Commission who sympathised with the workmen? I await with some interest Mrs. Webb's answer to these questions which she has raised.

Let us turn again to her article. I do not pause to point out to Mrs. Webb that the recommendations of the Commission have been anticipated by the astute lawyer whom she praises as the most collectivist of Home Secretaries, and by the late President of the Board of Trade, who was actually a member of the Commission, and was all the better able to tell in which way the Commission was going. That the investigations of the Commission have been the foundation of all that has been done in connection with labour since the present Government came into office is an unquestionable fact. The method adopted by the Commission in digesting its volumes, a method without precedent here or elsewhere, rendered this procedure easy. The Commission would certainly not complain of such use being made of its materials, and probably did not expect that its help would be acknowledged, but it is another thing when the help which the Commission gave to public departments is absolutely made the basis of an attack upon it.

But I have not yet done with Mrs. Webb's introductory paragraphs. She complains of the wide scope of the work of the Commission. She is evidently not aware that it is not the great grievances that make the life of the working man a burden to him and his bread bitter in his mouth. What is important is not the high-sounding reforms like old age pensions, on which the lower middle class expect to ride to power, and in the administration of which they hope to find jobs for their poets, moralists, lawyers, and economists, but questions like the testing of weighing machines, and the lack of life-belts on canal boats, which provoke Mrs. Webb's ridicule. The Commission did indeed ventilate these petty grievances. The Commission has even printed, as she states, summaries of cheap books to

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be had at every bookstall. It is unfortunate, however, that she has forgotten to tell an indignant taxpayer the reason why. It would have even been better to have left out her appeal to the Treasury and Audit Office on this point, as the Stationery Office is the department primarily responsible.

This complaint, in fact, gives a key to the real cause of the whole article, which does not transpire till page 17, when Mr. Gerald Balfour, Professor Marshall, and Sir Frederick Pollock receive the reward of their thorough exposure of Mr. Sidney Webb's pretensions as an economist and a statesman, in Mrs. Webb's suggestion that they systematically bullied the working-men witnesses, a suggestion which I shall take leave to examine somewhat closely later. The cheap books to which Mrs. Webb refers are nothing more nor less than the works of Mr. Sidney Webb.

When the Commission determined to take evidence as to the great movement which claims to have a remedy for all industrial woes, I was directed to invite Mr. Sidney Webb to give his views on Socialism. One might have expected that the proud possessor of the new gospel and the new moral sense would have been only too ready to communicate it to an expectant world. Curiously enough, nothing in my experience of witnesses equalled the spinsterlike coyness of this nineteenth-century evangelist. At last he asserted as an excuse for not giving evidence that he had not time to draw up a statement of his views. I then asked him if he could indicate any of his published works by which he was prepared to stand, and offered to make a *précis* of them, to be corrected by him, as a basis of his examination by the Commissioners. The summary of cheap books above alluded to is, then, a summary of books provided by Mr. Webb himself, and boiled down by myself. This summary it was necessary to print, as it was referred to at every step during the two days Mr. Webb was being examined. I can cordially recommend those who desire to know what Socialism really is to read his evidence. It can be obtained at Messrs. Eyre & Spottiswoode's, East Harding Street, London, E.C., for sevenpence.

To return to Mrs. Webb's Review. The next five pages are occupied with her criticisms of the Majority Report. The public will remember that the Commission's final Report was divided into two parts, and the Commission, at the commencement of the first part, expressly and repeatedly refers to the second part as an integral portion of its Report. The Commission even implies that the second part is more valuable as a statement of facts than the first part, which is a statement of its own views. After what has gone before, my readers will hear with some amusement, but without much surprise, that no foundation can be secured for Mrs. Sidney Webb's criticisms of the Majority Report, except by ignoring the second part of the Report, which contains in its appendices alone a

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far more detailed statement of the grievances of working men than the Minority Report. Mrs. Webb, after stating that the Report 'is unexceptionable in tone and temper, gives an imperturbably even-handed presentation of the views of the opposing witnesses,' and is 'capital reading,' suddenly qualifies it as an *omnium gatherum* of irresponsible second-hand opinions. Now, the Report is signed by a large majority of the Commissioners, and I fancy it would take Mrs. Webb all her time to answer the case against the eight-hours day as it is there set out.

Mrs. Webb goes on to ask, 'Will it be believed that from beginning to end there are absolutely no particulars as to the prevalence or membership of combinations?' whilst with regard to the membership of trade unions she asserts that on 'this elementary fact of the labour question we know exactly as much after the Commission as we did before.' Quite apart from Mr. Giffen's evidence, there is in the second part of the Report the fullest information on this point; certainly information which the author of the *History of Trade Unionism*, and the gross mistakes made there on this very subject, should be the last to pass over. Mrs. Webb's assurance even touches on the sublime. She asserts that after the Report 'we are left in ignorance as to the extent to which the wage board of the ironworkers has spread to other trades, and the Commissioners have made no attempt to correct or extend strike statistics compiled by Mr. Burnett, to which, indeed, they do not refer.' And, best of all, the Report 'supplies no new facts, and even fails to enumerate those which were on record in places within easy reach, though inaccessible to politicians and the public.' I need hardly say that the fullest information on these points is contained in the second part of the Report, which even fully utilises Mr. Burnett's work, as well as any other current official publication dealing with the subject.

I have referred above to Mrs. Webb's criticism of the recommendations of the Commissioners, and the way in which the Government has, owing to the publication of the Commission digests, and the presence of a Cabinet Minister on the Commission, been able to anticipate the practical results of its three years' work to a considerable extent. If it were not necessary to track Mrs. Webb through her chief misstatements, I should not refer to the paragraph at the bottom of page 6 and the top of page 9 of her Review, where she states that the individualists have thrown up the sponge in despair on a variety of points on which the Commissioners have been careful to express an opinion in direct opposition to the Socialist ideal.

I am not concerned further with the Minority Report, as Mrs. Webb can find no words too high in praise of it. It will probably be found that the method adopted by the majority of the Commissioners of referring the small technical grievances detailed in the Appendices to Part II. of the Report to the departments concerned would commend itself to practical men.

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Mrs. Webb now turns to the actual investigations of the Commission, and she prefaces her general attack of the method hitherto adopted in England in public inquiries by an examination of the information obtained by the Commission on the subject of the eight-hour day.

It is characteristic of her that she should neglect to answer any of the arguments contained in the Majority Report, which practically break down her position on this point, and that she should now make with regard to the oral and written evidence on which those arguments are based a series of statements which are grossly misleading. Mrs. Webb is quite aware that in the majority of cases in which eight hours have been adopted in Government workshops and elsewhere, the experiment has been made since the Commission ceased to take evidence; yet she complains that there is no evidence about them. She further implies that no statistics and information were obtained by the Commission as to the hours worked in municipal and Government employment. A complete return will be found in Part II. of the Report. She states here and elsewhere that no attempt is made to correct the figures of employers and employed. Of course this is inaccurate. The statements are compared in Part II. of the Report, and with the most remarkable result—namely, that the figures supplied by employers and employed coincide to a remarkable degree, and this on a subject far more debatable than hours—namely, wages. She states that no employer who had adopted the eight-hour day besides Mr. Allan was questioned as to the working of the eight-hour day. I remember that some most interesting evidence on the subject was given by Mr. Connel with regard to the working of the eight-hour day in the mines of Fife and Clackmannan. On pages 14 and 15 a casual reader would gather that no attempt was made to verify or compare any statement laid before the Commission during the whole of its inquiry. The Commission, as is well known, consisted of experts well capable of weighing technical evidence, and well aware when it was desirable to call in the assistance of inspectors, chambers of commerce, and local employers, and did this whenever it was necessary. Anyone who has been present, as I have, through the whole of the inquiry conducted by the Labour Commissioners, and who knows the facts, can hardly find the patience to read the endless string of inaccuracies. I have called attention to the most striking of them, but, as I have said above, there is hardly a line of the Review which is free from misrepresentation. One feels there must be a cause for this, quite apart from the fact that Mrs. Webb, once a strong Individualist, has now become an extreme Socialist, quite apart from the notorious recklessness of Socialists as to facts and figures. The truth will out, and out it comes when Mrs. Webb begins to account for the failure of the Commission. All these misstatements have been

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made to cover an attack on Mr. Gerald Balfour for the cross-examination to which he subjected Mr. Sidney Webb. It is very petty and very commonplace. Opponents of female suffrage will say, How like a woman! But here are the facts.

The Commission, as the public is aware, decided on its appointment to divide itself into three committees, of each of which the chairman was *ex officio* a member. These committees were to collect the facts under the terms of the reference. When their labours were concluded the Commission decided to sit as a whole to hear evidence with regard to certain movements, such as co-operation and friendly societies, which claimed to have a solution for all labour troubles. The chairmen of the three committees were Mr. David Dale, Lord Derby, and Mr. Mundella. Mrs. Webb states on page 17 that the Commission failed to arrive at the facts owing to the methods adopted by a certain section of the Commission which she specifies—namely, Mr. Balfour, Professor Marshall, and Sir Frederick Pollock. Mr. Gerald Balfour sat on Mr. Dale's committee, Professor Marshall sat on Lord Derby's, Sir Frederick Pollock on Mr. Mundella's. These gentlemen, as it happens, attended their own committees, and, with one or two rare exceptions, their own committees only. They never, therefore, sat together to take evidence and cross-examine witnesses till the meetings of the Commission as a whole. When, therefore, Mrs. Webb implies that these gentlemen combined to badger the working men with dialectical questions, she implies what is not true, as they could not have done it. If she withdraws that suggestion and substitutes for it the suggestion that either Professor Marshall or Sir Frederick Pollock singly pursued this course, I shall be obliged if she will give the days on which such alleged examination took place.

There is left Mr. Gerald Balfour, who was no doubt later on Mr. Webb's chief executioner. It is suggested, then, that Mr. Balfour's system of cross-examination aroused 'the deepest resentment among the working-class witnesses, and had, as the chairman might have known, the effect of destroying any chance the Commission might have had of getting to the bottom of facts within their knowledge; the workmen feeling, as some of them have since told me [what a pity we are not given the names!], that they were from the outset treated as hostile witnesses, and were afraid of making admissions that could be used against them. The result was that they gave as little information as possible, and felt, as one of them expressed it to me [Oh for the name of that witness!], that they had enough to do to resist attacks.'

Let it be clearly understood that I am taking Mr. Balfour because I know he is the object of this attack. (If Mrs. Webb will specify the days on which either of the other Commissioners named by her pursued the course she has described, I will deal with her.) Mrs.

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Webb then asserts that Mr. Balfour, who sat on a committee presided over on every occasion by Mr. Dale, regularly attended by the chairman of the Commission, as well as by Mr. Burt, Mr. Trow, and Mr. Abraham, systematically bullied the working-men witnesses. Here, as elsewhere, Mrs. Webb is reckoning on the ignorance or apathy of her readers. Is it conceivable that Mr. Dale or the chairman of the Commission, or the working men or the employers on that committee, would have tolerated such conduct for a minute? The assertion is unfounded, and can be proved to be unfounded by reference to the evidence. What is better, more than one of the gentlemen referred to are, to my knowledge, ready to contradict the insinuation in public. This I think pretty well explodes the only details given by Mrs. Webb in support of the following statement, which sums up her attack on the chief work undertaken by the Commissioners in person: 'The great bulk of the oral evidence is accordingly made up, not of statements as to matters of fact, but of the answers to abstract conundrums put in cross-examination by a section of the Commissioners about every conceivable social and legislative reform.'

Mrs. Webb imagines, probably, that no one will look at the volumes, the size of which she uses as a bugbear, and discover that the chief part of these is taken up by the examination-in-chief, which precedes the cross-examination, and is conducted by the chairman.

Having thus impugned the method adopted by the Commissioners when the witnesses arrived at Westminster, she proceeds to impugn the method by which those witnesses were selected. She states (p. 20) that the Commission found itself confronted with an inquiry in which the parties were innumerable and unknown, scattered all over the country, not united in any common organisation. This is a positively refreshing statement from the pen of a writer who is the author of a history of trade unionism, and who has attacked the Commission from the ground of her superior knowledge of employers' associations. She states (p. 53) that the Commissioners publicly interrogated a *scratch collection of isolated witnesses.* If she has read the first pages of the Report of the Commission—as we are bound to believe she has—she again is making a statement she can hardly help knowing from that source alone to be unfounded. Page 3 of the Report states that the method adopted was to summon representatives of trade unions, in the first place, to state their grievances, and then representatives of the employers' association to state their views. If no such union or association existed, we summoned such individual witnesses as seemed to be representative of the interests concerned. Page 6 states further that Mr. John Burnett's advice 'was on all occasions of great assistance to us, and his intimate and practical acquaintance, for many years, with labour questions has rendered his help, particularly in the selection of witnesses, of the greatest value to us.'

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Mrs. Webb next proceeds to suggest that the Commissioners were deficient in the technical knowledge necessary for the inquiry, and adds, to clinch what she has said before, with regard to the method adopted of hearing first the working men and then the employers: 'I can discover no sign that either party was supplied with a copy of statements made by the other, or that documentary evidence of any kind—wage-sheets, time-table, minute-books, or reports—was ever asked for.'

This is the climax. The evidence teems with statements that show each syllable of the above statement to be without basis. It would hardly be possible for the writer to open a single volume, at any page, without being confronted with a refutation. Witnesses were even summoned to hear the employer's evidence, whenever it seemed necessary, from the proof thus supplied by the employer. Even apart from the fact that each witness was invited to do precisely what Mrs. Webb says he was not invited to do; apart from the fact that the appendices to the different volumes of the evidence contain the most complete collection of such documents ever printed —a collection which has aroused Mrs. Webb's wrath at the beginning of the article—Mrs. Webb is aware that schedules of questions were circulated to and answers obtained from trade unions and employers' associations. She is also aware that the whole of the rules of the associations of employers and of trade unions and joint boards were collected, and summarised, with an historical preface. She even sent me a letter acknowledging the receipt of the volume and praising its contents.

I think I have now exhausted Mrs. Webb's criticisms, and am not astonished to find that she has not a word to say with regard to the evidence taken before the Commission sitting as a whole, and the contrast exhibited between the straightforward conduct of Mr. Tom Mann in the witness chair and the ever-shifting position adopted by Mr. Sidney Webb.

But stay, Mrs. Webb has a practical proposal to make: she will tell the Commission how it should have conducted its work. It ought to have got one of Mr. Charles Booth's assistants to manage its inquiry, and write a preliminary review to clear the air for each subject. Let us take the greatest of those assistants, the present Commissioner of Labour. We have the inestimable advantage of being able to turn to those introductory and final chapters to the Board of Trade Report on the unemployed, of which he is now understood to be the sole author, as a model of what would have been done for the edification of the Labour Commission on the subject of the eight-hour day. Foreign Labour Departments, full of envy, may have smiled at that masterpiece, but a fond London County Council and a benignant Cabinet doubtless would have rejoiced to see that inimitable hand at work, unfettered and unassisted. Think in what majestic

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language the crux of the problem would have been walled off from the central difficulty, and with what care the central difficulty would have been separated from the essence of the problem! Mrs. Webb's idea is sublime. If it had been only carried out, the Labour Commission would, for the student of social problems, have supplanted *Punch.*

Finis coronat opus. Mrs. Webb started out to destroy the Labour Commission. I think there will be some who, after reading her attacks, will inquire whether it is the reputation of the Commission that has suffered.

I have already, I think, dealt sufficiently with her Review, but I may point out, in conclusion, for Mrs. Webb's edification, that the Commission was practically appointed to inquire into strikes and lock-outs, and to suggest a remedy for those evils. The chief remedies for strikes and lock-outs were generally confessed to be arbitration and conciliation, and the Commission devoted endless time and trouble to these subjects, and made certain practical suggestions. I can give no better idea of the value of Mrs. Webb's criticism of the work of the Commissioners than by pointing out that the word arbitration absolutely occurs only three times in her article, and then apparently by chance, and the word conciliation is not mentioned at all.

GEOFFREY DRAGE.

Beverly, Mass., U.S.A.: *July* 23*rd*, 1894.

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THE PARISH PRIEST IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION

[It has long been felt that an increasing number of candidates for Holy Orders in the Church of England are young men who have received but an inadequate training for the ministry, and that the daily routine of duties expected from the younger clergy is distinctly unfavourable to the growth of any habits of study. Among themselves, too, there is a conviction that it is becoming very hard, almost impossible, for them to keep abreast of the learning and culture that is going on around them, and that, while other professions and other classes of the community are becoming more studious, well-informed, and better instructed, they are unhappily dropping behind.

It was to meet so serious a danger as this that, in 1893, some leading professors and tutors in the University of Oxford issued an invitation to such of the clergy as were so inclined to spend a fortnight at Oxford, where a certain measure of hospitality would be offered by several of the colleges, and where, brought into touch with academic life and academic thought, they might be afforded the opportunity of learning from the Divinity Professors and others what were the latest results of research and inquiry arrived at by professional students in the domains of Exegesis, Scientific Theology, and History.

The Oxford experiment proved successful; and during the Long Vacation of this year it was repeated at Cambridge. The lecturers who took part in the movement were professors of the University and such scholars and men of learning as were believed to have something to say, and to be in some sort specialists in this or that line of study. I could not but feel gratified when a request was made to me that I should deliver one of these lectures. The subject was left to me, and the novelty of it commended itself to the Committee. Since its delivery I have been asked by many to publish it; but, as I know no better way of securing for it a large number of intelligent

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readers than by issuing it in the pages of this Review, I am glad that, by the kindness of the Editor, it has been allowed to appear in the current number.

With some few excisions it is printed pretty much as it was delivered.]

. . . . . .

By the term Parish Priest we understand an official responsible for the spiritual oversight of the inhabitants of a certain geographical area which we call the *Parish*.

But here we are at once face to face with a problem surrounded with difficulties.

In the first five centuries at least after Christ, the word παροικία was used almost exclusively to denote what we now call the Bishop's Diocese. The province of Gaul—meaning by that the great stretch of country now embracing Belgium and France—was in the fifth century divided into some sixty odd *civitates*; and though I am not prepared to say that each *civitas* had its bishop, yet it is, in the main, true that to every *civitas* a bishop had already been assigned, whose *stool* (as Mr. Freeman was pleased to phrase it) was set up in the chief town of that *civitas*. The chief town gave him his title; the *civitas* was his παροικία or parish.

It is to be remembered that, as in the Apostolic age the work of converting the world started from the great towns, so was this emphatically the case in Gaul. How early or how late the practice became general of calling the country cure the Parish and the Episcopal See the Diocese I have never been able to discover. As early as the fourth century we find mention of country churches with lands belonging to them, and in the next century the numbers of these foundations so much increased that Sidonius (A.D. 430–A.D. 488) mentions a visitation he made of the rural churches in his diocese (Auvergne), and we notice that by this time these settlements are sometimes called *Parochiæ* and sometimes *Dioceses*. Later on, Gregory of Tours (A.D. 539–593) more often calls the country cures *Dioceses* and the *Episcopal* see the *Parochia*. But, call them what you will, we are fairly well instructed as to the manner in which the country parishes (as we call them now) rose up in Gaul; and I have a suspicion that what was true of Gaul was true, *mutatis mutandis*, of Britain. I have a suspicion that if we had for British history anything approaching to that wealth of original sources which we have for early French history during the first five or six centuries of our era, we should have evidence that some—perhaps many—of our English parishes existed as ecclesiastical parishes, with pretty much the same boundaries as they have to-day, and are survivals of a condition of affairs anterior to the Saxon Conquest.

Be that as it may, however, there are indications that the parish priest all through the Saxon times held a position of greater indepen-

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dence relatively to the bishops than he held on the other side of the Channel.

Two of these indications are worth drawing your attention to for more than one reason. (1) Among us in pre-Norman times *Archdeacons* are hardly heard of. Bishop Stubbs reminds us that the first person who is called archdeacon is Wulfred, who became Archbishop of Canterbury in 805; and he adds that the office of archdeacon is only once mentioned in the Northumbrian Priests' Laws.

The fact is so significant that I must beg you to pardon a digression (which really is not a digression) while I try to explain the significance.

You all remember that in the Apostolic age it was found necessary very early to appoint *deacons*, who were to be the administrators of the finances of the Church. In the same way it came to pass that, when the revenues of the bishops in Gaul became almost unwieldy, it became necessary that the revenues of the see should be placed under the management and supervision of an official who should regulate the expenditure and its distribution, keep the very voluminous accounts, and strike the annual debit and credit balance.

This was all the more necessary in Gaul, because all the endowments in a diocese were paid into the episcopal exchequer and were under the bishop's control. He apportioned to each priest his income, and, even where local funds were forthcoming, the priest resident in a certain cure was required to account for such rents or dues as were derived from local sources, presumably paying the balance, if any, to the common chest of the diocese. The accounts in all cases were sent in to the *archdeacon*; and if I may be allowed the expression, the archdeacon would annually present his *Budget* to the bishop, whose First Lord of the Treasury or Chancellor of the Exchequer he was.

This, I say, was the case in Gaul. It seems that no such unification of diocesan revenues ever existed in Britain. If anything of the kind had prevailed among us in Anglo-Saxon times we must have heard of the archdeacon's work or of the archdeacon's office. As it is, we hear almost nothing of the one or the other till after the Norman Conquest, and then we hear a great deal too much. But then the titular and territorial archdeacon has become an altogether different kind of functionary from him with whom we are concerned when we speak of the earlier archdeacons in the Gallican Church.

(2) Besides the archdeacons there was another class of clergy whom we hear nothing of in England till late in the eighth century, but of whom we are perpetually hearing in Gaul almost from the earliest times—I mean the Canons.

The first instance of the very name canons occurring in English history is in the report of two bishops who were sent into Britain in

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789 by Pope Adrian the First, and who were the first ambassadors or (if you choose to call them by the term which acquired a certain disagreeable meaning in the later times) the first *legates* who came to spy out the land, since the famous mission of Augustine two centuries before. And here again I am compelled to say something to explain who these canons were. For we hear so much of the canons in later times, of the rivalry between them and the monks, and of their relation to the parish priests, that it is almost impossible to understand the ecclesiastical history of these times—or indeed of later times either—until we get something like a clear notion of who and what these canons were.

As I have said before, the Gallican bishops were very wealthy and very powerful territorial magnates; they were, in fact, what many prelates in Austria are called to this day—Prince-Bishops. The setting apart of separate estates for the maintenance of clergy in this or that manor or district was hardly heard of even so late as the fifth century. The earliest authoritative ordinance laying it down that every rural district should have a parsonage-house, and that only after the building of that house should the bishop allow a priest to take possession of the church and officiate there, is to be found in a Capitular of Louis le Debonnaire—or, as we ought to translate his name, Louis the Devout—in the year 818 or 819. In the same Capitular there follows an ordinance that in future in all new *villæ*, where new churches were built, the tithes should be bestowed upon those same churches—*i.e.* should not be paid into the common chest of the episcopal see. This appears to have been a novel arrangement, and implies, I think, that a feeling was growing against such centralisation of Church revenues as tended to make the country clergy too absolutely dependent upon their diocesan. Obviously the dealing with these huge revenues necessitated the employment of a large staff of trained subordinates engaged in mere office work, analogous to what we understand among ourselves by the Civil Service. This small army of officials was occupied mainly in dealing with the official business of the see; and, as there was a Chancellor of the Exchequer as I have ventured to call him—the archdeacon—so also there would be a certain number of heads of departments or chief clerks, who would be required to be more or less in strict personal relations with the bishop from day to day. These, as being more concerned with office work than with pastoral work, were in the first instance, and indeed for some centuries, called the Episcopal Clerks, or *Clerici*. They were entrusted with important responsibilities and sometimes very arduous duties—education, church extension, discipline, and the like, not to speak of the immense correspondence which fell upon them and the delicate diplomacy which they might be called on to undertake at an hour's notice. These *clerici* were sure to be the ablest and most efficient ecclesiastics in the diocese, and had their

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residence in the episcopal house, which soon got to be called the bishop's Palatium, as the emperor's residence was called *his* Palatium, the internal organisation of the one being modelled upon that of the other.

In both cases the discipline of the palace was necessarily as strict as the discipline of a man-of-war; but in the bishop's palace that discipline would assume an ecclesiastical and religious character. The great officials of the bishop's palace holding high office were bound to conform to certain observances laid down in a certain code, differing in different dioceses. But in all cases they lived by a rule, a *κανών*, as the Greek word called it. Not improbably on entering upon their office they 'kissed hands,' as the Ministers of the Crown do now, and undertook formally to observe the *κανών*, and so were included among the *Canonici*.

As time went on it became necessary to plant more than one or two of these *Government Houses*, as we may call them, in various parts of the diocese, with a prior or superior as head; such houses being supposed to keep up the *etiquette*, and to observe the rule or *κανών* of the episcopal Palatium. Little by little the close connection between these houses, lying at a distance from the central seat of government, became weakened. The discipline tended, inevitably, to grow lax where the face of the bishop was seldom seen and his presence was not to be feared. Gradually, too, the canons in the distant houses were put upon their own resources, and were allowed to appropriate to their own use—*i.e.* to the support of the community—the revenues which in the first instance they had been sent to administer for diocesan purposes. Then a worse development ensued. The canons in the outlying houses proceeded to apportion among themselves these estates, and each canon became a tenant for life of his share of the estates. Then came in the practice of non-residence. There was no longer a common table, nor any life in common, and, in point of fact, the canonry or prebend became only a better and more lucrative benefice with little work and a good income—more or less of a sinecure; though it must be allowed that such prizes were for the most part bestowed upon the better educated of the clergy—for the most part they were the prizes which fell to the abler, the more cultivated, the more deserving.

Many attempts were made from time to time to restore discipline in these canons' houses. Chrodogang, Bishop of Metz, in the eighth century, drew up a Rule for his *Canonici*, and this rule was adopted by other bishops, who, under the authority of Charlemagne's *Admonitio Generalis* (A.D. 789), attempted with more or less success to force it upon their canons. Later, it seems that the canons themselves here and there showed a desire to return to a better way; and we find many of these corporations associated, no one knows how, under a pretended rule of St. Augustine, which they professed

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to follow and conform to. These canons, who observed a certain rule of life, which they were expected to obey even in small things, got to be called the *Canons Regular*, or canons living together under a rule; while the others, who somehow were in possession of the estates, and lived pretty much as they pleased, were known as Secular Canons, or canons *who were living in the world*, and conforming to the secular life under no particular rule or strict canonical discipline.

Outside these canons, again, whether secular or regular, were the monks or dwellers in the monasteries; but about them, for many good reasons, I can enter into no details now.

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Having indulged in these two digressions by way of introduction, I am the better able to enter now upon the main subject before us.

Our sources of information regarding the Anglo-Saxon parish priests are not so meagre as is generally assumed by those who have not given their attention to the subject. They may be said to begin with those documents which belong to the days of Archbishop Theodore, who came among us in 668, and who continued to preside over the Church of England till 690. Theodore's *Penitential* belongs to a class of documents which the Bishop of Oxford describes as 'lists of sins and their penances,' drawn up for a people only partially delivered from heathen abominations and superstitions, and which had already been issued by the Frankish bishops and the Merovingian kings under their influence. These penitentials were, indeed, private or *quasi*-private compilations, and it was not till the eighth and ninth centuries that even in Gaul they obtained the force of legislative enactments. But, viewed as reflections of the age in which they were drawn up, they are of inestimable value. Theodore's Penitential shows us that the organisation of the Church in Britain was in many respects very unlike that of Gaul, or, as we might now call it, Frankland; there was, indeed, some discipline among the clergy, but there was clearly more laxity than among their brethren on the other side of the Channel. In some important matters they did not conform to the usages and practices of the Roman Church.

Sunday was strictly observed. The timber churches were apparently often moved from one place to another. Many of the clergy knew no Latin; and, by what sounds like a compromise, it was ordered that in future they should be required at least to say the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and read the Lessons in that language. At the same time, it is clear that these clergy were recognised as the guides and teachers of the people, and that their ministry was accepted with remarkable docility. Their influence was an influence for good. Outside the sphere in which these men were discharging their functions there were monasteries, which were the homes of such learning as was to be acquired through the medium of Latin; seminaries in which the sons of wealthy men like the father of St.

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Boniface, the apostle of Germany, sent their boys to receive the higher education. But the epistles of St. Boniface show us that outside the cloisters the people at large were instructed in the elements of the Christian faith by the secular priests, and that they were probably the teachers of that native poetry which was always becoming more and more Christian in its character—such poetry as the people were generally familiar with, such as Boniface himself had learnt in his youth and did not forget in his manhood, such, too, as Beda loved and quoted on his deathbed. It was in Theodore's time that, on the 24th of September, 673, a council was held at Hertford, where all the Anglo-Saxon bishops except one assembled; and here, among other things, it was resolved that in future a synod should be held annually at a place called Clovesho, a place which recent discoveries have gone far to show was situated near Mildenhall, in Cambridgeshire; and the records of at least ten of these Clovesho synods have been preserved, bringing us down to the times when the Danes were ravaging the country with fire and sword.

At one of these synods, held under the presidency of Archbishop Cuthbert in 747—*i.e.* about fifty years after Theodore's death—the decrees, though, as usual, in great part imported from abroad, contain some enactments of peculiar interest. The bishops are to visit their several dioceses (*Parochiæ*) every year to make themselves known to their people, and to warn them against heathen practices. They are to be careful to ordain no one to the priesthood till they are assured that the candidate is fitted by his life and doctrine to act as a shepherd of souls (c. 6). The priests themselves are (c. 8) to give themselves heart and life to the ministry of the Word and Sacraments, and to keep themselves from all worldly callings; they are to be diligent in visiting their people, and to be sober in their talk and in their conduct (c. 9). They are to explain the meaning of the Sacraments, translating to those who do not understand them the words used in the prayers offered, and especially to teach them the Creed and the Lord's Prayer and the spiritual significance of the ritual, in which the people were to bear a part (c. 10). They are warned against any unauthorised departure from the order of service. They are not to sing in the churches like the heathen bards did, nor in theatrical fashion to play tricks with sacred words, but to follow the established order of plain song in a simple and serious manner, and if they cannot sing (c. 12) they are to read distinctly and unpretentiously.

These and other ordinances of the council the bishops are to make known to all at their visitations, and command all to observe, trying to correct that which needs mending and enforce that which is enjoined.

In the MS. records of this council which have come down to us the names of the bishops only who were present have been preserved.

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It is otherwise with some other of the synods which were assembled afterwards at Clovesho and elsewhere.

Thus, at a Clovesho council held on the 12th of October, 803, under the presidency of Archbishop Æthelheard, we get what appears to be a complete list of those who were summoned and attended.

Thirteen bishops, including the Primate, were present. The normal number of representatives from each diocese (including the bishop of the see) was seven. But among these seven the abbots of the monasteries in the several dioceses appear to have taken their seats as representatives of the regulars or monastic bodies; though where there was no monastery, as in the dioceses of Elmham and of Rochester, the six who came with their bishop were all parish priests. From Canterbury the single archdeacon mentioned attends as a supernumerary. The number of signatures all told is ninety-three, of whom the secular or parish priests are fifty-five, while the regulars number only twenty-five.

Twenty-one years later—*i.e.* when the incursions of the Danes were beginning to cause serious anxiety—we have the record of another Clovesho synod at which Archbishop Wulfred presided. Eleven bishops attended, and, according to one account, fifty parish priests, though the signatures of only thirty-seven have been preserved. The monasteries by this time had suffered grievously in some parts of the country from the Danes, and we need not be surprised that no more than seven abbots were among the signatories. The significance of these lists is very great. It is clear that at the beginning of the ninth century—thirty or forty years before Alfred was born—the parish priests were by no means the poor creatures that a cursory reader of such history as emanated from the cloisters would lead us to believe they were. On the contrary, there were among them men of consideration and weight who were perfectly qualified to take their places in council side by side with the greatest abbots in the land, to travel from one end of England to the other that their voices might be heard in the debates, and, moreover, when the religious houses had been harried and burnt by the Vikings, that these same priests were ready to fill up the vacant seats in the assemblies of the Church and to rally round their bishops whenever and whithersoever they might be summoned to attend and deliver their judgments or tender their advice in times of peril and perplexity.

Unhappily, so great has been at all times the exclusiveness and arrogance which have characterised monastic literature, and especially when monks have been writing about the past of their own houses or their own Order, that they have taken little or no account of the parish priests and their doings; but have adopted when speaking of them precisely the same tone which is observable in the language of some among ourselves. The very name of secular clergy was to the monk almost a name of reproach; and,

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just as among our Nonconformists nowadays no man is a 'member of a Christian Church' except he be a member of a Dissenting congregation, so, for centuries, only they who were members of a monastic body and under monastic vows were spoken of as *religious*. Then, and then only, was he or she (as the case might be) said to have 'entered religion.' The phrase is still used in the present day.

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Meanwhile, all through the Anglo-Saxon era we find the parish priests quite able to hold their own as teaching, preaching, working clergymen. In the monasteries the Latin language appears to have been used as a rule, and among them the Roman ritual was universal. There are good reasons for believing that in the parish churches the Latin service was disliked, and even translated into the vernacular; for everybody in Gaul could speak Latin or understand it. In Britain the people loved their own language; to them the Roman speech was jargon and something worse.

The people could not be induced to learn Latin except in the monasteries and in some few schools more or less in connection with them. It was the interest of the parish priests to keep up the sentiment of the people in favour of their native language, and the people *would* have translations of the Scriptures, which the parish priests could supply and did supply; and that there were among those parish priests no inconsiderable number of men deserving in that age to be called scholars and students is abundantly evident.

Beda himself (*ob.* 732) acknowledges his great obligations to a certain London priest—I suppose we may call him a London *clergyman*—named Nothelm, who had made transcripts for him of valuable documents. Nothelm appears to have been one of the most learned men of his time, and eventually became Archbishop of Canterbury, dying there in 739. In the British Museum, among the Cotton MSS., we have a remarkable catalogue which a certain Athelstan, in the pride of his heart, drew up of the books which he had collected and was apparently very proud of. Athelstan appears to have lived about a generation after Beda. I hold him to have been a country parson, and shall continue to assert and maintain the same till some personage of adequate audacity shall succeed in proving the negative. Athelstan names with a certain serious joy two important volumes which he says he had obtained from another parish priest named Alfwold. But Athelstan and Alfwold are only two of many such clergymen as were men of books and study in that eighth century. Alcuin—of whom it may be said that Charlemagne looked to him for effecting the great educational reform which the illustrious Emperor hoped to bring about—Alcuin writes of England at this time as the home of libraries and learned men. And this is just what our King Alfred says of his country in the next century, when he deplores the havoc and ruin which the Danes had wrought. In the preface to

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Gregory's *Pastorale* he mentions how 'before all was spoiled and burned, *the churches throughout the whole English nation* stood filled with treasures and with books, and also with a great multitude of God's servants;' but he adds elsewhere that, in making this very translation in which such a memorable lament occurs, he had received important help, not only from Archbishop Plegmund and Bishop Asser, but from two *mass priests*—*i.e.* parish priests—whom he names.

But when the great King bewails the decay of learning in Britain during the generation or so preceding his own, we must take such laments with some little reserve, just as we must receive the language of Ælfric the grammarian in the next century with all cautious allowance; for Ælfric himself tells us that a parish priest was his own first teacher. And we may take it as pretty certain that when Ælfric wrote those homilies of his which were so widely circulated, they were the parish priests who bought them or copied them, and preached them in their churches. People came and listened to them too; and preaching other people's sermons is not such a very reprehensible practice—it rather goes a little way to prove that the preachers are *not* idlers, *not* drones. And let me, before I pass on, remind you that the saintly Wulfstan, Archbishop of York, was one of these good people who busied themselves in writing sermons for others to preach, and that he tells us himself that he was no monk, but that he began his career as a faithful parish priest, like—shall I say?—the best of you gentlemen here to-day—one of yourselves.

Nor was the social position of the Saxon working clergy by any means as low as some have been inclined to infer from the silence or the covert sneers of writers who breathed the air of the cloisters.

There is in the 'Cartularium Saxonicum' a very interesting will, made by a certain priest named Werhard, about the year 832. He describes himself as a kinsman of Archbishop Wulfred, who had lately died. The archbishop had purchased some property in Kent and Middlesex, which he made over to Werhard in honourable trust. The income was to be applied, not for the enrichment of any monastery, but for the support of the poor in certain parishes which are named. As for Werhard's own property (which he expressly tells us was his patrimony), that he bequeaths to Christ Church, Canterbury. The monks of Christ Church took very good care of their *evidences*, and to this we owe our knowledge of Werhard; his will was the title to the lands he bequeathed to their house, and if he had not so bequeathed it we should never have heard of him or of Wulfred's bequest to the poor. Exactly in the same way do we owe our knowledge of another parish priest, Erdulf (*Cart.* ii. 589), to whom King Edred, Alfred's grandson, left a life interest in a considerable estate. The reversion of that estate devolved to the new Minster at Winchester, and Erdulf's will, as a matter of course, would be deposited among the

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archives of the monastery. So, again, we owe our knowledge of the bequests made to some parish priests by a great personage named Byhrtric, because Byhrtric left also large legacies to the Canterbury monasteries. The great Alfred himself left legacies to fifty parish priests, as no doubt other rich men did from time to time.

If the working clergy suffered, as of course they did, by the frightful ravages of the Danes, they certainly did not suffer to anything approaching the extent that the monasteries suffered. How greatly *they* suffered may be learnt by the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, where we read, under the year 870, that Archbishop Ceolnoth 'commanded his private priests, and also some of the Vill priests, that they should help the few monks who remained to do God's service . . . for,' it adds, 'there was strife and sorrow over England; and therefore the clerks remained with the monks.'

I beg you to note these words. The Archbishop's *private priests* in the one clause are the *clerks* of the other, and they are the same *Clerici* whom we have heard of before as secular canons; that is, they are the staff officers or officials of the bishops, while the Vill priests are the country parsons or parish priests, with whom we are now immediately concerned.

It has been said that this entry in the Chronicle marks the extinction of the old monasticism in England. Extinction is, perhaps, too strong a word; but it is undoubtedly true that in this, the first year of King Alfred's reign, things were at their worst in the religious houses throughout the land. It looks very much as if this measure of the archbishop's was a desperate attempt to fill the ruined monasteries, where possible, with the secular or parish clergy, rather than allow the conventual life and the conventual buildings to be abandoned.

The attempt may be said to have proved a failure. It was inevitable that it should be a failure; for the single reason that the secular clergy were as a rule married men, and when they were draughted into the old monasteries they took their wives and children with them. This was not only true of the parish priests, but it was true even of the secular canons, if we may judge from the Rule of Chrodogang. They, too, were bound originally by no vows; nor does the obligation of celibacy appear to have been imposed upon them by any other penalty than such as was enforced in the case of fellows of colleges at Oxford and Cambridge fifty years ago.

When, in the tenth century, the great revival of monasticism came about all over Europe and the wave of enthusiasm rolled on to England, then the cry of the monks was loud against the scandal of the old monasteries being filled by the secular canons, and the contest between the one order and the other went on actually down to the Norman Conquest. Five years before that event, Edward the Confessor was engaged in building his famous monastery at Westminster for monks

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who, with their abbot at their head, officiated at the King's funeral; while Harold, who claimed the other's crown, was building his famous college at Waltham for secular canons, some of whom were, and all might have been, married men.

It really seemed a matter of uncertainty down to the coming of the Normans which were to gain the day—the men of Rule, whose idol was the artificial and unnatural life of celibates in the cloister, or the men of Principle, whose contention was that the law of Christ allowed of freedom, and who claimed that Christ's ministers might be of Paul the celibate or of Peter the married man, and yet both might be of Christ and doing His work in the world.

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During the first half of the eleventh century there is good reason for believing that the secular clergy, including the parish priests, in England had never before been so numerous. Not only so, but that relatively to the rest of the population they have never since been so rich or occupied so strong a position. In the Domesday Survey hardly more than 1,700 churches are mentioned, but it is agreed on all hands that this represents very inadequately indeed the whole number that must have been in existence at the time of the Conquest. That number must certainly have run into thousands. Every one of these churches had its endowments in the shape of tithes and offerings. Every one had its glebe.

On the other hand, the monasteries had by no means recovered from the devastation wrought by the Danes. Many of the smaller houses had been entirely blotted out, and it may be doubted whether there were forty monasteries worth mentioning that were at this time in working order from the Tyne to the Exe. It may indeed almost be said that at this time the parish priests had it all their own way; and I am afraid that these clergy were none the better for their prosperity, rather that their riches had done them harm in more ways than one.

Soon the fashion began of founding new monasteries. The cry was raised that only by the revival of the stricter religious life of the cloister could priests and people be reformed. The tide turned against the seculars. The monasteries rapidly became wealthy corporations enriched by lands and manors. In many instances the ownership of these manors carried with it the patronage of the churches upon those manors—*i.e.* the advowsons of many parishes passed into the hands of the abbeys and priories. Then we begin to hear of a very odious form of trading in these benefices. The rectors were in many cases compelled to pay an annual rent or pension to the monastery, the compact being made with the incumbent conditionally upon his being admitted to his cure. Protests were made against these simoniacal bargains and councils legislated against them, but it still went on. Of course the parishes,

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the parishioners, and the clergy suffered injury and wrong; but this was as nothing to the mischief wrought by the appropriation of the income of a benefice to the support of a monastery, whereby the monasteries became the rectors of the parish, taking the whole endowment and leaving the inhabitants of the place to the care of a stipendiary. This kind of spoliation went on wholesale for more than two centuries, till at last thoughtful and right-thinking men lifted up their voices against the abomination, and by the middle of the fifteenth century the appropriations began to be discouraged, but not before well-nigh half the benefices in England had been plundered of their great tithes and glebe lands.

Concurrently with this process of disendowment, the wealth of the clergy had made them fair game for those in power to levy from them all sorts of exactions, civil and ecclesiastical.

Twice a year they were compelled, or supposed, to attend the Diocesan Synods, and, whether they attended or not, they had to pay their fees, and perhaps higher fees for non-attendance. By this time, too, the archdeacons had become active diocesan inspectors, and their courts of inquiry were very terrible assemblies, at which heavy dues had to be paid to the officials. You catch a glimpse in Chaucer of the Archdeacon's Summoner or 'Sompnour' in the *Friar's Tale*. The summoner was a common informer who lived by his vile trade, and woe to the luckless parson who had incurred the enmity of some aggrieved parishioner looking out for a chance of paying off an old grudge against the rector or vicar who had been too zealous or a trifle indiscreet. The best he could do was to bribe the summoner not to bring his cause into court, where, even if the parson gained the day, the expenses might easily cripple him for months or years.

Then there were the taxes (for we may as well use our modern language), those terrible tenths and fifteenths of which we hear so much. In the year 1294 Edward the First actually demanded half a year's income from the clergy, and, dreadful as the impost was, it had to be paid, though how the parsons found the money it is difficult to imagine.

By this time, however, the country parsons had almost ceased to be married men, though we meet with them frequently till quite the end of the thirteenth century. After that the archdeacons and the summoners between them effectually put a stop to holy matrimony among the priests of the Lord.

Nor did the steady progress of impoverishment of the working clergy end with the appropriations, the fees, and the taxes, ordinary and extraordinary. The friars had not long been working in England before they were found to be acting very seriously in the direction of lessening the income of the clergy, and especially of the town clergy, so far as their resources were derived from freewill offerings and the like.

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Finally, the incomes of the clergy derivable from tuition and educational work fell off seriously with the development of the universities. Lads of promise began more and more to be sent from home to take up their residence at Cambridge or Oxford for better tuition than the parochial clergy could provide, and that happened which has come about in our own time—viz. that the income of the country parsons greatly decreased when the demand for clerical private tutors well-nigh came to an end.

It is hardly to be wondered at if, as all these worries and exactions, this gradual shrinkage in the clerical incomes, went on so steadily, we should find indications of the social position of the country clergy beginning to decline towards the end of the fourteenth century. And these indications are not to be mistaken.

Taking the lists of presentations to our Norfolk benefices, which go back to the thirteenth century, and which in the main give the succession of incumbents in the East Anglian diocese down to the present day, and examining these lists as I find them in a single volume of Blomefield's history of the county, the following results must strike any reader:—

The great family of the Bardolfs were lords of the manor of Cantley, on the river Yare, from Norman times down to the reign of Henry the Fourth. As lords of the manor they were patrons of the rectory, and they resided in the parish. The rectors for nearly two centuries were either Bardolfs or bore the names of the great county families. The last of these aristocratic parsons of Cantley, as I may call them, was presented in 1372. After that date the rectors are evidently plebeians, of whose origin we know nothing.

The same is true in the neighbouring parish of Plumstead Parva. Down to 1360 the patrons appear to have always presented one of their own kindred. After that date the rectors are taken from a lower stratum.

At Barton, again, where the ancient family of the Lovells were resident and patrons of the living till late in the seventeenth century, the first four rectors whose appointment is recorded are Lovells—that is, the living was a family living, which was always held by some younger brother or poorer kinsman. After 1349 there are no more Lovells to be found among the rectors, nor any one else of whom there is anything to tell.

Once more. The rectory of St. Mary Beechamwell was for ages in the gift of presentation of the Chervilles (another of the proud old houses), and for generations they appear to have presented the benefice to one of their own class. After the presentation of Thomas Cherville by his father or brother Roger de Cherville about the middle of the fourteenth century, the parsons are evidently new men, and few of them even bear Norfolk names. If these instances stood alone, they would be suggestive; but they do not by any means stand

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alone, and I commend this line of research to those who possess or have access to our great county histories, or such valuable works as Mr. Hingeston Randolph's *Registers of the Diocese of Exeter*. I can only glance at the subject here.

Nevertheless, though the parish priests were growing poorer and poorer from the Conquest to the Reformation, it is noticeable that they never ceased to retain the confidence and esteem of their people from first to last. My impression is that, as they ceased to belong to the gentry class by birth, they grew into more and more favour with the commonalty. In the thousands of early charters—*i.e.* conveyances of land and the like—which I have had the eccentric pleasure of handling and reading in my leisure hours, the names of the county parsons actually swarm among the feoffees or trustees to whom settled estates, small or large, are conveyed. So, too, in the wills of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the parish priests are so frequently appointed supervisors of wills that it is evident they were regarded as the men most to be trusted for settling any such disputes as might arise between executors and legatees. As for instances of their putting pressure upon the dying that so some benefits might accrue to themselves, I can only say that I have never met with a single instance of anything of the kind, though for thirty years I have been on the watch for one, and I have examined and made extracts from a good many wills and testaments in my time. There's no accounting for tastes, and some monomaniacs have a taste even for old wills!

On the other hand, when we come to the wills of the clergy themselves, we see that though among them there were all those differences in wealth, birth, culture, and habits of life which are to be found among the beneficed clergy nowadays, from the successful pluralist who held two or three pieces of preferment simultaneously or the rollicking squarson who hung loosely to his clerical income because he had landed property of his own, down to the humble vicar who had hard work to make two ends meet, or the needy chaplain who had only his few household utensils and half a dozen shabby books to leave behind him, yet it is the rarest thing to meet with a parson's will in which some legacy is not left to the church in which he officiates.

And here let me observe in passing that it is a deep-rooted delusion, against which I have made it my business to protest for many years, that the great landlords forsooth built all our mediæval churches. I hold that to be an utter and mischievous delusion. Everything goes to show that the immense majority of the old churches in England were built not by the great men, but by the small people with the clergy at their head. Where some great noble or county magnate did build a church, there you may always find his mark; his coat armour is sure to be carved upon every available stone

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or beam; it tells its own tale. But the small folk and the large majority of the fourteenth-century parsons had no escutcheon to display, and the sculptor amused himself in something else than heraldic shields carved upon the battlements of a tower. In the famous 'Black Book of Swaffham' in Norfolk, where the names of the chief benefactors to the church are set down with rare minutenesses, there appear the names of not less than nine rectors and vicars of the parish who, in a period of less than a century, had very materially contributed to the sustentation of the fabric of the church (one of the finest in Norfolk), and had restored some really splendid gifts in the shape of service books, plate, vestments, candlesticks, and ornaments of all kinds for rendering the ritual and the service of the sanctuary as splendid and imposing as it could be made. John Bury, appointed rector of the parish in 1414, actually built the chancel as we see it now. He evidently intended to rebuild the whole church, but he was cut short in the middle of his work, and in his will he provided for the ceiling of the chancel with panels. He left his successor to complete what he himself had begun. That successor was a parson of some note in his time, a D.D., whose name was John Botewright. This gentleman accepted the honourable charge which Mr. Bury had laid upon him, and he continued the building of the church; but he, too, left the work incomplete, and once again the vicar of the parish, Robert Fuller, did as the other clergy of the town had done before him, spending upon it a sum quite equal to 500*l.* of our money.

I should be glad to discover that when the church was at last finished (as it is said), in the reign of Henry the Seventh, Giovanni de' Gigli, whom Le Neve profanely calls John Giggles, an Italian, non-resident rector of Swaffham and a great pluralist, who ended by being Bishop of London—I should, I say, be glad to discover that this Right Rev. Father in God gave of his abundance to help on the church-building; but I should be very much surprised indeed to hear this kind of good report of him.

Such documents as the 'Black Book of Swaffham' are of extreme rarity, but evidence confirmatory of the part which the parsons took in the church-building exists in abundance. It only requires to be looked up and looked into.

People seem to forget that the churches in England during the centuries we are discussing *belonged to the parishioners* exactly as the Board schools do now, and that this proprietary interest brought with it not only a jealous pride in their churches, but a strong love for and delight in the buildings themselves. Periodically there seems to have burst forth a great craze for church restoration over wide districts, one does not know how. Thus, in the diocese of Exeter, the bishop was called upon to re-dedicate between the years 1259 and 1268—*actually in nine years*—no less than eighty-eight rebuilt or enlarged churches. A century later a similar wave of zeal for church-building passed over

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East Anglia. You may see the result everywhere in the large numbers of fourteenth-century churches, which in Norfolk and Suffolk unhappily, as I think, supply the places of edifices erected when ecclesiastical architecture was in its perfect beauty, and before the decadence of the greatest of all the arts had begun. If a bishop were animated with a zeal for having fine churches in his diocese, he could put quite terrible pressure upon a parish, and put the parishioners to very serious expense. The coming of such a prelate was exactly like the coming of one of Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools nowadays. 'My Lords require you to enlarge your school and to provide a class-room!' Alas! what lamentations follow! Take an instance or two.

Bishop Stapleton had come down and paid a visit to the church of Staverton, near Totnes, in 1301. He had found some fault with the accommodation in the nave of the church, and apparently made some recommendations. When he came again in July 1314, his lordship was evidently out of temper and dissatisfied. He would not be trifled with this time. He declared that the chancel was too narrow and dark, and the nave was worse. Wherefore he made order that the rector, the vicar, and the parishioners, should remedy these defects without delay, and you may depend upon it it had to be done at whatever inconvenience. Some years later, the bishop paid a visit to Bradninch, near Collumpton. He found the roof of the church in a bad state (as Mr. Inspector has found perhaps yours or mine), and the parishioners are peremptorily ordered to put it in a condition of complete repair, and are allowed six months to do it in. As for the ways and means, that was their concern! Just about the same time, again, the bishop appeared at Ilfracombe. It had been represented to him that the parish church was too small. His lordship declared that was his opinion also. Wherefore it was ordered that the parishioners should lengthen their church twenty-four feet at the least before next Michaelmas twelvemonth. Was there any penalty? Yes, there was; and in this case the penalty in default of carrying out the bishop's order was a sum of money to be paid to the mother church at Exeter, equivalent to an amount which in our time would be represented by 700*l.* or 800*l.*

But how did the unhappy creatures get the money? For instance, how did the poor people of Broad Hempstead—a little country parish of 2,000 acres—manage to build a brand new church on a larger scale than the old one, in the year 1401, and finish it in two years? How did the parishioners of Buckland Brewer in 1399, when their church and almost all its contents were destroyed by lightning—how did they propose to rebuild or repair the sacred edifice? How did the parishioners of Downe St. Mary in 1413 and many another little place that might be named—how did they all manage it; and manage it, too, without being reduced to beggary? Why, exactly

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as you and I do it now! The bishop, in cases where the poor people sued humbly to him, and told him they were absolutely and utterly unable to bear the expense, gave them leave and licence to go a-begging. And who was the man who had to do the bulk of the work? And, mind, it was very hard work indeed, in days when the roads were bad and the penny post had not been dreamt of even by the most imaginative. The man who did the work then, as now, was the parson. And how well he did it the houses of God in the land testify from John o' Groat's House to the Land's End.

. . . . . .

Before I close I must needs offer you one or two more hints and suggestions.

(1) The lists of ordinations in the several dioceses during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries which have come down to us are more numerous than might have been expected. They show that the number of ordained persons of all ranks was very large, and they show us also plainly that instances of parish priests living isolated and lonely lives must have been very rare. There were huge numbers of unbeneficed men picking up a precarious livelihood in town and country, and subsisting upon a pittance which only celibates could have managed to exist upon. The prizes were to the blanks even fewer than they are now. But this had its advantages, such as they were. The beneficed clergy had no difficulty in finding assistance in their duties, and they were never at a loss for companionship. Moreover, licence of non-residence was very easily procured by a parson who wished to spend a year or two at the university. In many cases that licence was renewed from year to year, and it was specially common when a young man had been appointed to a benefice early in his career. In such cases the bishops occasionally insisted on his residing at Cambridge or Oxford for a time.

(2) While he was away there were sure to be two or three or sometimes half a dozen 'chaplains' and chantry priests, to whom the routine work of the parish was entrusted. These men were carefully watched by the churchwardens, and any irregularities were promptly reported to the archdeacons, who did not spare them. Of course there were many clerical scamps who were a disgrace to their profession and who drifted into the ranks of the loafers. There are scamps in the medical profession, rogues in the legal profession, blacklegs among the financiers, and bankrupts among the most virtuous and upright commercial classes. But where the competition increases for every post and every place of preferment, there is at least an even chance that the best men come to the fore, and we don't judge of a class by taking the convicts and ticket-of-leave men as fair specimens of the *morale* prevalent in the rank of life to which those unfortunate persons respectively belonged at their start in life.

(3) The quiet, devout, and conscientious parson, doing his duty day

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by day among his people, is the last man who attains to notoriety. Unless a clergyman is bent on advertising himself, the less notorious he is the better. Rogues do become notorious as soon as they are found out and their names appear in the police reports. The secular clergy before the Reformation had a very sharp look-out kept upon them, and when they tripped or went astray there were only too many people who were on the watch to expose them. Then they were heard of indeed. It is clear from such books as John Myrc's *Instructions for Parish Priests*, printed by the E.E.T.S., that there was a much higher standard of feeling in a wide stratum of the people than some would have us believe. Nor were the congregations of the fourteenth century a whit less inclined to be censorious than those of the nineteenth. When the representatives of the parish of Colbroke were questioned authoritatively by their bishop regarding Sir William their vicar in the regular course of his visitation in 1301, they said that he preached 'well enough' (*suo modo*), that, 'as far as he knew' (*quantum novit*), he expounded the Gospels to them, but he did not *teach* them much (*non multum eos informat.*) In fact, he was a very harmless sort of a humdrum man. There were lies told about him, but they *were* lies.

Pretty much the same answers are given by the chief men in the little town of Colyton. Sir Robert Blund, the vicar, was a good man (*probus homo*); he preached *quantum novit* again, but not as much as he ought in their opinion. His predecessor *was* a man; he had been wont to have classes for the instruction of all the chaplains and clerks of the Church. (Note that!) But this one was remiss in this duty. Would the lord bishop be pleased to pull him up? (*petunt quod corripiatur.*)

* * * * * * *

Take them all in all, I cannot resist the impression, which has become deeper and deeper upon me the more I have read and pondered, that the parochial clergy in England during the centuries between the Conquest and the Reformation numbered amongst them at all times some of the best men of their generation. To begin with, they were always loyal Englishmen. The same can at no time be said of the monks, who from first to last were much less true subjects of the King than at heart bigoted adherents of the Pope of Rome. Chaucer's manner of speaking of the poor parson of a town reflects the feeling not only of his own time, but really reflects the estimation in which they were held at all times. Not once, not twice in our history these parish priests are to be found siding with the people against those in power, and chosen by the people to be their spokesmen when their grievances were becoming unbearable. When that great awakening came which in the good Providence of God the friars were permitted to stir, and a new life, and a new enthusiasm, and a new hunger and thirst after holiness thril'ed through the

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throbbing heart of the nation, the response came first from the working clergy, who joined the new Reformers wherever they appeared —not without some grumbling that the new men absorbed large sums, in the shape of burial and marriage fees, from the poor parish priests, who could ill afford to lose them. To the last the wills of the clergy were full of legacies to the preaching friars. When, again, a new awakening came, and the Lollards went about as they did protesting against errors which were real errors, though in the way of doing it there was all the usual violence and exaggeration of men stirred by a fiery earnestness—again they were the clergy, the working parish priests, who gave that movement its impetus; and among the parish priests there were those who did not shrink then from giving their bodies to be burned, and who showed noble instances of suffering for conscience' sake. So, too, when Wycliffe was dreaming of a great religious revolution—hoping, in fact, for the Millennium which is so long in coming—they were the poor priests of townlet and village to whom he appealed for sympathy and support, and he did not appeal in vain.

It always has been so. The men that move the world and keep it moving; the men that carry the truths of the Gospel to the hearts and consciences of a nation—and, more than that, bring those truths into a nation's hearths and homes—are not the monks in the cloister, so anxious about their own precious souls that they hide themselves from their fellow-sinners till they become the victims of that pride which apes humility. More and more is it becoming evident that the men who are to act upon the masses must be in personal touch with the masses—the working clergy in hamlet and village and town.

It may be true that the parish priests rarely have been the intellectual leaders of their generation or the pioneers of science, discovery, or curious learning, though there have been times when their names, even in these matters, have not been unknown. It may, again, be true that for the trained academic intellects and the great scholars who are such by profession and who lead the van of the army of intellectual progress, such are not to be sought in the humble villages, where, perhaps, students are few. No! You must look for them here —here, where their home is; here, where you have come to listen to them and be taught by them. The gifted and the privileged few are not to be found in the lonely parsonage or the clergy house, where the ceaseless toilers among the submerged tenth and the dreadful residuum are knocking and pressing at their doors. Yet it must be calamitous, at any time, for the Church and the nation, if the leaders of the blind are growing blinder than the led, and if they who are groping and crying out so piteously for the light should find fewer and fewer of their appointed teachers qualified to show them where such light is to be found.

Against an indolent acquiesence in ignorance—against that sort

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of intellectual sloth which makes men assume that because they cannot know everything therefore they may as well know nothing—it behoves us all to watch very earnestly—to watch, and something more. But it is by trying to be in very truth working clergy of Christ, working among our people and working for the improvement of ourselves, that we shall best influence our generation, not by weakly trying to be something else than we are.

If it must be so that you who I am speaking to will in too many instances be counted as the inferior clergy, esteemed as inferior in learning, in culture, in academic distinction, and even in social standing, too, because your incomes may be such as others spurn—if it must be so that on you no honours are bestowed and none of that sort of recognition which gives us high positions in the world—then be it so! Was it for these things that God called us to our several places in His Church? Surely, surely the record of our brethren's unpretentious lives in the ages past will put us all to shame if we are fussily seeking great things for ourselves when—what but our lives are given to us for a prey?

The past which we have been reviewing has its solemn lessons, sometimes encouraging, sometimes saddening. But the generations move on, each with the old work to continue, and with something that is new that is laid upon ourselves.

AUGUSTUS JESSOPP.

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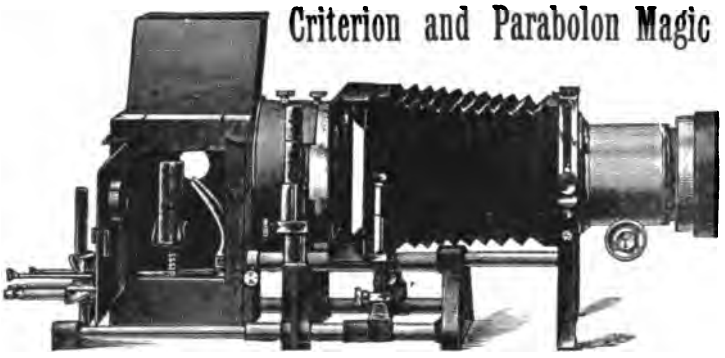

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THE

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THE SEVEN LORD ROSEBERIES

A warm but at the same time terribly candid admirer has lately written a study of Lord Rosebery (*The Earl of Rosebery; his Words and his Work*, by Arthur Wallace) in which the Prime Minister is treated under six heads—'The Man,' 'the Radical,' 'the Home-ruler,' 'the Municipalist,' and so on—an arrangement which clearly shows that Mr. Wallace had detected that he was dealing with more persons than one. Where Mr. Wallace has rushed in I need not perhaps fear to tread, and may claim that I am not overstepping the bounds of political courtesy if I put down for a moment the Gladstonian umbrella under which the various Lord Roseberies stand sheltered, and ask them to step out one by one for public inspection. A careful review of the different individualities which make up the multiplex personality of the Premier will show that Mr. Wallace has understated his case, and that there are at least seven Lord Roseberies, each with a distinct and sometimes antagonistic set of opinions and methods of action. They may be arranged according to the following list:

1. The Home Rule Lord Rosebery.
2. The Unionist Lord Rosebery.
3. The Democratic, Socialist, Labour-Radical Lord Rosebery.
4. Lord Rosebery the Political Boss.
5. Lord Rosebery the man above party.
6. Lord Rosebery the Sphinx.
7. The Newmarket Lord Rosebery.

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I

As Lord Rosebery is the head of the Home Rule party and the Prime Minister in a Home Rule Government, it might be supposed that nothing would be easier than to produce a clear delineation of the man in this capacity. It happens, however, that exactly the opposite is the case. It is difficult to quote any precise and distinct admission from Lord Rosebery's lips that he is a Home Ruler from conviction, and that Home Rule is an essential and necessary part of his political creed, an item of the party programme to which he is irrevocably committed. I do not of course mean to say that Lord Rosebery has not spoken in favour of Home Rule. He has done so very often, and of late in such a way as to create the impression that he is perfectly sound on the Home Rule goose. If, however, his speeches are examined, it will be seen that what he has done has been rather to create a Home Rule atmosphere, and to envelope himself therein, than to pin himself definitely to Home Rule. His attitude has not been unlike that of the immortal Candidate in the *Biglow Papers*. He never exactly advocates Home Rule, but seems rather to be winking and whispering over his shoulder,

> Tell 'em that on the Home Rule question
> I'm RIGHT, although to speak I'm loth;
> That gives you a safe p'int to rest on
> An' leaves me frontin' North by South.

There was just this air of 'Don't you be afraid about Home Rule, it's all right,' in the declaration which Lord Rosebery made when last March he first met his party at the Foreign Office in the capacity of Premier. 'We stand where we did'—a declaration which was followed that very afternoon by the admission in the House of Lords as to 'the predominant partner.' Lord Rosebery, it is true, has said many fine things about justice to Ireland, things that can be pointed to, to show that he is *right* on the Home Rule question; but he has generally contrived to mitigate their crudeness with something which seems to say, again like the *Biglow* Candidate, that perhaps after all 'it don't smell very strong.' Still, taken as a whole, the Home Rule Lord Rosebery has a right to say that he has a distinct existence and may fairly claim to be one of the seven. After all, did he not, in speaking on the Home Rule Bill of 1892, assure the House of Lords that 'whether you plaster Ireland with your garrisons or with your gold, the end of it, by some devious path or other, will be some form of Home Rule'? When, then, the credit of the Home Rule Lord Rosebery is impugned, and his very existence doubted, he can always proudly point to that passage to prove that he is not a mere shadow of a dream, but a reality.

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II

There is no sort of difficulty in substantiating the existence of 'the Unionist Lord Rosebery.' He unquestionably is a creature of flesh and blood. So vigorous is he, indeed, that he is apt, even when the Home Rule Lord Rosebery is taking the stage, to pop his head round one of the flies and make his presence known. He did this in a way which considerably annoyed the Gladstonian party and perplexed his brother actors in the spring of the present year.

When the Home Rule Lord Rosebery was 'on,' and ought to have been talking unexceptional Home Rule sentiments to the House of Lords, the Unionist Lord Rosebery suddenly materialised, and delivered himself of an excellent piece of Unionist doctrine.

'The noble Marquis,' said Lord Rosebery, 'made one remark on the subject of Irish Home Rule with which I confess myself in entire accord. He said that before Irish Home Rule is conceded by the Imperial Parliament, England, as the predominant member of the partnership of the three kingdoms, will have to be convinced of its justice.' 'That,' he continued, 'may seem to be a considerable admission to make, because your lordships will know that the majority of English members of Parliament, elected from England proper, are hostile to Home Rule.'

It is true that a few days later the Home Rule Lord Rosebery reasserted himself. No one of the seven can of course claim a monopoly; but for all that there was an air of vigour and conviction about the first speech which might almost make one imagine that the Unionist Lord Rosebery is in reality 'the predominant partner.' The Unionist Lord Rosebery can, at any rate, claim to be the senior partner. He was alive and active before the Home Rule Lord Rosebery was born or even thought of. Witness the words used by Lord Rosebery in 1885 when speaking at Paisley in regard to the Irish vote:

> I think that in speaking of Ireland and Irish affairs we are apt to touch too much on the Irish vote. I think the Irish vote should no longer be a factor in the British Parliament, and for this reason, that there is no reliance to be placed upon it. The Irish vote is not guided by consideration of what is best for Great Britain and for the Empire. . . . I am afraid there is only one policy to be pursued towards Ireland, and it is this—to treat Ireland exactly, so far as may be, as you would treat any other part of the United Kingdom, whenever you can do it, without regard to the language of menace or insult, or language of opprobrium, from those you are trying to benefit. Whenever you can do it, try and treat Ireland exactly as you would treat Scotland or Wales. If you pass a measure of local government for Great Britain, pass as near as may be exactly the same measure of local government for Ireland. She will not thank you; she will receive your measure rather with a curse than with a blessing; but what I want to point out is, that it is unworthy of British statesmen who know so much of Irish affairs to heed any longer the reception which may be given them by the leaders of public opinion in Ireland.

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Even here, however, Lord Rosebery has proved the existence of his Unionist personality rather by the creation of a Unionist atmosphere than by any very definite or explicit words. He told us he was *right* on the question of the Union, rather than said in as many words that he was Unionist. As another example of his ability to create a Unionist atmosphere, I may quote a very remarkable passage from a speech made by Lord Rosebery at Plymouth in 1887. Lord Rosebery deals with the retention of the Irish members, and no one can possibly read it and fail to feel a comfortable sense that in reality Lord Rosebery is sound on the Union. Here is the passage in question:

> Suppose you give the Irish members a Parliament of their own for their own affairs, and give them at the same time their present representatives in the Imperial Parliament, then you put them in a vastly preponderant and superior position, because they have not merely the exclusive right to manage their own affairs, but they have also a very considerable right in the management of ours. That is a great disturber of the balance of the Constitution, and that, on the whole, seems to be undesirable. But, on the other hand, if you say, as many have said: 'We will admit the Irish member, but only for Imperial matters'—what are you to do with the Irish members when Imperial matters are not going on? Is the Speaker to ring the bell and say, 'The Irish members may come in'—(laughter)—and then some English member who objected to the Irish members will say, 'Sir, I object to the Irish members coming in; this is not an Imperial matter,' and we shall have a debate, perhaps, of two nights as to whether or not it is an Imperial matter, and the Irish members may come in—(laughter)—and then, just in the middle of question time or at the end of any debate you may find the Speaker ringing his bell again and saying, 'The Irish members will please return to their own quarters,' and you will have these unfortunate Irish members in a state of perpetually suspended and restored animation.

One feels, however, that the Unionist Lord Rosebery went a little further here than good taste allows. It is hardly fair for one of a man's aliases to poke fun quite so openly at another of them. The good sense of the whole seven might have been expected to preserve a stronger feeling of decorum.

III

The Democratic, Socialist, Labour-Radical Lord Rosebery is a very strong and vital shred from the multiplex personality which, as Lord Rosebery's friends so often have it, 'the accident of an accident' made an earl, Mr. Gladstone a Knight of the Garter, and his own astuteness and the *Daily Chronicle* a Prime Minister. The chief field in which Lord Rosebery has displayed himself as the genuine Socialist, whole-souled Radical and thoroughgoing friend of Labour is the County Council. Whenever Lord Rosebery was in the chair at Spring Gardens, this one of the seven was given full rein, and very successfully he played his part. Excellent was the stroke of telling his fellow-members that he wished them to address him as

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Mr. Chairman and not as 'my Lord.' Many whole-souled Radicals might have shrunk from issuing this order—might have thought that there would seem something a little patronising and condescending in the command. Not so Lord Rosebery. He knew his men and scored his first great success by this simple artifice. He conquered all hearts by his 'Mr. Chairman.' So deeply indeed did this act of condescension sink into the heart of the London Radical, that when the *Daily Chronicle* was working overtime to press the claims of Lord Rosebery to the Premiership, it again and again brought up this marvel of lordly affability. Whenever it grew out of breath in the task of panegyric, it filled up the interval with the remark that Lord Rosebery had actually told the County Council to call him Mr. Chairman when he might, if he had liked, have insisted on the full delights of 'my Lord.' One was reminded of the delight with which the old ladies in Cranford noted that Lady Glenmire if she had chosen might have sat down to tea in a coronet instead of a cap. But this was not the only 'wild enormity of ancient magnanimity' to which Lord Rosebery treated the County Council. He, throughout his tenure of office, gave the Labour party the impression that he was their man and meant to play their game. It must not be supposed, however, that Lord Rosebery keeps his Radicalism solely for County Council consumption or that the Radical Lord Rosebery never performs out of London. One of his ways of proving his Radicalism is to assure the people that he is always and at all times perfectly willing to follow wherever they like to lead him. He may have a particular plan in his mind, but if it does not suit it can be easily changed. For example, speaking in Edinburgh this year he expressed certain views as to the Scotch Church, but insisted that there was no fear of his getting out of line. Whatever happened, he would in the end put himself right with the popular cry. Whatever the goal the majority ultimately reached, he would manage 'to get there just the same.' 'As long as I arrive at the goal at which my friends behind me wish me to arrive, I do not think it matters particularly by what path I arrive at it.' Whenever, too, Lord Rosebery is in a difficulty how to act, he shows his trust in the people by asking them to help him out. He has constantly done this in regard to the question of the House of Lords.

Speaking of that question to a popular audience, he remarked:

> If it is to be dealt with by the present Government, it can only be dealt with by the backing, on the summons, and on the inspiration of a great popular force. Without that backing, without that inspiration, and without that summons we are absolutely impotent. We want your guidance and your direction, and when we have it we shall be prepared to take what measures you may inspire.

Perhaps, however, Lord Rosebery showed himself as the people's

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man most completely at the meeting at St. James's Hall where he received the congratulations of the County Council on his accession to the Premiership. There, wearing all the weight of his Radicalism lightly like a flower, he naïvely confessed that 'in the course of lowering the suffrage we somewhere or other lit upon the conscience of the community,' and expatiated on the necessity for carrying into practical affairs and practical life 'the principles of a higher morality.' The Radical Lord Rosebery went deeper, however, than this. He realises how greatly the Radical working-man distrusts both parties in the State, and rightly or wrongly imagines himself their dupe. He cast a most attractive fly to those who think thus :

> It is all very well to make great speeches and to win great divisions. It is well to speak with authority in the councils of the world, and to see your navies riding on every sea, and to see your flag on every shore. That is well, but it is not all. I am certain that there is a party in this country, not named as yet, that is disconnected with any existing political organisation, a party which is inclined to say, 'A plague on both your Houses, a plague on all your parties, a plague on all your politics, a plague on your unending discussions which yield so little fruit. Have done with this unending talk, and come down and do something for the people.' It is this spirit which animates, as I believe, the great masses of our artisans, the great masses of our working clergy, the great masses of those who work for and with the poor, and who, for the want of a better word, I am compelled to call by the bastard term of philanthropists; and whether that spirit be with them or not—and I am convinced, by conversation with many individuals, it is increasingly so—you will find that that spirit will spread, if Parliament is not able to do something effective—you will find it will spread higher and wider in the social scale; and I, for one, shall not despair some day to see a Minister, Prime or otherwise, who shall not scruple, from time to time, to come down from the platform of party and speak straight to the hearts of his fellow-countrymen—speak to them as Sir Robert Peel spoke to them when he was hurled from power for cheapening the bread of the people. Were that Minister here to-night, he would, I imagine, ask you not to save his Cabinet or himself, but to make a great effort to save yourselves, to save yourselves by some noble, by some direct, by some effective action, from the dangers that encircle a great population—the perils of violence, of crime, and the greatest peril of all, the peril of ignorance.

Hundreds of those who call themselves primarily Labour men must have heard this and concluded that Lord Rosebery was with them heart and soul. He has, in a word, created a Labour atmosphere just as he has created a Home Rule and a Unionist atmosphere.

IV

Perhaps the most remarkable of all the seven Lord Roseberies is Lord Rosebery the Political Boss. It is true that in this capacity Lord Rosebery has come but little before the public, but then it must be remembered that it is the nature of the Political Boss to do his work unseen—to pull the strings from behind a veil. The chief of the many arts practised by the Political Boss is the art of 'placating,'

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the art of squaring and composing divergent and conflicting personalities and interests. Of this art Lord Rosebery has proved himself a master. No ward politician in a difficult section in an American State has ever outdone him. To the perfection of this inestimable art Lord Rosebery owes it that his name has been placed on the list of English Prime Ministers along with the names of Pitt and Grey, Sir Robert Peel and Mr. Gladstone—and this though his record in the work of practical politics is an absolute blank. He who steadily and successfully 'placates' every interest, every person and every organisation in a party soon becomes 'the man who divides us least,' the man to whom no one objects, and so the indispensable man. No doubt the game is a difficult one to play and requires infinite patience, tact and perseverance; but if you are good at it, there is nothing which pays or seems to pay better in modern political life. By a dexterous use of the personal element in politics the successful 'placater' brings into line men who are apparently irreconcilable. It seems impossible to get this and that group of men to act together, so divergent are their aims and so strong the envies and jealousies they excite in each other. These jealousies and envies are the 'placater's' opportunity. He quietly and unostentatiously establishes relations with each and all of them. Lord Rosebery's career exemplifies this to a nicety. He impresses the teetotallers with the notion that at heart he is with them, and that if he does not openly advocate their views and denounce their opponents, it is only because he can further their objects best by working quietly. At the same time he makes the Liberal brewers and distillers feel that he is also their best friend. He is dead against anything being done which will injure the trade. Of that they may be perfectly sure. The fact that he has obtained a strong influence over those wild men the followers of Sir Wilfrid Lawson is a guarantee that the Brewers will be wise to trust him. His relations with the Temperance party and his power of controlling them make him a specially useful ally of those Liberals who are interested in liquor. It is the same with the question of Disestablishment. The Liberationists are secured by general assurances of support, while at the same time Liberal Churchmen feel that, if it is possible to save the Church, a man with so much general sympathy for the Establishment is the man to save it. The Radicals imagine themselves to have obtained the fullest and most positive pledges that the cause of Labour is the one cause which Lord Rosebery has at heart, and that the one object of his life is to govern and legislate in a democratic sense.

At the same time great care is taken not to irritate the Whigs, the moderates and the capitalists. They are dexterously reminded that Lord Rosebery has a very great stake in the country, and that it is very improbable that he will 'go bald-headed' into anything rash or revolutionary. Is it likely that a man of that sort would really kick

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over the traces? His position, as it were, automatically placates the moderate Gladstonians, and they are consoled for an apparent drift towards Niagara by the suggestion that the man who is nominally waving the red flag is really clinging round the legs of the Extremists. Take again the Home Rule problem. The Irish members are made to understand that Lord Rosebery is a broker who realises fully that he has got to pay for what he buys, and that there is no fear of his upsetting things at the last moment by an unexpected outcrop of political conscience. That wing of the Gladstonians, however, which has Unionist sympathies is none the less happy. They believe that in his inmost soul Lord Rosebery goes with them, and think they read in his speeches that he will lean rather to giving the Irish too little than too much. There is, indeed, no end to Lord Rosebery's placating. The Imperialists regard him as one of themselves, and yet he has managed to soothe the Little Englanders and to insinuate the belief that he is no Jingo. So great, indeed, is his mastery in the art that Lord Rosebery has contrived to placate both the Court and the ultra-Radicals, and is understood to be in equal favour at Windsor and in the most democratic of the London Radical clubs. It is sometimes said that this plan of being all things to all men and everyone's friend does not pay. Lord Rosebery is an example to the contrary. His efforts in the gentle art of placating have borne abundant fruit. When Mr. Gladstone resigned, and it became necessary to choose his successor, it was discovered to the astonishment of Europe that the young peer who had but some eighteen months' experience of Cabinet office, and whose name was connected with no great measure or far-reaching movement, was the inevitable choice of the party. He was the one man whom the warring groups and factions could agree to elect as their leader. Caves withered at the magic of his touch, and Mr. Labouchere, 'the curious impertinent' of politics, was seen to be the one unplacated man of the Gladstonian party. Wrapt in his cloak of kindly cynicism and hard common sense, he alone had passed through the fire of Lord Rosebery's blandishments untouched. Every other group and interest was not only willing but eager to accept the peer Prime Minister. Mr. Burns and the Labour Radicals were loud in his favour. The Socialists hailed him as the best choice. The Whig remnant of the Liberal party, exemplified by those whom the *Daily Chronicle* calls 'the millionaire Baronets,' were no less anxious to secure him. Sir Wilfrid Lawson had not a word of protest. Young Wales was his to a man. The Irish preferred him to any other leader, and the party machine was entirely on his side. As for the Gladstonian press, it showed an absolute unanimity of approval; the *Daily Chronicle*, in its eagerness, giving him each morning a fresh certificate of unblemished Radicalism. The work had been thoroughly done, and Lord Rosebery stood confessed as the necessary man. It was a triumph of the methods of the Political Boss, and

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had they been able to observe at close quarters, it cannot be doubted that the men who pull the wires at Chicago and Washington would have declared that the whole thing had been beautifully 'engineered.'

V

Lord Rosebery is very fond of winning or trying to win the admiration of his fellow-countrymen by appeals to them to sink party differences and to gather round him as the heaven-sent Minister whom all may follow. Such an appeal was made by Lord Rosebery when he spoke on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill in the House of Lords. He represented the question as one which ought to be settled, not by any one party, but by them all. 'I have sometimes felt,' said he, 'that it will be settled by an agreement between both political parties.'[1]

On several other occasions Lord Rosebery has hinted and suggested that, if ever the country should happen to be face to face with some tremendous issue and in want of a leader who would command confidence, he would be most happy to oblige. I fear, however, that Lord Rosebery will hardly find himself called upon to lead the country if one of those crises arrives when 'none are for a party but all are for the State.' It is one thing to placate yourself into being the necessary man to such a fortuitous collection of groups as the Gladstonian party; it is quite another to touch the national heart as Pitt did, and become the necessary man to the country as a whole. Lord Rosebery wastes his time in trying to create the atmosphere associated with 'the man above party.' The position of the pilot who weathered the storm is one which can only be given by acclamation, not one which can be achieved by management, however dexterous. Lord Rosebery is very fond of calling to people of all parties to come over and help him, but he calls in vain. One feels instinctively that he has not the requisite qualities for the part—the calmness, the power to sink self, the indifference to the feeling of the moment. Abraham Lincoln had just the characteristics which make a whole nation rally round one man in a moment of crisis; but who shall say that the astute and popularity winning peer has the attributes of the heroic Western lawyer? The man who combines

[1] Lord Rosebery's speech in the House of Lords on the second reading of the Home Rule Bill, is one which should be carefully studied by all who desire to understand as much as they can about the Premier and his opinions. It is an epitome of the man. In it most of the seven Lord Roseberies appear and express their views. This speech contains the non-party passage just quoted. It also contains a Home Rule passage quoted under the Home Rule Lord Rosebery. Again it contains a more or less frank admission of Unionist sympathies. 'With me, at any rate, Home Rule is not a fanaticism,' and 'I say that I am not an enthusiastic witness on this subject,' are not exactly the expressions one would expect from a Home Ruler. Yet there they are.

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all the jarring sects and factions of a nation and becomes the man above party is he

> Who if he rise to station of command
> Rises by open means; and there will stand
> On honourable terms, or else retire
> And in himself possess his own desire;
> Who comprehends his trust and to the same
> Keeps faithful with a singleness of aim;
> And therefore does not stoop, nor lie in wait
> For wealth or honours or for worldly state.

Lord Rosebery's best admirer could not say he had these qualities. No one can of course blame Lord Rosebery for having 'laid in wait' for the Premiership. It is what most statesmen do, and do honourably enough. Only it must be remembered that those men are not the great national statesmen. You cannot serve both the Caucus and the nation as a whole, be both a Boss and a heaven-sent statesman. This Lord Rosebery then, whatever his companions are, must be declared a failure, and if the essential Lord Rosebery, whoever and whatever he may be, who sits somewhere secluded behind his seven aliases, is wise, he will withdraw the Lord Rosebery who is ready to be above party if required, and put on a substitute. What ought to be the principles and policy of that substitute I will not venture to suggest, but the subtle contriver of the other six should have no difficulty in discovering a new rôle.[2]

VI

The Sphinx Lord Rosebery was probably inspired by the example of the late Lord Beaconsfield. Lord Beaconsfield undoubtedly gained a good deal of popular interest and attention by his assumption of the airs of the mystery man. He touched by that means a very large section of the electors. They liked to think of a Prime Minister, 'dumb, inscrutable and grand,' revolving in his capacious brain vast political riddles and oracles of double meaning. Lord Rosebery has followed suit. He has produced a Sphinx atmosphere by a judicious use of irony, cynicism, and an occasional flash of worldly wisdom. Nothing makes a man look more Sphinx-like than to 'lace' some excellent and conventional piece of common-sense with a touch of worldliness. That was doubtless why Lord Rosebery, greatly daring, and on a platform strewn thick as the leaves in Vallombrosa with philanthropists and nonconformist ministers, declared that life could not be reduced to a blue-book and a biscuit. In serious quarters this desperate saying went straight home, and gave a pleasurable thrill

[2] Closely connected with the Non-party Lord Rosebery is the Imperialistic Lord Rosebery. Indeed, he may be said to be but another aspect of the same character. Lord Rosebery has, however, done such good educational work in making the English-speaking race, both here and over-sea, realise their unity, that no word of disparagement should be said of him under this head.

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as of something shocking in many a quiet household. It made the public think that no doubt Lord Rosebery was at home a devil of a fellow. Mr. Matthew Arnold once reckoned among the attractions and advantages of a certain agitation the fact that it enabled the nonconformist clergy to see a little of life. Lord Rosebery's occasional deviations into the mood of the Sphinx make his more serious supporters feel a wild but yet half-pleasurable doubt whether, after all, their party and its leader are so depressingly in earnest as they are represented. The Sphinx Lord Rosebery is also kept before the public by certain innocent acts of personal mystification. For example, when Lord Rosebery goes over to Paris for a day or two, all sorts of mysterious things are hinted. Some people imagine the Premier assisting at a family council, with Prince Sidonia at the head of the table and long rows of cousins down each side, at which projects for cornering at one and the same moment all the products of industry, from wheat to spectacles, are daringly discussed. Others picture him arranging secret alliances with diplomats who meet him in disguise at some obscure café on the quays. No doubt, in reality, Lord Rosebery finds in Paris the dentist or the oculist who exactly suits him, and who demands an occasional visit. To disclose this simple fact would, however, be a great mistake when the two bald announcements 'Lord Rosebery has left London for Paris,' 'Lord Rosebery has returned from Paris,' create so vivid a sensation. Plenty of instances of carefully nursed mysteries are to be found in Lord Rosebery's career. Why, ask the Tom Eaveses of politics, had Lord Rosebery to be pressed so strongly to take office in 1892? Why did he keep the Cabinet waiting nearly a week? Such are the questions that are asked in a whisper, and answered with a shake of the head and the declaration that the true reason will probably never be known. Very likely. Still, who can doubt that the hero of the mystery attracts a great deal of popular attention? To a man without a record an air of mystery is indeed particularly useful. It invests his career with an interest which it would otherwise lack.

VII

The seventh and last Lord Rosebery is Lord Rosebery the sporting man. It might be expected that here, at last, we should have struck the rock-bed of character, and that in the racing stable and on Newmarket Heath the real man would emerge. Unfortunately, however, for those who want to reduce Lord Rosebery to a simple formula, this is not the case. One has only to look closely into the Prime Minister's sporting record to see that the Newmarket Lord Rosebery is not the real man, but an artificial creation. Lord Rosebery, it is whispered by those who know both him and the Turf, has none of that genuine love for racing which distinguished the great Lord Derby. He wanted to win the Derby and did win it, but only as a man wants to

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possess and does ultimately acquire a first folio Shakespeare. Lord Rosebery, in a word, wanted to create a racing and horsey atmosphere round himself, and so to obtain that mixture of the sportsman and the politician which has always been so warmly appreciated by the English people. Lord Rosebery—for whatever else he is, he is certainly a student of English literature—had doubtless read Pope's character of Godolphin, saw its attractiveness, and decided to fit it, or rather to make people think he fitted it.

> Who would not praise Patricio's high desert,
> His hand unstained, his uncorrupted heart;
> His comprehensive head—all interests weighed,
> All Europe saved, yet Britain not betrayed?
> He thanks you not, his pride is in Picquet,
> Newmarket fame and judgment at a bet.

Unquestionably there is something very taking in this, especially when it is real, and one quite understands Lord Rosebery longing to have the sporting Premier as one of his seven selves. It must be doubted, nevertheless, whether the imitation, however cleverly executed, is worth having, and one is inclined to think that a great deal of time and trouble was thrown away on the effort to become the owner of Ladas. After all, no one can say that to surround oneself with a sporting atmosphere has the same effect as being a sportsman all through.

VIII

The first question that arises on a consideration of the seven Lord Roseberies is 'Which of the seven is the real man, or if the real man is not one of them, what is he?' This is however a question which it is exceedingly difficult, perhaps impossible, to answer. Who knows if there is any real Lord Rosebery at all? Thackeray, in his *Georges*, describes a Royal Prince who wore a wilderness of waistcoats one over the other. These in fact made up his Royal Highness. You stripped one off and there was another below; but if you persisted until the very end, you found that beneath the last waistcoat there was nothing. The Prince was an affair of waistcoats. Possibly Lord Rosebery is an affair of aliases and atmospheres, and no real Lord Rosebery exists. No doubt it is also possible that there is an irreducible element, an archetypal Lord Rosebery, though one not discoverable by the imperfect analytical apparatus at our command. In any case, I have no option but to treat Lord Rosebery as if he were nothing but a bundle of seven aliases, for that is all I can find in him.

What, it may be asked, is the explanation of the fact that Lord Rosebery, with all his cleverness, has not succeeded better, or rather has succeeded so greatly to the eye and so little to the mind? How is it that he has become Prime Minister, and yet somehow made friend and foe agree that he has been a failure? I believe that the

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answer is contained in a remark made by one of George the Third's daughters when she wanted to explain the failure and disorder of the Royal Family—'There were too many of us.' There are too many Lord Roseberies. Real success with such a mixed multitude of personalities is impossible. Being seven men at once may help a man to placate his way to high office, but it will not keep him there in dignity and strength. To borrow a metaphor from the Turf, Lord Rosebery ought to have declared long ago which Lord Rosebery he meant to win with. As it is, he is running against himself. But perhaps this was inevitable. The rock-bed difficulty in Lord Rosebery's case is, I expect, the fact that he has no real opinions. As I have tried to show, when you come to analyse his views under any of his aliases, you find that they are in reality non-existent. Lord Rosebery has expressed clear, definite, and bona-fide opinions on few, if any, subjects. The most he has done has been to create a Home Rule, or a Radical, or a Unionist, or a sporting atmosphere, as the case may be—a political haze which, if not carefully examined, is capable of creating the impression that the man behind the mist is a Home Ruler, or a Radical, or a Unionist, or a Sportsman. A man cannot prosper for long in politics who has no real opinions, but has merely the capacity for convincing a large number of people that he is *with them* on the question they most affect. This lack of real views and aims may do very well till a man actually comes to be at the head of affairs, but when he is in that position the nebulous condition is sure to be disastrous. No doubt it will be said that men have succeeded before who had no real views, but were merely playing a part in politics, and Lord Beaconsfield will be quoted as an example in point. I admit that Lord Beaconsfield had no very strong opinions of his own. There was however this difference. He was a very real man, and did not adopt seven or eight divergent views at one and the same time. The seven Disraelies were consecutive, not simultaneous creations. He was never a man of atmospheres, but whatever views he held at any particular time he held with a firm grasp. He may not have had any sincere political opinions of his own, but at any rate he selected one definite set and for the time 'froze' to them. While he was a Protectionist he was a Protectionist to his marrow. While he was an Imperialist and a Jingo, he had no sort of notion of coquetting with the Manchester School. A politician may get on without genuine convictions of his own, if he chooses a clear and compact set, and holds to them firmly. This lack of real political aims is then, I am convinced, the source of Lord Rosebery's weakness. He not only does not know what he wants, but has not noticed that when, in politics, you assume a conviction, you must act exactly as if it were yours by nature. You may be a soldier of fortune, but you must stick to one side and not try to serve in opposite camps. And here Lord Rosebery's colleague might instruct him. Sir

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William Harcourt may be the Dugald Dalgetty his opponents represent him, but he is the great force he is in politics because he has not tried to be several people at once, but has loyally stood by the particular banner under which he has enlisted for the moment. When he was a Unionist, none better. Since he has worn the Home Rule uniform he has, in public at any rate, stuck manfully to his own side. Lord Rosebery's want of definite objects, whether real or assumed, is the source of his ineptitude as a politician—the reason why he has been so brilliant a failure as Prime Minister. Just now we are interested in Lord Rosebery because of the suddenness of his rise, and of the quaintness and irony of a party bent on destroying the Peers choosing a peer to head the attack. When, however, this ephemeral interest has evaporated, people will pass by the Rosebery Premiership almost without remark. Indeed, we may look forward to the time when the crammers for examinations in modern history will strongly caution their pupils to remember that it was not Lord Rosebery, but Lord Goderich, whom the author of *Sybil* described as 'a transient and embarrassed phantom.'

Lord Rosebery, indeed, should be described as a great political melodrama rather than as a statesman. The plan pursued by those who draw up the playbills for melodramas would, indeed, be exactly suitable to Lord Rosebery. It has become the custom to specify that each characteristic trapping of the play is supplied by a particular firm—this fitting by one, that piece of decoration by another. Occasionally, indeed, a whole scene is described as by a special artist or contractor. The play-bill of the Rosebery political melodrama might thus announce the names of the various persons who are understood to inspire Lord Rosebery on special points of policy:—'Labour, by Mr. John Burns; Philosophic Radicalism, by Mr. Haldane; Foreign Policy, by Lord Salisbury; Socialism, prepared and supplied by the Fabian Society; Whig principles, by Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Brand. Scene 1.—The Premier's room, Downing Street, specially designed by the *Daily Chronicle*.' Would it be rash to add: 'Final scene: The Downfall. The Durdans, Epsom. Carried out under the direct supervision of Mr. Henry Labouchere'?

IX

It is not difficult to see how Lord Rosebery may have slid into being seven men at once and so shuffled off and lost his own personality. He probably early determined to lie in wait for the Premiership. Not unnaturally perhaps it may have occurred to him that being all things to all men and yet pledged to nothing would get him to the top with a rush. He had read the passage in the *Biglow Papers* which describes the advantages obtained by the man who is pledged to nothing, but has created a good many atmospheres.

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Birdofredum Sawin descants upon the advantages which the 'Gin'ral' secures because he isn't 'tied hand an' foot with pledges.'

> He hezn't told ye wut he is, and, so there ain't no knowin'
> But wut he may turn out to be the best there is agoin';
> Thus, at the on'y spot that pinched, the shoe directly eases
> Coz every one is free to 'xpect precisely wut he pleases.

Lord Rosebery, however, forgot that when once a man is premier, he must pledge himself and must show his hand. If he does not, he will sink lower and lower in public esteem.

X

How came Lord Rosebery to divide himself into seven statesmen? I cannot help thinking that Lord Rosebery when he formed his plan of campaign for winning the Premiership must have studied Bacon's 'Essay of Simulation and Dissimulation,' but in so imperfect a way that he drew from it the wrong and not the right conclusions. Bacon thus states the three forms of dissimulation:

'There be three degrees of this hiding and veiling of a man's self; the first, closeness, reservation, and secrecy, when a man leaveth himself without observation, or without hold to be taken, what he is; the second, dissimulation in the negative, when a man lets fall signs and arguments, that he is not that he is; and the third, simulation in the affirmative, when a man industriously and expressly feigns and pretends to be that he is not.'

If Lord Rosebery had stuck to the first of these—secrecy or closeness—all might have been well. Unfortunately he preferred to use the second, or dissimulation in the negative. The futility of this course is so well pointed out by Bacon that it is difficult to see how Lord Rosebery could have blundered into such a method of action. Dissimulation by letting fall signs and arguments that a man 'is not that he is' is of little avail, says Bacon, 'for men are too cunning to suffer a man to keep an indifferent carriage between both, and to be secret, without swaying the balance on either side. They will so beset a man with questions, and draw him on, and pick it out of him, that, without an absurd silence, he must show an inclination one way; or if he do not, they will gather as much by his silence as by his speech. As for equivocations, or oraculous speeches, they cannot hold out long.'

Here is a prophetic account of Lord Rosebery's career since he became Prime Minister. Everyone will remember the uselessness of Lord Rosebery's 'indifferent carriage' between both Unionism and Home Rule; how it was picked out of him by Mr. Chamberlain on the one side and the Irish members on the other, and how the sign and argument that he was not what he was, 'let fall' in the phrase of the predominant partner, did not in reality do him the least good. Lord

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Rosebery, it must be supposed, only read the passage on the advantages of simulation and dissimulation; how they lay asleep opposition, and enable men to surprise the enemy; how they 'reserve to a man's self a fair retreat' and how they draw out the opinions of others. He must have omitted the disadvantages set forth by Bacon. Yet they are curiously apposite, and have all been experienced by Lord Rosebery. The first disadvantage of simulation and dissimulation is that they 'commonly carry with them a show of fearfulness which in any business doth spoil the feathers of round flying up to the mark.' How often has Lord Rosebery suffered from this timidity and lack of power to fly straight! Again, says Bacon, 'it puzzleth the conceits of many that, perhaps, would otherwise cooperate with him and makes a man walk almost alone to his own ends.' How true is that of Lord Rosebery! The man may have no enemies, but he has no hearty band of cooperators—men who feel the strengthening bond of a common cause. He has shrouded his purposes and stands alone. When the crisis of his fate comes Lord Rosebery will know what it is to have no true followers. The last disadvantage, 'and greatest,' says Bacon, 'is that it depriveth a man of one of the most principal instruments for action, which is trust and belief.' Never political philosopher spoke truer word. 'Trust and belief' are the essentials of a really great political career, but 'trust and belief' cannot keep house with those arts by which a man hides and veils his nature. There may not be anything *per se* wrong or dishonourable in that veiling. I do not for a moment suggest that in Lord Rosebery's case there is. But it takes the heart out of a man and makes him not the statesman but the politician. This was what Pope meant when he said that the Duke of Wharton failed because he wanted nothing but an honest heart. Wharton had every gift of nature and of art, and 'was all to all,' but his lack of 'trust and belief' made him the scorn and wonder of his days, not a leader of men. It would of course be grossly unfair to compare Lord Rosebery to Wharton, but the essential reason for failure is the same in each case.

XI

The 'fearfulness' which Bacon notes as one of the drawbacks suffered by the man who 'lets fall signs and arguments that he is not that he is' is so marked a characteristic of Lord Rosebery as a politician that it deserves special notice. Whenever he is brought face to face with anything big, anything requiring nerve and high courage, he seems to flinch. He is incomparable when a movement is in the epigram stage, but when the time has come for action he fails. Like Wharton again, he is 'For thought too rash, for action too refined.' Lord Rosebery has shown this timidity, this lack of go and pluck, in the way he has treated the agitation against the House of Lords. No man has talked bigger about forcing the Lords to

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yield or has warned them more severely to—Beware. When, however, he was brought face to face with the problem of dealing with the Lords he 'shied' at it like a nervous horse. His distraction and embarrassment were painful to witness when he was urged by his party to smash the Peers. All he could do was to tell his hearers that he saw no way of beating the Lords and to implore them to think of a plan. Here are his actual words spoken at Birmingham on Thursday the 24th of May, 1894:

> I have always been rather a mender than an ender, if only for one very simple reason, that I have never yet met a reasonable human being who could tell me a constitutional measure by which you could put an end to the House of Lords. It can only be done by a Bill passed in both Houses of Parliament putting an end to one branch of the Legislature. I have no idea how you can get that branch of the Legislature to decree its own sentence of death. It is said that a large creation of Peers, some 500 or 600, would obtain the desired result, but it is very doubtful if the Crown could be called upon, or requested, to create an enormous army of Peers for the purpose of putting an end to one branch of the Legislature. At any rate, it would be a very important strain on the Constitution.

Did ever the head of a great party speak in a more hopeless and helpless strain? What should we say of a commander who, on sitting down to invest a fortress, declared in a general order that he had always been in favour of peace because he had never yet met a reasonable man who thought that he and his troops had a chance of taking the city, and who further admitted that he had no idea how the enemy could be beaten? But this was not all. Lord Rosebery went on to hint that it would even be difficult to prevent the Lords issuing forth and beating him in the open.

'Even the task of depriving the House of Lords of its powers to thwart the will of the House of Commons you will find not unattended with practical difficulties,' declared this most depressing of generals. All he could do was to turn round to the rank and file and ask them to direct the operations. 'It is for that reason that I, as a member of the Government, ask the support of the nation; ask the direction of the nation; ask, above all, for the enthusiasm of the nation in the solution of that question.'

Could a man have shown a greater want of nerve and fibre than Lord Rosebery did here? No wonder that all heart and hope has gone out of the agitation against the Lords, and that the Leeds Conference fell as flat and dead as a piece of putty.

How different was Mr. Gladstone's way of dealing with the Peers! He would never have admitted for a moment that he was at his wit's end how to act, but instead would have hinted, with stately phrase and oracular dignity, that the resources of the Constitution were not exhausted, and that he could, 'an he would,' at any moment sweep the Lords from his path. His was always the tone of a leader of men—of one who understood the true temper of a democracy, and realised that democracies, just as much as oligarchies, ask leading of their

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leaders. Lord Rosebery has never realised this. He has for democracy neither the sympathy of comprehension nor of approbation. He is very anxious to catch its tone and obey it, but he is not of it. It is to him something foreign and external, like the flood or the whirlwind. If he could remember that he, too, is one of the people, and therefore has as good a right to his own opinion as Brown, Jones and Robinson, he would be a much better democrat. Instead, he seems to think that it is the duty of a democrat not to have views of his own, but to try to find out the opinions of other people and then follow them. That is a slavish and unintelligent worship of democracy which defeats its own ends.

XII

It is curious to speculate as to what will be the end of the seven Lord Roseberies. Will they dwindle away into one, or will Lord Rosebery, like the little girl in Wordsworth's poem, continue to declare that 'we are seven,' even when Home Rule and the Union, like sister Jane and brother John in the poem, are dead and gone? If Lord Rosebery insists upon riding so many horses, there can be but one end. It may be, however, that some great movement will arise which will touch Lord Rosebery to the quick and bring out the real personality. Then all the aliases will drop away and a man may be revealed below the waistcoats. Till then I cannot but hold that Lord Rosebery is a dangerous force in politics—a danger to his party and to his country. His lack of political aims and convictions makes him like a ship which has no rudder, and drifts here and there in the currents. His very abilities make the danger greater. The ship is so large a one that, if the wrong current takes it, it may go crashing wildly among the vessels in the same waters. Till, then, he can get his craft fitted with proper steering gear, a compass, and a chart, one can only hope that the tide will land him safely on a mud-bank and leave him there. It seems by no means unlikely that this is what is going to happen. If it does, depend upon it that the gentle art of placating will not alone suffice to raise Lord Rosebery for the second time to the post of Prime Minister. A man cannot twice persuade a whole party that he is their necessary leader, the one person whom everyone ought to trust, unless he has done something to prove the truth of his assertion. But who will be able to say that Lord Rosebery has done that? He has won the Derby, or rather Ladas has; for some of the credit should surely belong to the horse. What else has he accomplished in his six-months Premiership? He has not even got up a 'live' agitation against his fellow Peers.

St. Loe Strachey.

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WAGNER AT BAYREUTH

WAGNER at Bayreuth sounds a large subject for an amateur; but although eighteen years have elapsed since the opening of the Festspielhaus, Wagner's own view of his mission is not, perhaps, thoroughly realised by those who have been denied the privilege of witnessing the representation of his works on the lines which he laid down with care and minuteness. Even the philosophy of Socrates needed the *Dialogues* of Plato for its proper comprehension; and some conversation with those intimately connected with the author of the dramas performed at Bayreuth disposes of many of the popular errors regarding the Master's aims and intentions.

During these eighteen years there have been ten Festivals in the theatre, which holds eighteen hundred people; and it must be something more than the curiosity of the Athenian of old 'to hear and see some new thing' which year by year calls forth sufficient enthusiasm to muster this number of people at each of the sixteen or eighteen performances which constitute the Festival. What is the secret of this powerful attraction? Why must we go to Bayreuth to understand Wagner?

Standing on an eminence outside the habitually sleepy-looking little town, the Festspielhaus dominates a wide expanse of cultivated plain, bounded on the horizon by well-wooded hills, and seems almost to suggest to us the idea that here, amidst peaceful and soothing surroundings, we may pause for awhile and grapple with the problems that baffle and perplex us in the 'Sturm und Drang' of the world. This, Wagner tells us, is to be the shrine for the cultivation of a new Art, where music is to play her part, but not in any sense for the cultivation of a new form of absolute music only.

Jowett, in the introduction to Plato's *Dialogue of Gorgias*, says: 'The noblest truths sung of in the purest and sweetest language are still the proper material for poetry. The poet clothes them with beauty, and has a power of making them enter into the hearts and memories of men. He uses the things of sense so as to indicate what is beyond. He raises us through earth to heaven.' It is this highest form of poetry that Wagner weds indissolubly with music, and that we come to study at Bayreuth. We do not come to see a Passion Play, still less to listen to an opera. According to Wagner's

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conception, this art of the future is not to be a legend or romance accompanied by descriptive music, interspersed with lyrical songs and pleasing choruses; nor is it the melody, or harmony, or orchestration of musical ideas. It is to be a dramatic rendering of human life and feeling, in poetical setting, expressed in words as well as music, while the action is conveyed by a stage play. It is an art, or form of art, which is to appeal simultaneously to the eye through the stage play, to the imagination by the drama and poem, and to the ear and feeling through the music. Wagner's own words explain his endeavour to produce this combination of the arts. 'Music is not the aim of the drama, but only the medium of expression.' Poetical ideas and dramatic passion are to find their fullest expression in musical form. Music is to convey to the feelings what the poem and dramatic action convey to the imagination and understanding.

It is not essential to the true disciple of the Wagnerian drama that he should know the science, texture, or structure of the music. No call is made upon him for this special knowledge, and it will not enable him better to understand the tragedy or passion presented to him, though it may add to his admiration for the genius of the author. At first the experienced musician may even find himself at a disadvantage at Bayreuth, as his attention may easily be too much occupied with the form, and the first impression of the whole may be somewhat weakened by the study of the detail. To some people, who look exclusively for pleasure and recreation in music, the mere mention of Wagner's name calls up simply recollections of clashing instruments and loud-sounding trumpets; useless noise, as they are pleased to call it. Nevertheless, from a purely musical point of view, the beauties and perfections of Wagner's composition are thoroughly well appreciated by the concert-going public, and it is unnecessary to dwell on these qualities which have been fully recognised for some time past. But it is not yet so fully recognised why the Bayreuth Theatre shines like a beacon, leading the German art student to a truer apprehension of national life and character, and of the influence which art should have in moulding the future destiny of the race. It is the new musical drama which Wagner has created which is to be the highest expression of 'thoughts which lie too deep for human words,' and which shall show the 'light that never was on sea or land.' Those whose chief delight lies in the ideal rendering of beautiful music alone may perhaps be dissatisfied by finding everything here subordinated to the dramatic conception. The true interpretation of the drama must be sought in the greatest possible perfection of the whole through the individual parts; and slight failings in the scenic effects and histrionic action or vocal and musical shortcomings, are scarcely perceived by anyone who is wholly absorbed in the revelations made to them by performances of such marvellous power.

Unlike the works usually performed on the operatic stage, a

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complete knowledge and comprehension of the words is quite as important as it is to any just appreciation of Shakespeare or Æschylus. An imperfect knowledge of German is the stumbling-block which leads to many mistakes as to the scope and meaning of Wagner's work. Few of us would think we were qualified to discuss *Hamlet* or *Macbeth* if we had only read Lamb's *Tales from Shakespeare*, and then went to see the plays acted in unfamiliar language; still less do we feel that anyone ignorant of Greek can fully understand the depth and beauty of the old Greek dramas. This is, however, about all the acquaintance with the poet's work that some of us have, even after having attended a performance or two at Bayreuth. Parts of the playing and music may seem tedious and uninteresting when the counter-currents of inner thought and action cannot be studied through the words; and in such cases we depend solely on the recurrence of the musical motive to restore us once more to full sympathy with the purpose of the dramatist. Shakespeare and the Greek dramatists had not the resources of modern music at their command, and they had recourse to a multiplicity of characters and dialogues to produce the desired impressions and effects. With Wagner music comes in to express the inner feeling that poetry cannot interpret unaided. Those who have only seen *Tannhäuser*, *Lohengrin*, *The Meistersinger*, *Tristan und Isolde*, given in their mutilated form on the operatic stage in the great capitals of Europe, may think such comparisons exaggerated; but the Bayreuth pilgrim ceases to consider them as mere operas devised for the pleasure of the moment: they assume a totally new aspect in the solemn silence of the Festspielhaus, and become for him living pages from the great drama of human life.

In spite of countless misapprehensions and adverse criticism, the power of this new dramatic art is great enough to draw together men and women of widely different tastes and sympathies—statesmen, poets, historians, artists, musicians, philanthropists, Churchmen, scholars, students, scientists, philosophers, and even idlers from all parts of the world, many of whom find themselves, in the first instance, almost bewildered by the full blaze of light poured into their souls by this unexpected appeal at one and the same moment to their senses of hearing, seeing, feeling, and to their understanding. 'Dans les plus grands moments il n'y a que les silences qui parlent'; and this is supremely true when we are here brought into such close sympathy with some of the deepest tragedies of life. In *Tannhäuser*, it is from the spell of the senses represented by the Venusberg that the soul of Tannhäuser must free itself, and it is only love that here avails. Tannhäuser is redeemed from sin by the voluntary sacrifice of Elizabeth, whose love and compassion call him back through death into life. It was for the salvation of his soul that she gave her life, in infinite pity for his sin. The chorus sings, 'Du gabst ihr

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Tod, Sie bittet für dein Leben.' In *Lohengrin* we have the great struggle between the powers of evil, as represented by the ancient witchcraft of the heathen in the character of Ortrud, and the powers of dawning Christianity represented by the Gralsritter Lohengrin. It is the love of Elsa for the Christian ideal that calls him forth out of the darkness; but her imperfect faith in the Kingdom of Light produces the tragedy of her love. She suffers because the mystery of another and higher calling is too great for human love until freed from the powers of evil. 'Aus Wonne und Glanz ich kam,' sings Lohengrin, and Elsa feels he belongs to another world, to which she has not attained and which must separate him from her for ever. In her despair and weakness she falls a victim to the evil insinuations of Ortrud and the rooted superstitions of her race. In the *Tristan und Isolde* (of Wagner), love, as the strongest of human passions, is represented as a poison, relentless and pitiless, sweeping all before it till, transfigured by the sacrifice of each to the other, it is purified by death. 'Der uns vereint, Den ich dir bot, Lass ihn uns weih'n Dem süssen Tod,' sings Isolde in her misery. In the *Meistersinger*, Hans Sachs represents the voluntary sacrifice of self as the highest human love. He puts aside his own affection for Eva that she may know and enjoy the happiness and feel the springtime of satisfied love. He sings, 'Doch des Herzens süss' Beschwer' Gält' zu bezwingen; Es war ein schöner Abendtraum, Daran zu denken wag' ich kaum.' When we come to *Parsifal* we have the purest love, Divine in its compassion, which, while comprehending and feeling the tragedy of erring human passion in Amfortas, heals the burning wounds caused by the poison of sensual enchantment, and releases the sinning woman, Kundry, by giving her the forgiveness of a suffering human heart. 'Durch Mitleid wissend' sings the angelic choir. The tetralogy of the *Nibelungen Ring* is the great work that brings out most forcibly the supremacy of Wagner's dramatic inspiration. It was written before *Parsifal*, with which, however, it is closely connected in Wagner's own mind, and the analogies between the heathen myth of the hidden hoard of gold and the legend of the Holy Grail can be shown by referring to his correspondence. These tremendous pictures do not speak through poetry alone or through music alone. It is only when the two are combined, and the music brings to the heart what the poem says to the intellect, while the whole is presented to the eye on the stage, that Wagner's object is attained.[1]

If we go deeper into Wagner's choice of subjects and his poetical and philosophical treatment of them, his purpose becomes evident and well defined, but it is impossible here to do more than indicate the principal lines of the structure of these great dramas, which

[1] For a further description of all Wagner's dramas see Mr. Stewart Chamberlain's *Le Drame Wagnerien*, in one vol. (Paris: Chailles).

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display the central idea of Wagner's thought that in self-sacrifice under the power of love lies the key to the mystery of human suffering. Enough has been said to prove that his leading characters are not mere heroes of romance or legend; for the poet's art has carved them anew in living, yet imperishable marble, and, like all great works of art, they are more loved and appreciated the better they are known and understood. Goethe says somewhere in a letter: 'It has happened, and still happens to me, that a work of art does not at first glance please me, because I have not grown up to it. But if it seems worth it, I endeavour to get hold of it, and then the most delightful discoveries follow. I become aware of new qualities in the object and new capacities in myself.' And this is just what happens to us at Bayreuth. Everything is there conducted with the intention of producing the highest dramatic impression: the lights are extinguished at a given moment, and no door can be subsequently opened to admit the unwary lingerer. There are three distinct signals to call the audience together before each of the three acts, and there is also one hour's repose between each. After an interval of silence, the first notes of the orchestra rise mysteriously from beneath the stage, perfect in their art because that art is perfectly concealed; and when the curtains are drawn aside the music has already conducted us insensibly to the opening scene. Each act stands a complete and harmonious whole. We float along with the music without conscious effort, for the action is before us on the stage, and we are borne hither and thither on the waves of sound, which descend at one moment to the depths of sorrows and mysteries never before explored, and now rise to heights of bliss never before attained. And here and there, when we have reached the highest pitch of excitement in the personages of the drama, some stately march or simple phrase comes to still the troubled waters, and we lose ourselves once more in the calm of the eternal sea of thought. The act comes to an end, the spellbound audience is scattered once more, and we seek an hour's rest, to meditate in the solitude of the pine-woods on the enjoyment of the voyages we have made, or on the excitement we have passed through—or perhaps to seek such refreshment as our frail bodies may require after such intellectual and spiritual exercises.

Even this very superficial glimpse of some of the best-known works of the Master as played at Bayreuth will show that the existing ideas of musical entertainment were inadequate to interpret the art that Wagner struggled through clouds of misapprehension to establish. His idea of the drama was to teach, to create, and to regenerate, and music was only one of the means by which he hoped to realise his ideal. These aims were nowhere accepted on the operatic stage, and after six years' experience in conducting the Opera House at Dresden, one of the finest then existing, where he had been

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quite powerless to produce *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin* with the interpretation he designed for them, he realised that he needed a special stage, and an audience who came to learn as well as to enjoy. Wagner was a dramatist first, and a musician afterwards. His first work was a tragedy, written at the age of fifteen, when he had never composed music, and while he had no scientific knowledge of it, and he tells us that he discovered at once that he could not achieve his end without this assistance. He seems to have been striving at first unconsciously after some modern representative of ancient Greek drama, where, however, music was probably used as an accompaniment to the poet's words, and not as a vehicle for thought and feeling. The Greeks had not the musical development necessary to intensify the action of the stage by translating the words into musical feeling; and Wagner, whose aim is to reveal man to himself, says 'music is the beginning and end of speech.'

A glance at his life and writings will show how this idea of the musical drama found its fulfilment in the Festspielhaus at Bayreuth. He explains his own aspirations frequently in many parts of his writings, and the following passage speaks for itself: 'I am not writing operas, and as I can find no suitable name for my works, I call them dramas, because, at least, in this way the most important part of what I teach will be accepted from the standpoint which this word describes.' In another place he writes: 'In the future art-work (Kunstwerk) music must maintain a thoroughly distinct position from that which it holds in the modern opera; and it may only be developed to its fullest extent where it can interpret most; where, on the other hand, the dramatic words are the most important it must be subordinated to them. Music possesses exactly this capability of clinging imperceptibly to the thoughtful elements of speech; without being entirely silent, it leaves them almost untouched, while at the same time it supports them.' Like all great artists, he felt cramped and confined by the conventions of the accepted canons of taste and expression. The need of this new departure in poetry and drama was not limited to Wagner. As early as 1797 Schiller writes to Goethe: 'I have always had a certain confidence that out of the opera, as out of the chorus of the old Bacchanalian feasts, tragedy can unfold itself in nobler form'; and on the musical side we find it expressed and understood by Beethoven in his symphonies. The Ninth Symphony of Beethoven was performed in the old Opera House at Bayreuth on the occasion of laying the foundation-stone of the new theatre, because it seemed to foreshadow the advent of that new art to which Wagner had been devoting so much of his life and energy. The theatre once built, his great hope might be accomplished—the performance, not only of the *Nibelungen Ring* but of all his earlier dramatic works, on a specially arranged stage by specially trained artists to a specially selected audience.

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When Wagner left Dresden in disgrace at the time of the Revolution of 1848, he had already written *Tannhäuser* and *Lohengrin*, and drawn out a first sketch of the *Ring*; but it seems as if it were only when he had learnt the futility of political movements of this kind for the regeneration of society that he turned his whole attention to the means towards this end which were within the province of Art, and which were within his grasp as poet and musician. From this time he began to publish his ideas of what future art should be, and the part it should play in the development of the German nation. Some few friends and disciples felt with him that such a mission could only be accomplished and comprehended away from the stress and pressure of modern life; and although there were proposals at different times for erecting a special theatre in Weimar, Zurich, Munich, and even Paris, these did not fulfil the requisite conditions. Amongst his warmest friends and admirers was Ludwig the Second of Bavaria, without whose generous aid the theatre at Bayreuth could not have been completed. The feeling against Wagner was at that time so strong in Munich that it was impossible to found his theatre there. Besides, it was a capital, and Wagner wished to give performances of his dramas after the fashion of the Greek festivals, away from the distractions and bustle of a large town, and away from the temptations to forget the ideal which would beset both actors and listeners, especially if the representations were to become frequent, and therefore, probably, after a while, money-seeking.

At last the quiet little town of Bayreuth was fixed upon, and, thanks to the enlightened assistance of the townspeople themselves, a site was granted, and the great theatre was begun in 1872, without which the real scope and value of the musical dramas could hardly have been comprehended by any large section of the community. The first performance of the *Nibelungen Ring* was given in 1876, in Wagner's own presence. *Parsifal* was not given till 1882, and since that date all the other dramas have been produced there. Although many misconceptions still exist as to the true interpretation and tendency, the main idea of the new art at Bayreuth is becoming gradually accepted and understood; but it seems difficult to anticipate the advent of another poet endowed with the like dramatic power, combined with the gifts of musical as well as verbal expression. It has been said that all true creations of art spring from some great movement among the people, and that the musical dramas of Wagner were the outcome of the Revolution of 1848, just as the art of the Italian Renaissance sprang from the great religious revival of the Middle Ages. If this be so, we shall have to wait for some new impulse before we see signs of advance or progress along the pathway pointed out by Wagner for art development in the future, which is to lead, not to any change or reform in musical ideas, but

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to social and moral improvement. Vaguely and indistinctly, as we return from Bayreuth, through Nuremberg, to the burden of every-day life, and wander back to Albert Dürer's house, we feel that here was the cradlé of the German art to which we have been initiated at Bayreuth. Unlike the Italian, who realises his ideal and reproduces only the beautiful in form and colour, Albert Dürer sought to express the fuller and deeper side of beauty in thought as well as life. Unable to attain its ideal in form and colour, the German mind seeks its expression in poetry, the drama, and music, and we come to Schiller and Goethe and Beethoven, whom we have seen bearing witness to their yearning for a fuller and deeper art expression. This century has witnessed the most marvellous discoveries in the domain of speculative science, and the victories of engineering skill are quite as astonishing, but Wagner's creation of the Musical Drama at Bayreuth remains the greatest triumph of which modern Art can boast.

M. A. A. GALLOWAY.

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THE ALLEGED SOJOURN OF CHRIST IN INDIA[1]

ÆNEAS SYLVIUS, afterwards Pope Pius the Second, 1458–64, when on a visit to England, was anxious to see with his own eyes the barnacle geese that were reported to grow on trees, and, being supposed to be vegetable rather than animal, were allowed to be eaten during Lent. He went as far as Scotland to see them, but when arrived there he was told that he must go further, to the Orchades, if he wished to see these miraculous geese. He seemed rather provoked at this, and, complaining that miracles would always flee further and further, he gave up his goose chase (*didicimus miracula semper remotius fugere*).

Since his time, the number of countries in which miracles and mysteries could find a safe hiding-place has been much reduced. If there were a single barnacle goose left in the Orchades, i.e. the Orkney Islands, tourists would by this time have given a good account of it. There are few countries left now beyond the reach of steamers or railways, and if there is a spot never trodden by a European foot, that is the very spot which is sure to be fixed upon by some adventurous members of the Alpine Club for their next expedition. Even Central Asia and Central Africa are no longer safe, and hence, no doubt, the great charm which attaches to a country like Tibet, now almost the only country some parts of which are still closed against European explorers. It was in Tibet, therefore, that Madame Blavatsky met her Mahâtmas, who initiated her in the mysteries of Esoteric Buddhism. Mr. Sinnet claims to have followed in her footsteps, but has never described his or her route. Of course, if Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Sinnet had only told us by what passes they entered Tibet from India, at what stations they halted, and in what language they communicated with the Mahâtmas, it would not be courteous to ask any further questions. That there are Mahâtmas in India and Tibet no one would venture to deny. The only doubt is whether these real Mahâtmas know, or profess to know, anything beyond what they can, and what we can, learn from their sacred literature. If so, they have only to give the authorities to which they appeal for their esoteric knowledge, and we shall know at

[1] Nicolas Notovitch, *La Vie inconnue de Jésus-Christ*. (Paris, 1894.)

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once whether they are right or wrong. Their Sacred Canon is accessible to us as it is to them, and we could, therefore, very easily come to an understanding with them as to what they mean by Esoteric Buddhism. Their Sacred Canon exists in Sanskrit, in Chinese, and in Tibetan, and no Sacred Canon is so large and has at the same time been so minutely catalogued as that of the Buddhists in India, China, or Tibet.

But though certain portions of Tibet, and particularly the capital (Lassa), are still inaccessible, at least to English travellers from India, other portions of it, and the countries between it and India, are becoming more and more frequented by adventurous tourists. It would therefore hardly be safe to appeal any longer to unknown Mahâtmas, or to the monks of Tibetan monasteries, for wild statements about Buddhism, esoteric or otherwise, for a letter addressed to these monasteries, or to English officials in the neighbourhood, would at once bring every information that could be desired. Where detection was so easy, it is almost impossible to believe that a Russian traveller, M. Notovitch, who has lately published a 'Life of Christ' dictated to him by Buddhist priests in the Himis Monastery, near Leh, in Ladakh, should, as his critics maintain, have invented not only the whole of this *Vie inconnue de Jésus-Christ*, but the whole of his journey to Ladakh. It is no doubt unfortunate that M. Notovitch lost the photographs which he took on the way, but such a thing may happen, and if an author declares that he has travelled from Kashmir to Ladakh one can hardly summon courage to doubt his word. It is certainly strange that letters should have been received not only from missionaries, but lately from English officers also passing through Leh, who, after making careful inquiries on the spot, declare that no Russian gentleman of the name of Notovitch ever passed through Leh, and that no traveller with a broken leg was ever nursed in the monastery of Himis. But M. Notovitch may have travelled in disguise, and he will no doubt be able to prove through his publisher, M. Paul Ollendorf, how both the Moravian missionaries and the English officers were misinformed by the Buddhist priests of the monastery of Leh. The monastery of Himis has often been visited, and there is a very full description of it in the works of the brothers Schlagintweit on Tibet.

But, taking it for granted that M. Notovitch is a gentleman and not a liar, we cannot help thinking that the Buddhist monks of Ladakh and Tibet must be wags, who enjoy mystifying inquisitive travellers, and that M. Notovitch fell far too easy a victim to their jokes. Possibly, the same excuse may apply to Madame Blavatsky, who was fully convinced that her friends, the Mahâtmas of Tibet, sent her letters to Calcutta, not by post, but through the air, letters which she showed to her friends, and which were written, not on Mahâtmic paper and with Mahâtmic ink, but on English paper and

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with English ink. Be that as it may, M. Notovitch is not the first traveller in the East to whom Brâhmans or Buddhists have supplied, for a consideration, the information and even the manuscripts which they were in search of. Wilford's case ought to have served as a warning, but we know it did not serve as a warning to M. Jacolliot when he published his *Bible dans l'Inde* from Sanskrit originals, supplied to him by learned Pandits at Chandranagor. Madame Blavatsky, if I remember rightly, never even pretended to have received Tibetan manuscripts, or, if she had, neither she nor Mr. Sinnet have ever seen fit to publish either the text or an English translation of these treasures.

But M. Notovitch, though he did not bring the manuscripts home, at all events saw them, and not pretending to a knowledge of Tibetan, had the Tibetan text translated by an interpreter, and has published seventy pages of it in French in his *Vie inconnue de Jésus-Christ.* He was evidently prepared for the discovery of a Life of Christ among the Buddhists. Similarities between Christianity and Buddhism have frequently been pointed out of late, and the idea that Christ was influenced by Buddhist doctrines has more than once been put forward by popular writers. The difficulty has hitherto been to discover any real historical channel through which Buddhism could have reached Palestine at the time of Christ. M. Notovitch thinks that the manuscript which he found at Himis explains the matter in the simplest way. There is no doubt, as he says, a gap in the life of Christ, say from his fifteenth to his twenty-ninth year. During that very time the new Life found in Tibet asserts that Christ was in India, that he studied Sanskrit and Pâli, that he read the Vedas and the Buddhist Canon, and then returned through Persia to Palestine to preach the Gospel. If we understand M. Notovitch rightly, this Life of Christ was taken down from the mouths of some Jewish merchants who came to India immediately after the Crucifixion (p. 237). It was written down in Pâli, the sacred language of Southern Buddhism; the scrolls were afterwards brought from India to Nepaul and Makhada (*quære* Magadha) about 200 A.D. (p. 236), and from Nepaul to Tibet, and are at present carefully preserved at Lassa. Tibetan translations of the Pâli text are found, he says, in various Buddhist monasteries, and, among the rest, at Himis. It is these Tibetan manuscripts which were translated at Himis for M. Notovitch while he was laid up in the monastery with a broken leg, and it is from these manuscripts that he has taken his new Life of Jesus Christ and published it in French, with an account of his travels. This volume, which has already passed through several editions in France, is soon to be translated into English.

There is a certain plausibility about all this. The language of Magadha, and of Southern Buddhism in general, was certainly Pâli, and Buddhism reached Tibet through Nepaul. But M. Notovitch ought to

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have been somewhat startled and a little more sceptical when he was told that the Jewish merchants who arrived in India immediately after the Crucifixion knew not only what had happened to Christ in Palestine, but also what had happened to Jesus, or Issa, while he spent fifteen years of his life among the Brâhmans and Buddhists in India, learning Sanskrit and Pâli, and studying the Vedas and the Tripi*t*aka. With all their cleverness the Buddhist monks would have found it hard to answer the question, how these Jewish merchants met the very people who had known Issa as a casual student of Sanskrit and Pâli in India —for India is a large term—and still more, how those who had known Issa as a simple student in India, saw at once that he was the same person who had been put to death under Pontius Pilate. Even his name was not quite the same. His name in India is said to have been *Issa*, very like the Arabic name *Îsâ'l Masîh*, Jesus, the Messiah, while, strange to say, the name of Pontius Pilate seems to have remained unchanged in its passage from Hebrew to Pâli, and from Pâli to Tibetan. We must remember that part of Tibet was converted to Mohammedanism. So much for the difficulty as to the first composition of the Life of Issa in Pâli, the joint work of Jewish merchants and the personal friends of Christ in India, whether in Sind or at Benares. Still greater, however, is the difficulty of the Tibetan translation of that Life having been preserved for so many centuries without ever being mentioned. If M. Notovitch had been better acquainted with the Buddhist literature of Tibet and China, he would never have allowed his Buddhist hosts to tell him that this Life of Jesus was well known in Tibetan literature, though read by the learned only. We possess excellent catalogues of manuscripts and books of the Buddhists in Tibet and in China. A complete catalogue of the Tripi*t*aka or the Buddhist Canon in Chinese has been translated into English by a pupil of mine, the Rev. Bunyiu Nanjio, M.A., and published by the Clarendon Press in 1883. It contains no less than 1,662 entries. The Tibetan Catalogue is likewise a most wonderful performance, and has been published in the *Asiatic Researches*, vol. xx., by Csoma Körösi, the famous Hungarian traveller, who spent years in the monasteries of Tibet and became an excellent Tibetan scholar. It has lately been republished by M. Féer in the *Annales du Musée Guimet*. This Catalogue is not confined to what we should call sacred or canonical books, it contains everything that was considered old and classical in Tibetan literature. There are two collections, the Kandjur and the Tandjur. The Kandjur consists of 108 large volumes, arranged in seven divisions:

1. Dulva, discipline (Vinaya).
2. Sherch'hin, wisdom (P*r*a*g*nâpâramitâ).
3. P'hal-ch'hen, the garland of Buddhas (Buddha-avata*n*saka).
4. Kon-tségs, mountain of treasures (Ratnakû*t*a).
5. Mdo, or Sûtras, aphorisms (Sûtrânta).

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6. Myang-Hdas, or final emancipation (Nirvâ*n*a).

7. Gyut, Tantra or mysticism (Tantra).

The Tandjur consists of 225 volumes, and while the Kandjur is supposed to contain the Word of Buddha, the Tandjur contains many books on grammar, philosophy, &c., which, though recognised as part of the Canon, are in no sense sacred.

In the Tandjur, therefore, if not in the Kandjur, the story of Issa ought to have its place, and if M. Notovitch had asked his Tibetan friends to give him at least a reference to that part of the Catalogue where this story might be found, he would at once have discovered that they were trying to dupe him. Two things in their account are impossible, or next to impossible. The first, that the Jews from Palestine who came to India in about 35 A.D. should have met the very people who had known Issa when he was a student at Benares; the second, that this Sûtra of Issa, composed in the first century of our era, should not have found a place either in the Kandjur or in the Tandjur.

It might, of course, be said, Why should the Buddhist monks of Himis have indulged in this mystification?—but we know as a fact that Pandits in India, when hard pressed, have allowed themselves the same liberty with such men as Wilford and Jacolliot; why should not the Buddhist monks of Himis have done the same for M. Notovitch, who was determined to find a Life of Jesus Christ in Tibet? If this explanation, the only one I can think of, be rejected, nothing would remain but to accuse M. Notovitch, not simply of a *mauvaise plaisanterie*, but of a disgraceful fraud; and that seems a strong measure to adopt towards a gentleman who represents himself as on friendly terms with Cardinal Rotelli, M. Jules Simon, and E. Renan.

And here I must say that if there is anything that might cause misgivings in our mind as to M. Notovitch's trustworthiness, it is the way in which he speaks of his friends. When a Cardinal at Rome dissuades him from publishing his book, and also kindly offers to assist him, he hints that this was simply a bribe, and that the Cardinal wished to suppress the book. Why should he? If the story of Issa were historically true, it would remove many difficulties. It would show once for all that Jesus was a real and historical character. The teaching ascribed to him in Tibet is much the same as what is found in the Gospels, and if there are some differences, if more particularly the miraculous element is almost entirely absent, a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church would always have the tradition of the Church to rest on, and would probably have been most grateful for the solid historical framework supplied by the Tibetan Life.

M. Notovitch is equally uncharitable in imputing motives to the late M. Renan, who seems to have received him most kindly and to have offered to submit his discovery to the Academy. M. Notovitch

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says that he never called on Renan again, but actually waited for his death, because he was sure that M. Renan would have secured the best part of the credit for himself, leaving to M. Notovitch nothing but the good luck of having discovered the Tibetan manuscript at Himis. Whatever else Renan was, he certainly was far from jealous, and he would have acted towards M. Notovitch in the same spirit with which he welcomed the discoveries which Hamdy Bey lately made in Syria on the very ground which had been explored before by Renan himself. Many travellers who discover manuscripts, or inscriptions, or antiquities, are too apt to forget how much they owe to good luck and to the spades of their labourers, and that, though a man who disinters a buried city may be congratulated on his devotion and courage and perseverance, he does not thereby become a scholar or antiquary. The name of the discoverer of the Rosetta stone is almost forgotten, the name of the decipherer will be remembered for ever.

The worst treatment, however, is meted out to the missionaries in Tibet. It seems that they have written to say that M. Notovitch had never broken his leg or been nursed in the monastery of Himis. This is a point that can easily be cleared up, for there are at the present moment a number of English officers at Leh, and there is the doctor who either did or did not set the traveller's leg. M. Notovitch hints that the Moravian missionaries at Leh are distrusted by the people, and that the monks would never have shown them the manuscript containing the Life of Issa. Again I say, why not? If Issa was Jesus Christ, either the Buddhist monks and the Moravian missionaries would have seen that they both believed in the same teacher, or they might have thought that this new Life of Issa was even less exposed to objections than the Gospel story. But the worst comes at the end. 'How can I tell,' he writes, 'that these missionaries have not themselves taken away the documents of which I saw the copies at the Himis monastery?' But how could they, if the monks never showed them these manuscripts? M. Notovitch goes even further. 'This is simply a supposition of my own,' he writes, 'but, if it is true, only the copies have been made to disappear, and the originals have remained at Lassa. . . . I propose to start at the end of the present year for Tibet, in order to find the original documents having reference to the life of Jesus Christ. I hope to succeed in this undertaking in spite of the wishes of the missionaries, for whom, however, I have never ceased to profess the profoundest respect.' Any one who can hint that these missionaries may have stolen and suppressed the only historical Life of Christ which is known to exist, and nevertheless express the profoundest respect for them, must not be surprised if the missionaries and their friends retaliate in the same spirit. We still prefer to suppose that M. Notovitch, like Lieutenant Wilford, like M. Jacolliot, like Madame Blavatsky and Mr. Sinnet, was duped.

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It is pleasanter to believe that Buddhist monks can at times be wags, than that M. Notovitch is a rogue.

All this, no doubt, is very sad. How long have we wished for a real historical life of Christ without the legendary halo, written, not by one of his disciples, but by an independent eye-witness who had seen and heard Christ during the three years of his active life, and who had witnessed the Crucifixion and whatever happened afterwards? And now, when we seemed to have found such a Life, written by an eye-witness of his death, and free as yet from any miraculous accretions, it turns out to be an invention of a Buddhist monk at Himis, or, as others would have it, a fraud committed by an enterprising traveller and a bold French publisher. We must not lose patience. In these days of unexpected discoveries in Egypt and elsewhere, everything is possible. There is now at Vienna a fragment of the Gospel-story more ancient than the text of St. Mark. Other things may follow. Only let us hope that if such a Life were ever to be discovered, the attitude of Christian theologians would not be like that which M. Notovitch suspects on the part of an Italian Cardinal or of the Moravian missionaries at Himis, but that the historical Christ, though different from the Christ of the Gospels, would be welcomed by all who can believe in his teaching, even without the help of miracles.

F. MAX MÜLLER.

P.S.—It is curious that at the very time I was writing this paper I received a letter from an English lady dated Leh, Ladakh, June 29. She writes:

We left Leh two days ago, having enjoyed our stay there so much! There had been only one English lady here for over three years. Two German ladies live there, missionaries, a Mr. and Mrs. Weber—a girl, and another English missionary. They have only twenty Christians, though it has been a mission-station for seven years. We saw a polo match which was played down the principal street. Yesterday we were at the great Himis monastery, the largest Buddhist monastery up here—800 Lamas. Did you hear of a Russian who could not gain admittance to the monastery in any way, but at last broke his leg outside, and was taken in? His object was to copy a Buddhist Life of Christ which is there. He says he got it, and has published it since in French. There is not a single word of truth in the whole story! There has been no Russian there. No one has been taken into the Seminary for the past fifty years with a broken leg! There is no Life of Christ there at all! It is dawning on me that people who in England profess to have been living in Buddhist monasteries in Tibet and to have learnt there the mysteries of *Esoteric Buddhism* are frauds. The monasteries one and all are the most filthy places. The Lamas are the dirtiest of a very dirty race. They are fearfully ignorant, and idolaters *pur et simple*; no—neither pure nor simple. I have asked many travellers whom I have met, and they all tell the same story. They acknowledge that perhaps at the Lama University at Lassa it may be better, but no Englishman is allowed there. Captain Bower (the discoverer of the famous Bower MS.) did his very best to get there, but failed. . . . We are roughing it

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now very much. I have not tasted bread for five weeks, and shall not for two months more. We have 'chappaties' instead. We rarely get any butter. We carry a little tinned butter, but it is too precious to eat much of. It was a great luxury to get some linen washed in Leh, though they did starch the sheets. We are just starting on our 500 miles march to Simla. We hear that one pass is not open yet, about which we are very anxious. We have one pass of 18,000 feet to cross, and we shall be 13,000 feet high for over a fortnight; but I hope that by the time you get this we shall be down in beautiful Kulu, only one month from Simla!

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ENGLISH ART CONNOISSEURSHIP AND COLLECTING

A CONSIDERATION of the present range of art collecting in this country would, as might be expected, display a remarkable reversal of established orders of things and the strangest variations of values and appreciations.

Wealth, it is scarcely necessary to say, is a prime and indispensable factor in these pursuits, and wealth is now so widely and so capriciously distributed that the narrow bounds of former times, when the special predilections of limited classes held undisputed sway, have in our own day been infinitely extended and overpassed.

A century ago the appreciation and acquisition of works of art of all kinds was almost entirely confined to the aristocracy of the land—the nobility, landed gentry, and classically educated few, for whom, in particular, the luxury of foreign travel was within the bounds of possibility. A few rich bankers and merchants, consorting with and blending into the privileged classes, from time to time took up collecting pursuits; but the manufacturer and average trader had not yet thought of adding the graces of art to their homes, and the expenditure of considerable sums on unproductive works of art was not to be thought of by the frugal-minded, middle-class citizen.

If, moreover, such individuals had been solicitous to improve their tastes, and to enter, no matter how humbly and tentatively, into the field of art collecting, there were scarcely any means at their disposal for acquiring knowledge and familiarity with the works and monuments from which their tastes might have been formed.

There were no public art galleries in this country, and only one public museum deserving of the name in the entire length and breadth of the land in which art objects found a place. The scheme of the British Museum only indirectly concerned itself with art, and there was as yet no National Gallery or South Kensington.

Few and hurried visits to the show houses of the richer territorial magnates, adorned with their miscellaneous and often in great part apocryphal art treasures, were, in short, almost the only opportunities for the inspection and study of works of art in our grandfathers' days.

Art dealers were rare when clients were so few in number, and the

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shops of the few individuals of that class who were established in the metropolis (for elsewhere no such adventurers could have made a living) were but poorly furnished, and the wares dealt in very limited in kind.

Under this restricted *régime* the public galleries and museums of the Continent—of Paris, Rome, and Florence—were the cynosure of all who in any way concerned themselves with art matters; but these were to be visited, if at all, once in a lifetime only. All this is now altered. The rich merchants, financiers, and manufacturers have taken the places of the cultured and travelled lords and gentlemen of old, and the ancestral mansions and country seats of these latter are now yielding up their accumulated treasures at a far more rapid rate than they were acquired.

Now, however, there is scarcely a town in the land of any importance without its public art gallery and museum, endless special exhibitions take place, and the ubiquitous art dealer is in evidence in every main thoroughfare. Whether this vast increase of opportunity has appreciably improved and refined the national standards of taste in art is a question I have to propound. That it has developed an infinite activity which did not formerly exist is evident, but that it has raised those art standards to a higher level is, perhaps, doubtful.

It need scarcely be said that a taste for collecting may be nothing more than a senseless mania or an elevating and refining pursuit, as the case may be. When there were very few collectors the instances of the former kind were not conspicuous. Now, it cannot be denied that the miscellaneous gatherers of fashionable wares of little artistic value, and the dupes of the ever-increasing race of purveyors of fraudulent art products, are as legion in this country, whilst the connoisseurs of real taste and knowledge are perhaps relatively fewer in number. It is indeed a common saying that there are scarcely any of the old race of learned and enthusiastic art amateurs left in England, and almost as few professional purveyors of real acquirements. At the same time there are unquestionable indications that other countries do not follow exactly on the same lines. Certain it is that England is showing a less strong attachment to the highest class of monuments of art than formerly, or than other countries, so that in too many instances our most precious possessions are now being reft from us by the superior appreciation of our continental neighbours.

The field of appreciation of the last-century English art amateur was, it is true, very restricted, but the categories it included were of the highest and most genuine. The terms 'high art' and the 'fine arts' indicated paintings and drawings of all kinds—prints or engravings, sculpture almost exclusively of the ancient Greek and Roman epochs, engraved gems, and perhaps coins and medals, though these latter formed a class apart, occupying the border-land only, so to speak, of 'fine art.' In those classes there were ardent and

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systematic English collectors, for the most part high-born and wealthy —the class to whom high prices and liberal dealing were customary in all relations of life. Doubtless this was a narrow and rather exclusive status in which unreasoning fashion and custom had perhaps as much to do as real understanding of the innate values of things, but the art fashions in those days ran in genuine if too rigidly bounded lines. Nevertheless there were even in the last century one or two notable examples of wider and more sympathetic culture. Horace Walpole and Sir Andrew Fountaine were able to throw off conventional trammels and make excursions in the wider fields of Mediæval and Renaissance art. The *chefs-d'œuvre* of goldsmith works and the triumphs of the potters' and enamellers' crafts, Gothic and Renaissance art ornamentation of all kinds, severely kept down and dominated by the all-pervading and infinitely greater prestige of the antique, were undervalued and neglected categories it is true, but the seeds of the vast and perhaps disproportionate appreciation of the present day were at all events sown in this country by these early pioneers. Needless to say that the weathercock of time has veered completely round, and that an age of *bric-à-brac* has succeeded to that of the old rigid classicism.

What then were the specific desiderata of the average connoisseur and the collector of a hundred years ago? There are yet a fair number of ancestral mansions scattered through the English counties, the contents of which give the answer to this question. Would that they could be preserved as they are for ever! When these gatherings of former times are broken up and the old familiar 'Lares' are brought to the sale-room, strange indeed and startling are the reversals and surprises which the auctioneer's hammer reveals to the anxious owner. The cherished Guido, Claude, or Salvator of the sounding name, bought for many hundreds from some great Italian palazzo by milord, on the grand tour, and ever since the chief treasure of apocryphal value, is usually knocked down for an old song; whilst some little-considered family portrait, it may be milady at the glad epoch of her early bloom, by Romney or Sir Joshua, brings compensation in the form of unexpected thousands to the astonished proprietor. The English gentry of former times were not behind, if indeed they were not in advance, perhaps, on the whole, of those of other countries, in respect of the adornment of their residences with movable pictures. Those painted in this country by native artists or by the numerous foreigners who from the beginning of the sixteenth century found employment in England mainly took the form of family portraits.

In process of time, collections of pictures were gradually formed in great houses by the mere aggregation of the portraits of successive generations of members of the family and their connections. The long galleries in the stately mansions of the Elizabethan age

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were perhaps intended as much to afford wall space for the ancestral presentments of the race as for any other use. Penshurst, Knowle, and Hardwick still offer splendid instances of these gatherings. Pictures then were the customary and fashionable ornaments of English gentlemen's houses both in the country and in town, and sooner or later some member of a family was sure to develop a taste for other and more various works of art. The family countenance in its varying phases was in the end apt to become monotonous and to require relief and support by extraneous embellishments. Hence the accretion of Italian pictures. Gods and goddesses, saints or martyrs; dark and sombre canvasses well in keeping with the subjects; Dutch landscapes, still life, and figure subjects *ad infinitum*; originals and copies, good, bad, and indifferent, delightfully mixed up, giving an additional charm from the mere natural ease and 'abandon' of the gathering.

Generally speaking, miscellaneous pictures of this class were known as works of the 'old' or the 'great' masters, in contradistinction to those of contemporary painters, whose relative greatness had not yet been perceived. Such collections as these are rarely formed now-a-days, and the 'old masters,' as such, have greatly fallen from their high estate. Modern art, more congenial to modern ideas, has taken the place of the old cycle. For the most part the people who now form picture collections are not embarrassed with ancestral portraits, and they have lost their reverence for great names. Guido and Carlo Dolce, Salvator Rosa, Shibboleths and high-sounding Mesopotamias of the past, have lost their unction—democracy in art, as in other things, is pulling down these old idols.

King Charles the First, and one of his contemporary great nobles, the Earl of Arundel, early in the first half of the seventeenth century, were the originators of systematic art collecting in this country, and the fashion set by them lasted almost to our own day on the original lines.

Pictures and drawings were the chief staple. To them Lord Arundel added a few antique marbles and engraved gems, but the opportunities for the acquisition of these latter objects were at that time very limited. Rome, the almost unique source and storehouse of such treasures, was then also the flourishing new quarters of connoisseurship, and the numerous race of successive Popes and Princes which an elective sovereignty had created in the Eternal City was in the full swing of art acquisition as a patent means of giving lustre to newly founded titles and dignities.

When, however, in the succeeding century an age of decadence and comparative indifference succeeded in Rome, it was to England mainly that by a natural gravitation towards the source of increasing wealth the Roman stream set in. Statues, pictures, drawings by the great masters, rare prints and manuscripts, gems and medals were the

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staple of these Italian collections, and the English collections of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries became on the whole faithful reflexes of them.

The national bias in favour of portraiture received in King Charles's time a most powerful stimulus in the naturalisation of probably the most notable genius in that walk of art whom the world has seen—Vandyck. An earlier and in some respects even greater portrait painter, Hans Holbein, had, it is true, in the preceding century planted the germs of the art in British soil. Holbein's example developed itself in after time in England chiefly in the direction of portrait painting in miniature, in which he himself had contributed inimitably beautiful works; and by Nicholas Hillyard, the Olivers, Cooper Hoskins, and other native professors of the art, his successors in the land, the great school of English portrait miniature painting was rapidly developed. This national speciality, be it said by the way, down even to our own times unrivalled in any other country, we have ourselves seen virtually extinguished by a deadening frost of scientific discovery—photography, that democratic leveller in art and inevitable bane of true genius.

Charles the First, with all his artistic instincts, seems nevertheless to have had but comparatively narrow views and aims in the matter of collecting. At the very time that he acquired the famous Mantua collection of pictures, or soon afterwards, he had expatriated a wonderful and most precious series of works of art, nothing less than the ancient gatherings of the English crown in goldsmith's work and jewellery—historic treasure of infinite interest, which at the present time would be of untold pecuniary value.

The principal treasures of the jewel-house, minutely described in the old inventories and which reveal to us masterpieces in their way such as no longer exist in any country, were pledged and sent over to the Jew money-lenders of Amsterdam, from whence it is evident they never returned. These traders, in their crass cupidity, doubtless ultimately broke them up for the more intrinsic value of the component gold, silver, &c.

The king must doubtless have formed a splendid collection of English portrait miniatures, yet there is no specific mention of them in the inventories of his works of art compiled by the Parliamentary authorities in view of their dispersion. Not improbably the fine series of miniatures by the great early masters of the English school—Hillard, the Olivers, and their successors—now in the royal library at The Hague, were from that source, rescued from the general wreck by Prince Henry of Orange, Charles's son-in-law, or his successor William. Unfortunately it never seems to have occurred to William after he became King of England to restore these national treasures, and to place them in one or other of his own new palaces, Kensington or Hampton Court. It is uncertain what portion, if any,

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of the splendid series of English miniatures now in the royal library at Windsor Castle, and which is constantly receiving additions, were of Charles the First's original gathering; only vague traditions and stories of a somewhat tragical character, befitting all memories of the unlucky king and his surroundings, have reference to these gatherings. One of these is to the effect that Charles, having on one occasion suddenly sent for a certain miniature in the custody of the keeper of his art treasures, Abraham Vanderdoort, the poor man was unable to find them, having quite forgotten where they had been placed. Whereupon the shock was so great that it broke his heart. The miniature, however, was found shortly after his death, in the place where he had too carefully put it away. The other records a misadventure of a notorious woman, the Countess of Somerset, the murderess of Sir Thomas Overbury. She it was who, curiously prying amongst the king's cameos and miniatures, let fall the famous antique onyx Augustus cameo, whereby it was broken, as may now be seen at Windsor.

There is the same absence of information in the Parliamentary inventories as to the royal collection of drawings by the great masters, of which, nevertheless, there must have been a highly important and extensive gathering. Doubtless the drawings were sold 'en bloc,' but though evidently dispersed in detail shortly afterwards, the specimens remained in the country, and to this day the king's mark, a little star, stamped in the corner of the drawing, is a welcome indication to be found in every collection of importance.

The formation of systematic and extensive collections of original sketches and drawings of eminent painters and sculptors took its origin in Italy, in the century preceding the Caroline epoch, and probably the famous Mantuan acquisition comprised drawings as well as pictures. In any case from the attention which Charles the First and Lord Arundel gave to this branch of art collecting, a special taste or fashion for ancient drawings fixed itself in this country, and lasted, without interruption, down to the middle of the present century.

It will be interesting and pertinent to my theme—that of illustrating the variations and vagaries of taste in collecting in this country—to dwell rather more at length on this speciality of drawings by the old masters. In no other class of art monuments is the history, or, in other words, the successive ownership of the specimens so readily ascertainable, and this from a custom which for obvious reasons was almost confined to this speciality. From the earliest time it has been the habit of possessors of ancient drawings to set their marks of possession upon them in the form of small impressed stamps, or else to write their initials in minute characters usually in the lower corners of the drawings. Others have signed their names in full, sometimes accompanied by information as to

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the previous history and 'provenance' at the back of the drawing, or with critical information as to the authenticity or subject of the work. Innumerable examples of these certificated specimens exist; some bearing a succession of these marks of ownership forming valuable and instructive pedigrees, and adding greatly to the intrinsic value and interest of the drawings. For obvious reasons this custom was confined almost exclusively to this class, and in a less degree to that of prints and engravings. The well-known marks of successive generations of English collectors, from the age of Charles the First downwards, are greatly in excess of those of all other countries, and as the names and periods of activity of nearly all these individuals are well known, it is easy to note the periods of the greatest development of this pursuit.

At the present day this branch of connoisseurship has greatly declined in England, and it will be interesting to take note of the causes which have contributed to bring about this result. In the first place, unquestionably the public museums, both of our own and other countries, have, in the long run, permanently withdrawn from circulation and locked up a large proportion of the most important specimens in this limited category. Naturally at almost every dispersion of the gatherings of individual collectors toll has been taken in this manner. From the mere fact of the increasing scarcity of specimens, the collectors have become less numerous; but changes of fashion and a general lowering of standards of taste and excellence have, I think, had a greater share in bringing about the comparative neglect in which this branch of art has fallen in this country. The collecting of ancient drawings was very actively carried on in the days following the original impulsion under Charles the First. The pursuit greatly developed itself further on in the century, and attained to a high pitch during its latter years and the beginning of the succeeding one, in the splendid gatherings of Sir Peter Lely and the two Richardsons. It is to be noted that professional artists of eminence, as might have been expected, have always been the keenest and most enlightened gatherers of these special treasures. Professional appreciation, in fact, came to a climax in the case of Sir Thomas Lawrence during the first quarter of the present century, when probably the great majority of the rarest and finest ancient drawings extant, other than in the mortmain of national collections, were swept into the net of this indefatigable collector. So extensive indeed was this withdrawal of the materials, that the pursuit was practically almost brought to an end and rendered almost impossible to Lawrence's contemporaries; a decided check was thus given to the formation of collections of ancient drawings in England from which it has never recovered.

Although in its turn the great Lawrence Collection was thrown upon the market, the charm was at an end. An era of apathy and

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ignorance set in. The unique and world-renowned treasures of that great collection were ultimately sacrificed for a mere fraction of their cost, and far too large a portion of them were carried out of England.

The reverence and regard for precedent art was natural and to be expected in an age of classicism, when the *summum bonum* of all excellence, whether in art, literature, or poetry, was considered to have been arrived at in the golden ages of Greek and Roman antiquity. In classic art, although in painting the merest shadow of a brilliant past alone remained in evidence, there was still ample witness in the abundant relics in the sister art of sculpture of the exceeding excellence which had been achieved by the old Greek and Roman painters. Apelles and Parrhasius had lost nothing of their fame and authority. Although all vestiges of their actual handiwork had perished, they lived again in every admirable headless marble torso, in every exquisite bronze, and in every gem and cameo which the Italian soil yielded up in such profusion to the eager searchers of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

It was to the revival or imitation of classical art in Italy, then, that men's minds and affections turned, when the love of art, with increasing wealth and its attendant culture, made its way in this and other European countries. As a consequence, all that had preceded the new outgrowth was deemed antiquated and barbarous, matter of note and record only for the historian or the antiquary.

Heedless and unconscious indeed that there had been even in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries great and admirable revivals in art in other countries, in the Low Countries, Germany, and even Spain for instance, the greater volume and the more perfect assimilation and re-issue, as it were, of the antique form and spirit in the modern dress by the Italians captivated all men's minds and rendered them blind to excellence of other origin. Italian painting then, as it was perfected by the great school leaders and masters of the sixteenth and succeeding seventeenth century, has held possession of the field of connoisseurship in this realm of art with the most tenacious grasp in this country, as in most others, almost down to our own times. The great outburst of art essentially new and original in Holland and Flanders, in the middle of the seventeenth century—art which in its Rembrandts, Ruysdaels, Cuyps, its Terburgs, Metzus, and Ostades, enriched the world with works of excellence as astonishing and admirable in their way as anything reached by the highest flights of antiquity or the Italian Renaissance—made its way in the world elsewhere than in its own country but slowly at first. It was not indeed till a century or more after its brief reign of highest development that appreciation of this phase of art became established in England. Once however acclimatised, it was destined to take root, and in its outgrowth to overshadow, if not dethrone, seemingly immortal rivals.

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Italian painting at the period when English amateurs and collectors first became familiar with its current productions had entered on its final stage of decadence. An all-prevailing eclecticism had stifled originality, and a wearisome repetition of worn-out formulæ was the highest achievement. The vogue of huge canvasses and dark oil pictures painted in sombre tones from the beginning, in short-sighted imitation of the earlier masterpieces which time itself had blackened, had set in. The great Venetian School of colour had exhausted itself, and the pompous inanity of Roman and Bolognese Academic productions reigned in its place in Italy. An age of Academies and professional authority replaced the time when painters, like poets, were born, not made. Rome became the unique and dominant headquarters of art as of religion, and the thraldom of the Antique Mistress of the World in respect to art teaching and authority has lasted, though with ever-dwindling power, almost to our own day. It is difficult now to realise the strength and universality of the subjugation in which the arts of every other European country were held by the great Italian prestige.

To have graduated in that school was the indispensable passport to professional eminence in art. When England in the last century for the first time evolved a race of artists, no matter what their special line—portrait, landscape, still life, and 'genre' painting, sculpture or engraving even—to Rome they must carry their respective talents for the chastening and transmuting influence of the *genius loci*. Sir Joshua Reynolds, Richard Wilson, Barry, Flaxman, Strange, down even to Gibson, Eastlake, and Alfred Stevens in our own earlier day, were sent to worship at this universal shrine. There they met and mingled with their compeers from other countries, when the Roman influence reigned even more supremely there than in their own land.

France for a century or two even had maintained her own native art academy in the Eternal City, and even Flanders and Protestant Holland had not kept themselves free from the Italian influence. Rubens and Vandyck in their time had undoubtedly much to learn in Italy, but it is hard to see what the Dutch landscapists and figure painters had to glean from that classic land. Even the sunny glow of southern skies of the Boths, Berghems, or Carl du Jardins might have been as well portrayed amidst the swamps of Holland, as was indeed evidenced by the works of the Cuyps and Vanderveldes who kept at home.

One of the chief reasons for the enduring influence of Italy has, however, been already alluded to. It was in the churches and public museums, and the princely and precious collections of that country, that the most extensive and varied aggregation of art monuments was to be found. To the connoisseur then, Italian travel and residence was indispensable to the acquisition of real knowledge and

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taste; and as the patrons of art in former times were mainly of this class, artists had of necessity to follow in their wake, and to model themselves more or less on the lines of their employers. Hence, again, a reason for the thraldom of the 'old masters,' for the deep-toned darkness of age, the *atramentum* of old days and antique authority. Needless to say it, a single visit to the Royal Academy Exhibition would suffice to show what a gulf there is betwixt the dominant ideals and styles in art of a century ago and those of to-day. In this age of positive brightness of crude unmitigated pigment, it is hard indeed to realise the feeling which prompted Sir George Beaumont to formulate his well-known dictum that fine pictures should have the low rich tone of the back of an old fiddle.

Beyond, or rather it should be said before the Italian art cycle at which amateurs both English and foreign drew the line during the last two centuries, there lay, however, an entirely despised and forgotten art world—early Italian art, 'les primitifs,' as the French now style the masters of the old religious world, the artists who flourished before pagan classicality had installed Gods and Satyrs, Venus, Cupid, and the Graces, in the diminished thrones of the Saints, Martyrs, and Holy Virgins of the Christian Church.

The triptychs, altar-pieces, and devotional panels of this school were now regarded as worthless lumber, uncared for and daily diminishing from the accidents of time and universal neglect. The wheel of time, however, was destined to bring these works uppermost again; at the period when Annibale Caracci, Salvator Rosa, Guido, and Guercino were the gods of all idolatry, there was no regard other than ridicule and a pitying curiosity for the giants of the early days.

Botticelli, Lippi, and Signorelli were considered but as ancient church decorators, entirely superannuated and out of touch with modern understanding and sentiment. They had fallen, in fact, under the obscuring pall which was cast upon everything 'Gothic' or 'Mediæval.' There was then no charm in these pale and crudely painted panels, honeycombed by worms, brilliant in aspect as the painted glass of old cathedrals or the storied pages of illuminated manuscripts, yet innocent of all modern tricks of art—composition, keeping, tone, 'chiaroscuro,' 'il poco più'—virtues conspicuous only by their absence.

During this period, if any one had told Sir George Beaumont, for instance, that his old-fiddle Caraccis, Poussins, Claudes, and Salvators, only a century later, would in turn be cast from their high estate and these despised antiques installed in their place, great would have been the astonishment of the worthy baronet at the incomprehensible wrong-headedness of his successors, yet this is literally what has happened. Now we worship early Italian art, and we detract from and decry the idols of our former cult. Needless to say, as in all revolutions, this change has been carried to excess, and a reaction will most likely ere long follow.

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This culture of early Italian art rose to its height about 1850; it was in part a side current of the great wave of religious revivalism which surged up at that period, and which had a parallel development in the pre-Raphaelite art movement. The great church-building impetus of the time naturally brought about the enthusiastic Gothic revival in architecture, which has not yet spent itself. Christian art became a stereotyped phrase, nevertheless to be at times strangely misapplied by its modern professors.

There is nothing to be said against, and doubtless much in favour of occasional reversions to antique types of art, but they should be kept within well-understood bounds. Art after all is a perennial force, a vital growth flourishing with glorious outbursts from time to time, and in one country, whilst languishing and declining elsewhere at another moment, but ever alive and in the long run of average value. To understand and select from its innumerably varied products with passionate predilection if needs be, but without exclusive bias, is perhaps the truest characteristic of the connoisseur as distinguished from the mere collector.

Taste and discrimination are, however, of every shade and quality, and motives infinitely mixed. More catholic and enduring and less spasmodic culture is in any case the end desired to be inculcated in this article. This will be brought about by the more general diffusion of knowledge, to which ever-increasing opportunity cannot fail to give rise.

The uprising, speedy decline and fall, and the after-mutation of appreciation of the great Dutch School of painters is a theme for volumes, and it is not easy to touch upon the fringe of the matter, even within the compass of a discursive review article.

Pictures began to be sent from Holland to other European countries at an early period. There had been a very considerable export trade in Netherlandish art, almost exclusively of a religious kind, for a couple of centuries earlier, but it was the newly enriched merchants and financiers of Protestant Holland who were the principal patrons of the modern secular painting of their country, and the choicest works of the principal masters, as they were in their own day appraised, were for a century or more after their productions mainly preserved in the country. When, in the ensuing century, the decline of Dutch wealth and energy fell to its lowest point, the expatriation of national art treasures rapidly ensued. The old Dutch sale catalogues of that period afford the truest criterion of the relative value of pictures, and of the estimation in which the several masters were then held. Pictures in general were currently sold for prices which appear to us now little more than nominal; nevertheless, a well-understood standard of relative values had been established, and the works of certain favourite masters, then as at the present time, were in especial demand, and often commanded vastly higher

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prices than those of others of greater originality and real merit. The laborious, highly finished pictures of Gerard Douw, Mieris, and Vandervelde were preferred to the most admirable works of Rembrandt, Frank Hals, Metzu, or Jan Steen. Several of the most admirable and fertile artists of the great epoch, indeed, never seem to have attained adequate recognition in their own day. The process of discovery and reinstatement of many neglected masters is still going on at the present time; but although several of the greatest names in Dutch art were inscribed on the world-roll of enduring fame eighty or a hundred years ago, mainly through English appreciation, it is not by English amateurs and art critics that this work is being initiated at present. Within the last twenty years Holland itself, which seemed hopelessly indifferent to its ancient art glory, has become wide awake to it again, and very active in the field. A school of young and intelligent art critics and historians has arisen, the scanty residue of the great national art treasures which still remains in the country is being everywhere hoarded with the most zealous care. It is no longer a question of the expatriation of Dutch pictures, but, on the contrary, of earnest and systematic endeavours to discover the whereabouts of the national masterpieces in other countries, with a view to their ultimate recovery.

England furnishes the richest hunting-ground for these explorers, and the Dutch connoisseurs, experts, and dealers, in close alliance with their German and French brethren, now form a compact phalanx at every London auction sale of ancient pictures, with which their English opponents find it increasingly difficult to contend.

An occurrence which has just agitated the picture-dealing world throws a shining light on the state of matters I have indicated. The works of Frank Hals were formerly comparatively little considered in this country; they were very numerous and of very unequal merit. Within the memory of the writer it was seldom that any picture by us ascribed to that artist realised at Messrs. Christie's auctions other than a low price. Thirty or forty years ago pictures by Frank Hals were more frequently sold for five or ten pounds than fifty or a hundred; now the same pictures sell for many hundreds or even thousands. An unreasoning and undiscriminating rage for this painter's works has now just set in throughout all European art circles. Picture dealers are naturally keenly bent on ferreting out every known or unknown work of this fashionable master, and in their eager desire specimens of doubtful authenticity or questionable excellence, which formerly would have been considered almost worthless, have become desiderata of unheard-of value and importance.

An English nobleman, only a year or two ago, the reputed possessor of a Frank Hals picture, was induced to part with it to one of the leading modern dealers for a very substantial sum. Another dealer who apparently had eager clients in view, immediately repurchased the pic-

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ture at a greatly advanced sum from the first acquirer; the amounts in each case were in thousands of pounds. To this last owner, however, an unlucky inspiration occurred; it was to take over the picture to Holland for the inspection and certificate of an eminent art critic, the director of one of the Dutch galleries, universally known as the highest authority in respect to the works of the master and his school. But this prophet did not bless, and dire was the disappointment of the unfortunate owner when he was informed that his treasure was not a Frank Hals, and that a monogram on the picture, which both the purchasers had relied on as that of the great master, was in fact that of an obscure and only recently identified imitator, and that too a woman!

Finally, in this brief survey of the picture world, a word or two should be said about English art. Time has now given us our 'old masters'' cycle, and our great painters of the last century are at last taking rank all the world over. Our French and German neighbours have discovered Gainsborough and Sir Joshua, Constable and Bonington, and there are indications that in time even they may find out one Turner, a barber's son, as great or greater than any of them. America is following suit, and ere long the wildest vagaries of the Frank Hals worshippers will be eclipsed by the worshippers of these new deities. We have in fact just seen at Messrs. Christie's the highest price ever attained at a public auction given for a portrait by Sir Joshua Reynolds, the nearest approach to this sum heretofore being for a Raffaelle. So these gods dethrone one another!

In the one branch of art which England initiated, and in which she was and is supreme—water-colour painting—there is doubtless a great uprising of appreciation yet to come. The outer world knows little or nothing of this original and most brilliant manifestation, and we ourselves give it but languid and uncertain regard; yet this art, the essential and most perfect vehicle of expression of the great school of English landscape painting, has had a development as novel, various, and complete as that of the seventeenth-century oil painters in Holland. Fifty years from the beginning of the present century may be said to have seen the rise, fullest development, and decline of this fascinating art. The greatest professors are now 'old masters,' but their names even are scarcely known beyond the limits of these islands.

There are indications, nevertheless, that the world at large is almost ready to accept the greatest of them—Turner—at our own valuation, and the time will probably soon come when this great artist will be everywhere ranked as the supreme genius of all time in his special walk—a Shakespeare of landscape art of infinite and inimitable variety. It will be in his water-colour drawing that his highest excellence will be recognised; then will follow the day of posthumous recognition by the great art world of Europe and

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America of his scarcely less admirable contemporaries—of Peter de Wint, Bonington, Prout, William Hunt, David Cox, Müller, and James Holland. When this happens the contemporary English landscape line engravers, who translated their works with inimitable skill and perfection, will come in for their share of at least reflected glory. In this last speciality there is a field still open for the impecunious collector. Shillings even will yet often suffice for the acquisition of veritable treasures in this class, which perchance some day or other will be eagerly coveted and paid for in very different coin by the world's rich men.

This brings to mind the subject of engraving in general, and of print collecting in England. Here again strange and most capricious mutations of national appreciation have in quite recent times ensued. Special schools and classes, formerly universally in vogue, seem to have had their day. Print collecting was formerly a notable and widely diffused pursuit in England, but here again it is unquestionable that we have lost ground, and are being completely outstripped by other countries. The ardent collectors of Marc Antonios, Albrecht Dürers, of painters' etchings, Rembrandts, Vandycks, and Ostades have almost entirely gone off the scene in England, and a wild craze for weak and paltry 'Bartolozzis' and last-century coloured prints has sprung up and become the mainstay of the old print dealers at the present moment.

From this condemnation, however, should be excepted the modern rise in appreciation of the English last-century portrait mezzotints after Sir Joshua and Romney. Unquestionably these admirable and truly national renderings are worthy of high esteem. Whether, however, as we have latterly seen, single impressions of these beautiful prints can, upon any established grounds of current art value, be deemed to be worth two or three hundred pounds; or whether this exaggerated estimation is not a mere passing 'craze,' remains to be seen. But if it is to be taken as an indication that the beautiful, most difficult, and truly national art of mezzotint engraving is again to have its period of popular and prosperous development at the hands of the present generation of artists, who are in no way inferior to their predecessors of the last century, it will be a fortunate and entirely laudable revulsion.

This article has now almost come to its allowable limits, and yet there lies an infinite, untravelled field before me. There are endless things to be said about amateurs and collectors in the innumerable branches of 'vertu,' ornamental art objects, *bric-à-brac*, &c., about majolica ware and enamels, Italian bronzes, medals, and 'plaquettes,' the art furniture and 'ormoulu' work of Boule and Riesner, Caffieri and Clodion, of Cinquecento jewels and Louis the Fifteenth snuff-boxes, of mediæval and old English plate, of ancient ivories and wood carvings, old tapestries and textiles, and, more than all, about

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'blue china' and Japanese 'bibelots'? Volumes are, indeed, being written on all these themes. These specialities now, indeed, hold the field more universally and completely than the 'high art' categories, and we have come to the time when the semi-commercial productions of obscure Italian and French potters and the like things, little-considered 'curiosities' in their own time, outweigh in pecuniary value chosen masterpieces of the most eminent painters and sculptors of their own age. Doubtless there is more money than wit in all this activity. It is an interesting and enthralling field, nevertheless, and it is one in which the writer has been in his time a conspicuous mover and precursor, but of which the scope, limitations, and relative value in regard to art in general he was never disposed to overestimate.

J. C. Robinson.

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CHOLERA AND THE SULTAN

It is now nearly two years ago that, writing in this Review, I described precautions by which we as a nation might expect to protect ourselves from the ravages of epidemic cholera, and suggested a systematic series of measures by which its outbreaks in India (its endemic home) or its excursions into and march through Europe might be prevented or arrested.[1] Since then, however, many fresh facts have come to light, much has been done in the way of cholera prevention, both at home and abroad, chiefly on those lines, and the time seems opportune for a fresh survey of what is known on the subject, so that we may estimate aright, not merely our own position, but the position of the nations in regard to this perpetually recurring pest.

Knowledge is constantly progressive. New views and theories may seem to have their day, and science may appear to some to be a mere seesaw, a matter of fashion, like everything else; but swing as it may its limits are not fixed, each oscillation does not come back quite to the same point. The plane from which we look at things is changed, and year by year fresh facts are realised and stored away as capital of knowledge and a basis from which fresh advances may be made. And so it has been in regard to the special matter with which I now deal.

The theories which have been put forward as to the origin of cholera, the fantastic suggestions which have been made as to its mode of dissemination, and the explanations which have been offered of the strange phenomenon of its recurrent exodus from its seething home in India to march as a dread pestilence through the world, have had their day. Amid all the changing fashions and evanescent theories which since the great epidemic wave of 1831–33 have filled men's minds, one fact has gradually asserted itself, and at every epidemic has become more clear. Whatever might be the obscurities and anomalies, men have had to admit that in proportion as the life of the individual is more cleanly and the drinking-water of the community more free from pollution, so is the likelihood of being attacked by cholera more remote.

[1] 'Cholera, and our Protection against it.' *Nineteenth Century*, October 1892.

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It has been a great gain, a life-saving piece of knowledge, to recognise that cholera is not a strange, mystical influence spread by atmospheric miasms, pandemic waves, epidemic constitutions, or 'blue mists,' whatever these things may mean, and to see that instead of being an irresistible Juggernauth, before which all must bow to their destruction, cholera is merely, as I first described it in these pages, *a filth disease carried by dirty people to dirty places, and chiefly spread by polluted drinking-water.* That phrase has become classic. When the doctrine which it aims at pithily stating is universally acted upon, cholera will become a thing of the past. It will be extinct in the epidemic form, like typhus and small-pox in thoroughly vaccinated populations, a pathological rarity and a clinical curiosity.

Already this has been a life-saving piece of knowledge, enabling some of the most civilised nations, and those whose sanitary appliances were most complete, to render themselves, to a certain extent, proof against cholera. Still, fact as it is that cholera can be kept at bay by cleanliness, especially of the water supply, it is a tremendously wide fact, beyond even the comprehension of many nations, and requiring further analysis before it can be made practically useful to people as they are.

To preach cleanliness in all things was a mere counsel of perfection, and it became necessary to pick out from this wide injunction the particular kind of dirtiness which was the cause of cholera, and the particular detail of cleanliness which was its preventive. This was done when it was shown first by Snow and Simon that cholera was caused by drinking water contaminated with choleraic discharges, and then by me that in the epidemic in London of 1866 *and in all subsequent European epidemics* it has known no other cause and means of diffusion. Let us analyse these data in their historical succession.

It was just forty-five years ago, viz. in August 1849, that Dr. Snow put forward the theory that cholera might be widely disseminated by 'the emptying of sewers into the drinking-water of the community.' This was the result of observation made during a disastrous epidemic which had carried off 53,293 English people out of a population of 17,564,656. In the next epidemic, in 1853–54, this theory was put to the test and proved in the most remarkable manner by the classical example of the Broad Street pump, a localised epidemic of cholera by which twenty-two out of every 1,000 persons living in the parish of St. James, Westminster, were killed within three months, and which was clearly shown to be due to the use of a pump of which the water had been fouled by choleraic discharges. It was shown also by Sir John Simon, that in the same epidemic the most remarkable relationship existed between the prevalence of cholera in the different districts in South London and the source of the water with which they were supplied: the population drinking

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the polluted water of the Lambeth Company having suffered three and a half times as much mortality as the people drinking water from other sources.

Bearing these facts in mind—although they were then far from being generally accepted, either by medical or lay opinion, as thoroughly explanatory of the phenomena—I was greatly struck early in the outbreak which occurred in East London in 1886 by its incidence on the area supplied by the East London Water Company, and I felt confident it could only be due to a sudden specific pollution of the water-supply. Acting on behalf of a great medical journal, I despatched the late Mr. J. Netten Radcliffe (who had not then become attached to the Medical Department of the Privy Council) to investigate the matter. At first, of course, he was met with a blank denial on the part of the water company that anything had occurred in connection with their water-supply which could explain the distribution of cholera. A refusal to accept any such denial, and a patient investigation, in which the officials gave all necessary aid, though under protest, at last made it plain that owing to changes having been made in their filtering apparatus the company had sent out for a few days unfiltered water, or water in a very partially filtered state, direct from the river Lea. Subsequent inquiry proved that just at that moment the waters of the Lea had been infected with choleraic discharges from a cottage the sewers of which connected with the river, and where a family had come to reside who had reached Southampton infected with cholera, and were allowed to pass on after they were supposed to have recovered.[2]

The explanation seemed complete, and so impressed was I with the danger to which all civilised communities who use public water-supplies are constantly exposed by the non-recognition, or only partial recognition, of this mode of cholera diffusion, that ever since that date I have preached, in season and out of season, the double doctrine, first, that cholera is a filth disease carried by dirty people to dirty places; and, second, that the vehicle by which its poison enters the body is *water*. From that time forward I carefully investigated the etiological details of all the principal epidemics in various parts of the world, and the result has been the production of conclusive evidence of the 'water-borne' theory of the causation of cholera. Slowly and gradually this exclusive doctrine has gained ground, and I have had the pleasure, not granted to all investigators, of watching, as years have passed, the slow veering of opinion towards the views I have expressed.

Still, even in the most civilised States, sanitary progress has been perplexingly and distressingly slow. While we in the West, with our carefully worked out histories of epidemics which came as exotics and whose every stage of development could be watched, were able

[2] *Water-borne Cholera*, by Ernest Hart, 1893. Published by the British Medical Association, 429 Strand.

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to assure ourselves that in specifically fouled water lay the key to epidemic cholera, Indian authorities, to a large extent, remained unconvinced. A haze of doubt was thus thrown over the whole question; and the fact that eminent medical men in India who had lived their lives among cholera hesitated (and some still hesitate) to admit my doctrine or accept my nomenclature of 'water-borne cholera' was made much of by those who saw but small virtue and great expense in the provision of pure water. And thus it happened that only two years ago, at the very time when I was contributing to these pages an article on 'Cholera, and our Protection against it,' preaching again the old doctrine of water-borne cholera which I had been studying and expounding for so many years, there was still a great city, just across the German Ocean, suffering all the horrors of an epidemic which attacked nearly 18,000 people and caused 7,611 deaths; and this not because Hamburg was short of wealth, or knowledge, or opportunity, but because, either from negligence or want of faith in the doctrine of cholera being water-borne, it still elected to drink water largely polluted with sewage.

Nor could one speak in very different terms of many other cities on the Continent. Even in great centres of civilisation, as for instance Paris, cities remained in a condition of sanitary unpreparedness which left them liable to be ravaged by cholera if it were once introduced, and they put their trust in the follies of sanitary cordons and quarantines. One of the aims of what I wrote at that time was to draw attention to our Imperial responsibilities in the matter, and to urge the necessity of not waiting for a sanitary millennium of cleanliness, but, in the meantime, of systematically attacking the disease, both in its home in India and along the pilgrim track by which it had more than once spread to Europe. For, although during recent years England had spent enormous sums in sanitary improvements, especially in the provision of pure water to her principal cities—on which object alone 100 millions of capital has been sunk during the last thirty years—and had thus rendered herself fairly secure, the same was not the case with other nations. Many of them, such as Russia, Austria, Spain, France, Italy, knew by sad experience that, if once cholera reached them, it would run riot in their midst; and whatever might be said against quarantine, and however strong the proof might be that it was always ineffectual in practice, still it was their one protection, and to that they clung with the tenacity of despair, as indeed they yet do in certain countries. Unless, then, we were prepared to submit almost indefinitely to the stringent quarantine regulations and the constant and irritating interferences with trade and traffic to which other nations were driven by the knowledge of their own danger, it was necessary that some steps should be taken to confine cholera within its natural home, even if we could not succeed in stamping it out in its own haunts. India and the routes from India are the

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places in which cholera must be attacked, if the rest of the world is to be saved from these repeated epidemics during the slow period of the Sanitary Renaissance and the universal purification of water supplies.

This brings us to the events of the last two years; and among them we recognise at once that we have to deal with a new phase and a new method in the history of the war with cholera, a phase of mutual international co-operation against the common enemy, and a method of sanitation for the healthy and isolation for the sick, instead of the older plan of universal quarantine. There have been international combinations before in regard to cholera, but they have mostly had to do with the commercial side of questions which were originally international. For example, owing to the complex relationship of Egypt it was necessary to re-establish an International Sanitary Board to carry out the quarantine arrangements imposed by the Turkish Government; and, again, an international convention was signed at Venice regulating the traffic from Egypt to the Mediterranean ports. These arrangements, however, had relation to political rather than to sanitary necessities, and arose from the anomalous political position of Egypt.

In April 1893, however, an international convention was signed at Dresden which had to do with cholera alone, and was a great triumph for those who, following Simon, had so long urged that the disease should be fought by cleanliness, sanitation, and immediate isolation of infected cases, rather than by quarantine and *cordons sanitaires*.

The great points gained by this convention were, that as regarded land traffic none except the actually sick could be detained, although the healthy would be subject to surveillance for a period not exceeding five days in the country to which they were bound; and that as to ships' passengers, they also were not to be isolated or disembarked unless cholera had existed on board within seven days. Even these restrictions were not to be put in force against whole countries, but only against the travellers from the parts affected. This, it will be at once understood, was a very great advance on the old regulations, according to which international traffic was liable to entire dislocation, nation being cut off from nation by *cordons sanitaires*, and both sick and healthy being detained on the frontiers for indefinite periods.

Since then another conference has been held, this time in Paris. This conference was avowedly, as stated by its president, prepared to adopt the propositions which I had enunciated in my addresses in England and America. A convention was signed regulating the pilgrim traffic to and from Mecca by the Red Sea route; and this convention, again, has recognised the principle of isolation of the sick alone, and detention of those ships only which have had sick on board.

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This principle is so important, and is so surely the key to the further measures which will in future be adopted for our protection from the disease, that I shall devote the rest of this article to an explanation of the grounds on which it is founded, and of the methods by which it must be carried out in order to save Europe from cholera invasions.

Cholera is only known to Europeans as an occasional visitor; it is an exotic disease, terrible while it lasts, but tending soon to die out. In certain parts of India, however, it is endemic and permanent.

The outbreak of 1831–33 is said to have caused 30,924 deaths in England; that of 1848–49, 53,293; that of 1854, 20,097; and that of 1866, 14,378; since which time we have had no great epidemic. If we compare that history with the choleraic mortality in India, we can understand what is meant by the saying that India is the home of cholera. In 1879 there were 318,000 deaths from cholera in India; in 1881 there were 161,000 deaths; in 1887, 488,000; and in 1888, 270,000. This gives some idea of the extent to which the disease affects that country. Over large areas, however, it only occasionally passes, coming and going like the European epidemics, although with greater frequency; in other parts it is only partially absent, coming every year, but missing certain months. In other districts it never quite dies out, varying enormously in virulence, sometimes taking the form of a deadly epidemic, at others being merely an endemic annoyance, but still never absent, every month of every year showing deaths from the disease. The lower valley of the Ganges is spoken of as the 'endemic area' or home of cholera; here it is always present, and to this centre every outbreak of it, in whatever part of the world it may occur, can be traced.

It always has seemed a strange and mysterious thing that this disease, settled and seemingly fixed in one spot on the earth's surface, should, without apparent cause, begin to march, should spread from country to country, should devastate and pass on, and ultimately should subside and be again confined within its natural home. 'Telluric' and 'meteoric' influences, 'atmospheric' and 'pandemic' waves, cholera 'blasts,' and many other expressions framed for the sake of hiding inaccuracy of thought, have been put forward as explanations of these strange phenomena, and have been quite lately accepted by such eminent advisers of the Government of India as Sir Joseph Fayrer and Surgeon-General Cunninghame. But whatever theory was invented for the moment, when the history of the earlier epidemics came to be collated, and the pieces of the puzzle were chronologically fitted together, it became obvious enough to me, and to others who carefully followed my studies of European epidemics as a key to Indian reports, that the march of cholera always followed the lines of human communication, travelling along caravan routes and pilgrim tracks, and dogging the steps of the traders who frequented the great fairs and congrega-

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tions of men from which it seemed to radiate. It also became clear that it did not travel at a greater rate than that at which men journeyed from place to place, but precisely followed their path and their rate of travel, whether by caravan, rail, or steamer; often, indeed, making long halts and advancing but slowly; and lastly, that any great width of ocean interposed a barrier to its dissemination.

At the same time, all experience showed that cholera was not directly contagious from man to man, and that those who nursed the sick did not suffer if they took reasonable precautions. Here again I have endeavoured to popularise a formula: 'Men can eat cholera, or drink cholera, but they cannot "catch it," as they catch small-pox and scarlatina.'

There are, unhappily, nations who still rely on quarantine: I have shown that as a matter of experience it never has been effectual. It fails, however, not because it is theoretically useless, but because it is practically unworkable. A line of sentries with strict orders to shoot might conceivably keep out cholera; but they never have succeeded in doing so practically—the sentries are evaded and the disease walks in. It must be confessed, however, that the nations which have flown to quarantine as a protection were nearer, as in India, to a true conception of the nature of the disease than those who conjured up occult influences to explain its progress, for at least they recognised the important truth that it marched along with man.

The history of cholera in India dates from very early times. Sanskrit authors writing some 400 years B.C describe the disease as exhibiting symptoms precisely similar to those met with at the present time.

To pass to more modern times, in 1781–82 cholera was very prevalent in India. The next year it is said to have destroyed 20,000 pilgrims at Hardwar. In 1817 a great epidemic spread rapidly over the greater part of Hindustan, extending to Ceylon, Burma, China, and northward by the Persian Gulf, but did not reach Europe.

During the year 1826 cholera again overpassed its bounds and spread to the Punjab. In May 1827 it was especially severe in the North-Western Provinces, and spread to Ajmeer, Jeypur, and some of the Himalayan hill stations.

Again it recurred in 1828, and this year was reported to be extremely violent in Cabul, and to have extended through Khorassan to Teheran, where it destroyed great numbers.

On the 26th of August, 1829, the disease broke out at the Russian frontier town of Orenburg, where it had been carried by caravans from Bokhara. During 1830 cholera spread from Persia to the shores of the Caspian and throughout Astrakhan.

In August 1830 cholera appeared at the great annual fair at Nijni-Novgorod, in September it reached Moscow, and, perhaps in consequence of the war going on between Russia and Poland, was rapidly disseminated throughout both countries.

In 1831 it reached Sweden, Vienna, Berlin, and Hamburg, whence

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it was supposed to have been imported to Sunderland, where it broke out at the end of October 1831, and spread over England. On the 6th of June, 1832, cholera appeared in Quebec. The *Carrick* had sailed in April from Dublin, which was then affected by cholera, with 173 emigrants on board, forty-two of whom died from it on the passage; when the ship arrived at Quebec on the 3rd of June, the emigrants were landed a few miles away. The first case of cholera ever seen in Canada occurred in Quebec on the 6th of June. The disease then passed into the United States, reaching New York and Philadelphia in July, and spreading over the greater part of America before the end of the year.

It is not my intention here to write a history of cholera, but I have given these dates to show the time occupied in the spread of the epidemic in times and under conditions when travel was slow, and before the introduction of modern modes of locomotion.

The next great outbreak reached England in 1848, having apparently crept by devious routes through China, Chinese Tartary, and Russia, and also by way of Aden, Jeddah, and the Red Sea.

About the time this epidemic was prevalent in England another wave was rising in India, which in 1851 again passed westwards in two streams, one by Bombay and the Persian Gulf, and the other by the Punjab and Cabul.

In 1853 the whole of Northern Europe was affected, and in August the disease appeared in England, first at Gateshead, and then in London, causing great havoc, and spreading rapidly to America.

In 1865 cholera again reached Europe, but this time it evidently passed along with the pilgrims to Mecca and onwards to the South of Europe. Since that date several epidemics have spread westwards and have caused great mortality, but they have not taken root in England in epidemic form.

In 1892 cholera was widely disseminated by pilgrims from Hardwar at the end of March; during May it spread to Kashmir and was raging in Cabul, where it also had prevailed in 1891, and on the 27th of May reached Meshed.

Spreading rapidly westward, it reached Astrabad, where it touched the Trans-Caspian Railway, and within a fortnight its presence was officially admitted at Baku, from which place it became rapidly diffused over Central Russia, reaching Moscow on the 13th of July, St. Petersburg on the 1st of August, and Hamburg on the 18th of August.[3] 'Within a month, then, of the recognition of cholera at a town on the Trans-Caspian Railway, it had penetrated to the heart of Russia in Europe, the transit from Central Asia having taken as many days as before the creation of railways and steamboat lines it took months.'

But enough of history. Let us see how far a consideration of these facts in the light of modern knowledge can guide us in our efforts

[3] Dr. Dawson Williams, *British Medical Journal*, vol. ii. 1892.

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to arrest the progress of the disease. First of all, we must base ourselves on the fact that the malady is not contagious in the ordinary sense of the term: contact with the patient does not transmit the disease, and in cleanly and well-managed hospitals nurses do not suffer. Thus I suggested to the Academy of Medicine in New York that the best place for a cholera hospital would be in Fifth Avenue, and one of the safest places to go to in time of epidemic would be a well-managed cholera hospital.

Next, we know that the infection is contained in the discharges from the patient, and that in an infinite majority of cases it is carried from person to person by these discharges being allowed, in consequence of some defect in sanitation, to gain access to the supply of drinking-water.

Lastly, we know that, whatever this contagion may really be, at any rate it is a living particle, capable of rapid and enormous multiplication in suitable surroundings, either within its human host, or, under certain conditions, in water and damp earth.

Here would be the proper place to say something about the cholera bacillus, although really, for my present purpose, it is not of material importance. Koch's discovery of the comma bacillus was one of great value, on the one hand giving material shape to a microbe of whose existence we already felt assured, and on the other hand enabling us by laboratory investigation to search out more fully the life-history of the contagium and establish the diagnosis apart from clinical symptoms; nevertheless, it must always be borne in mind that the truth of the dogma that cholera is a filth disease and water-borne in no way depends on the accuracy of Koch's description of the bacillus, nor even on this microbe finally maintaining its position as the cause of the malady.

It is only fair, however, to say that what we do know about the microbe in every way confirms the view I hold as to the water-carriage of cholera, now so generally accepted, and tallies so well with all the facts of the case that, if only as a matter of convenience, I think it well (although, lawyers say, without prejudice) to accept and speak of Koch's bacillus as the active agent in the causation of cholera.

With these facts before us the occurrence of great epidemics of water-borne cholera is entirely explained. From every country the evidence is the same, and the argument has been clinched in the most striking and unmistakable manner by the history of the frightful outbreak of cholera in Hamburg in 1892, an outbreak in which Hamburg proper lost 12·2 per thousand of its inhabitants, while Altona and Wandsbeck, practically parts of the city, and differing only in the lesser relative pollution of their water-supply, lost but 3·1 and 2·0 per thousand respectively. So entirely and universally do the facts fit the theory, that when the latter seems at fault we may confidently assume that the facts have not been thoroughly investigated.

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Let me quote an example. In 1884 cholera, which was prevalent in the South of France, passed the frontier notwithstanding the rigorous quarantine imposed, and spread through Northern Italy.

Early in the epidemic a resident physician, an old friend of mine, whose acquaintance I had made when I organised and despatched, with his aid and that of Dr. Wolfe, a convoy of medical succour to the army of Garibaldi on his famous expedition from Sicily, telegraphed to me from Genoa: 'Your water theory of cholera at fault. Genoa has a fine supply of pure water from a high mountain source. Cholera has broken out in districts so supplied, and we have already 100 cases a day. What is to be done?' I replied by telegraph: 'Cannot be at fault; must be water; cannot be anything else; examine every foot of your water-pipes, and trace to the supply pipes' source.' Genoa, it may be remarked, is supplied by three aqueducts —the Civic and the Galliera, about fifteen miles long, fed by the river Gorgento, and the Nicolay, about thirteen miles in length, and supplied by the river Scrivia. An analysis of the first fifty cases of cholera in the city disclosed the fact that as many as forty-four were in houses supplied with Nicolay water; of the fifty succeeding cases, forty-three dwelt in houses supplied with Nicolay water; and of the third group of fifty cases, forty-five were in houses so supplied. In fact, out of the first 300 cases, as many as 93 per cent. inhabited houses in which the Nicolay water was distributed. Further, although the poor-house of the town is in a very crowded centre, no case of cholera occurred in it, as the authorities of that institution cut off the Nicolay supply. Again, taking the Via Bianchetti, cases of cholera occurred on the side which was served with Nicolay water, whilst there was not a case on the other side, which had water from a different source.

Thus the Nicolay water stood convicted, and on further investigation the mystery was readily solved. Near the beginning of the Nicolay aqueduct is the village of Busalla, and at the time in question some hundreds of workmen, including, there is reason to believe, many refugees from infected localities, were engaged on a new railroad, and were described as living under the most filthy conditions. Cholera broke out at Busalla on the 14th of September, and several cases thereafter daily occurred until the end of the month. Inquiry disclosed the fact that nearly all the workmen, both the sick and the healthy, had their clothes washed in the Scrivia, or in a tributary of that stream, which supplies the Nicolay aqueduct with its water.

After my telegram had arrived, and as soon as these facts were known, the mayor of Genoa, with very commendable promptitude and decision, prohibited for a time the distribution of the water of the Nicolay aqueduct, or rather the distribution by that aqueduct of the water of the Scrivia. This was done on the 28th of September. On

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the 30th of September the cases of cholera fell from sixty-four to fifty-nine, and during the succeeding days the number of cases suddenly dropped to forty, twenty-seven, twenty-two, twenty-one, followed by a rapid decline to *nil* on the 17th of October. This was to me very glad intelligence, and the incident is most instructive.

What I wish, however, here particularly to insist upon is, that when we leave the regions of exotic outbreaks and pass to India, where cholera is constantly present, a recognition of the natural life-history of the contagium, microbe, or bacillus, together with a glance at the social customs of the inhabitants, will explain at once why India is at present, and has long been, a permanently 'endemic area,' or, in other words, the home of cholera. The country is not to be judged of by its towns. The real India is a congeries of villages many hundreds of thousands in number. These hamlets lie for the most part on flat land, or maybe on sites a little raised above it, alternately scorched by sun and drenched by continuous rain, and their inhabitants live in entire disregard of all sanitary conditions. They drink from the pond in which they bathe, in which their cattle wallow, and which is surrounded by the refuse of their daily lives. Their instincts may be cleanly—as shown by their custom of bathing—but they are forced by circumstances into the habit of drinking polluted water.

If possible, it is customary for these people to bathe every day, and for the women to do so even oftener. And yet during several months of the year there is no rainfall, and in many places they have to trust entirely, both for drinking and bathing, to water which has been stored in tanks. Horrible as it may appear, it is the ordinary custom of the villagers to use for all culinary purposes the water of the public tanks, in which they bathe and wash their clothes, and around which is accumulated every sort of unnameable filth. This habit of drinking foul water is at the root of the constant presence of cholera in India. The natives continually suffer. The Europeans, however, have no dread of infection in ordinary times. They, carrying with them certain habits of cleanliness, and being strongly impressed with the necessity of avoiding polluted water, escape. The comparative, and in some cases almost total, immunity from the disease enjoyed nowadays by troops, prisoners, and certain townships is a matter of demonstration; and yet, when this security begets carelessness the charm is broken, and the hitherto-protected communities suffer like the rest, as has been shown in several isolated outbreaks among the troops.

The experiences of Calcutta, as observed by Dr. W. J. Simpson, the very able health officer to whom that city owes so much, show that those persons who have an abundant and pure water-supply—namely, the Europeans and the better-class natives—escape cholera epidemics, except in isolated instances, which can generally be

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accounted for; while the natives, who depend on tank water, still suffer severely when a tank becomes specifically polluted.

There can, I contend, now be no possible doubt that the reason why in India, as elsewhere, some classes escape and others suffer, is that some drink pure water and others drink water contaminated with choleraic discharges; nor can we escape the conclusion that the true meaning of the term 'endemic area' in regard to cholera is 'a district in which the customs of the people sanction the drinking of polluted water, and in which from temperature, and perhaps from other causes incompletely known, the cholera germ or contagium can easily keep alive and propagate itself in soil or water in the interval between its exit from one host and its entry into another. Nothing seems more certain than that people can touch cholera patients, rub them, handle them, and live with them, even in the midst of an endemic area, and not catch the disease, so long as they take precautions not to swallow it. This is the key to the position—the horrid truth, the filthy fact, that the bacillus, the contagium of cholera, lives two lives: one in the human body, causing the disease, multiplying within the patient, and poured forth by him in abundance; the other, outside the body, waiting in damp ground, on soiled linen, in dirty water—waiting sometimes for months to be swallowed by someone else, and to start again on its destructive course.'

With these facts before us, the curious and interesting details regarding the march of cholera, which to so many still appear void of explanation and involved in mystery, stand out clear as noon. The reason why cholera is sometimes quiescent, and sometimes spreads virulently over the whole land, belongs to a question too large to enter upon here, viz. the biology of the bacillus and the laws of epidemic diffusion; but the mechanism of its march is clear. The reasons why one year we have a plague of wasps are complex. Many factors unite, many coincidences occur to lead to the result, but amid them all it is obvious that if we could but destroy the nests we should escape the plague; so, if we can but prevent the cholera germ from getting from one host to another, if we can stamp upon its external place of life, cholera can never march more than one step from its home. This is the key to the protection of the world from cholera.

When cholera spreads and breaks its bounds it follows the lines of human traffic and communication, because man is the porter by whom it is carried from place to place. But, as I have shown, no one porter can carry the malady farther than he can go between the time of being infected and being struck down. Thus the wide spread of the disease depends not only on the speed of the porter, but on the sanitary conditions and social habits of the place where he is taken ill; for if these are such that he can transfer his load to others, that the

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infection he deposits can be conveyed into and grow in the bodies of fresh patients, some of whom may travel to fresh places and set up fresh foci of disease, the epidemic spreads; but if from cleanly habits or clean surroundings, and from the supply of pure drinking-water, the infection fails to pass from body into body, the malady dies out, and there is an end of the matter.

From the great fairs and religious festivals of India cholera is carried in all directions, often merely to die out for want of fitting surroundings, but often, on the contrary, to infect the soil and water of the districts through which it is carried, thus setting up fresh foci of disease, from which it will spread again if the customs of the people are such as to lead them to drink the infected water.

The conditions of travel thus influence the route which cholera takes, as well as the speed with which it travels. When by weary marches, or sailing in small boats, tacking day after day against opposing winds, months, nay, sometimes years, were spent in the journey, those who were taken ill died in the transit; whole caravans melted away, and ships with cholera-stricken crews were lost, together with their crowded cargoes of holy pilgrims, and thus the outer world was saved. But with quicker means of communication, with railways and steamboats and the general hurry of modern life, pilgrims also have quickened their pace, and, what is most important, have lengthened the stages and lightened the labour of their journey, so that the infected ones have lived through hundreds instead of tens of miles before they dropped, and have thus surmounted the barrier of desert and of sea by which Europe was formerly protected. No longer need cholera sneak round by Russia and the Caucasus, infecting the various resting-places on its way, and setting out again as caravans and travellers may serve. At one bound it is in Jeddah, Mecca becomes a centre of infection, and Red Sea ports distribute the disease to Egypt and the South of Europe. In the same way, as soon as cholera touches the Trans-Caspian Railway all Russia and the Baltic are in danger.

When we consider the enormous magnitude of modern trade and traffic, the vast numbers of people who, as traders, travellers and pilgrims, are continually passing from country to country, and the extent to which the nations are dependent on each other for their different productions, one recognises the difficulty of the position. Even if quarantine had not been proved to be constantly ineffectual, the numbers are far too great to be subjected to it, while the trade is far too important to make the prohibition of travel either possible or endurable. And yet the world cannot afford to remain under the terror of repeated scourgings by the pestilence of cholera until the sanitary millennium shall arrive, or even until India shall have dug, drained, and watered the vast district which is its endemic home.

Every outbreak of cholera, in whatever part of the world it may

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occur, can, however, be traced back to India, and the world can only at present get protection by surrounding India with inspection stations and isolation hospitals, so that the disease may always be stopped so soon as it has advanced the first step on the journey.

Practically, cholera does not travel 'first-class,' and it only escapes from India by a few outlets. By certain trade routes it passes through Burma, Thibet, Kashmir, Afghanistan, or Persia, into the vast dominion of Russia, the internal resources of which are outside and beyond the control of any other nation, and by certain pilgrim tracks it concentrates itself on Mecca, whence it is distributed to the rest of the world. Mecca, then, is the only route with which the nations can concern themselves.

The Indian Government must watch the fairs and festivals of Northern India; Russia must protect herself, and, in fact, is already beginning to be awake both to the necessity and possibility of so doing; and by international arrangement the nations of Europe must guard the pilgrim track. How it must be guarded is a matter worthy of consideration. Certainly not by the discredited system of quarantine. What we have to do is to guard the outpost, not to fight cholera within or even close to our gates. Whenever we meet with many cases, we may be sure that the outposts have been already stormed.

The individuals by whom cholera is imported to any place are always very few in number, and the occurrence of anything approaching an epidemic is always proof that the disease has already taken root, has infected the soil, fouled the water, is already being swallowed by the people, and is producing its *second crop*. Short of surrounding ourselves with a condition of sanitary perfection which no nation has yet attained, the only real protection lies in the capture and isolation of the early cases; and it is, fortunately, capable of definite proof that well-directed measures with this object are perfectly effectual. Experience both in England and in India shows that outbreaks thus treated can be nipped in the bud. We should, indeed, be foolishly self-complacent if we imagined that such a town as Hull, for example, was proof against cholera by virtue of its sanitary excellences. Hull has been hard hit by cholera several times, and when the disease existed in such force just over the water, at ports with which it was in constant communication, the authorities knew full well that, if it once gained access, the old story would be again repeated. Much of the town lies below high-water mark, its drains are waterlogged, its soil in many parts is sewage-soaked, its sanitary arrangements are primitive and unreformed, and the presence of typhoid fever at the very time proclaimed its susceptibility to cholera. Yet, although during the past two years cholera has been repeatedly introduced, it has never taken root. Means were provided for the immediate notification and removal to hospital of every case; an active 'sanitary

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column of ambulances, scavengers, disinfectors, and whitewashers was organised by Dr. Mason, the medical officer of health, which, whenever a case was notified, rushed to the spot, carried the patient off to hospital, and removed every trace of contamination; and thus, if one may so say, in spite of its dirt, Hull escaped the danger, unhurt except in pocket. It is perhaps hardly recognised that we had two smart outbreaks of cholera last year in England—at Grimbsy and Hull—which were mastered, isolated, and stamped out.

The recent proceedings of the Indian Government in regard to the great religious festivals point to the same moral—that cholera can be controlled by strict sanitary organisation.

These great fairs have always been active factors in the dissemination of the disease. They have often been attended by great mortality among the pilgrims and traders who have frequented them, who, however, have not been the only sufferers. Soon after the festival is over these people are scattered to the four winds of heaven, carrying with them the infection. Some drag their sickening frames homeward, till they drop by the wayside and die; others are taken ill in towns and villages *en route*, which speedily become fresh centres of infection; others, by boat or train, are carried to distant parts, where they set up new foci of disease, from which infection spreads among their neighbours.

The great gatherings at Hárdwar have again and again been followed by disaster of this sort. In reference to times before 1867 we are told 'very little remains on record, but that little is a record of disease and death.'

In 1867, and again in 1879, the festival was followed by epidemic cholera, which on the latter occasion rapidly extended, and in its extreme virulence carried off large numbers of the hill people. After two such disastrous experiences there the anxiety was great as to what would happen when the great fair of 1891 came round. This was increased by the fact that the same conditions which had before been followed by great epidemics were repeating themselves. Cholera was prowling about the district, just as it had been during the autumn before the last two great outbreaks, and altogether the outlook was most unpromising.

Under these circumstances the most elaborate precautions were taken to maintain the strictest cleanliness, to report all cases of illness, and to remove the sick to hospital without delay. A small army of 1,342 sweepers was engaged, and the whole place was divided into sections, each with its own sanitary staff and its own hospital. The key to the whole arrangement lay in the searching out and rapid removal of all cases of suspicious illness in the earliest stages, and in the maintenance of perfect cleanliness in the camp.

The system stood the test. Notwithstanding the fact that some pilgrims from infected districts brought the disease with them, and

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that two people died at Hárdwar of undoubted cholera during the most crowded period of the fair, the infection did not spread, and we had the novel experience of a Kumbh fair at Hárdwar, at which 1,000,000 pilgrims were present, without an epidemic of cholera spreading all over the surrounding country concurrently with the dispersion of the gathering.

Again, at the great fair at Allahabad this year, at which an enormous crowd, estimated at nearly 3,000,000 persons, assembled, it has been found possible to carry out a very complete system of sanitation. The camping-ground was laid out in streets like a town, filtered water was laid on, ample sanitary arrangements were provided, and the whole affair passed off without the occurrence of any evil consequences.

It will, I hope, now be taken as demonstrated, that even in countries where cholera is a common occurrence, it can be kept at bay by strict sanitary surveillance, by searching out cases of suspicious illness, by isolation of the sick, and by providing unpolluted drinking-water. The healthy may be allowed to go their way, and even in immense moving populations, such as those assembled at fairs and religious festivals, the sick only need be detained, provided that they are immediately isolated, the discharges are properly disinfected, and the drinking-water duly protected. It seems to me that by far the most important event in the history of cholera during the last two years has been the large international recognition at the convention of Paris of the fact that healthy people are not carriers of cholera, and that its progress is to be stayed, not by mere detention of the sick, to develop fresh foci of disease, as happened lately, for example, in the old quarantine station at El Tor, but by their careful isolation and treatment. The recognition of this, and the establishment of points of inspection, with proper hospital accommodation, along the pilgrim track will do much to prevent cholera arriving at Mecca, but it must not be forgotten that the Convention lately signed deals only with traffic by sea, and touches neither the overland pilgrim routes nor the condition of Mecca itself. So long as Mecca remains uncleansed, and so long as the well of Zemzem, at which the pilgrims drink, remains in its present filthy, polluted state,[7] the place remains liable, at the time of pilgrimage, to become a mere nursery of cholera.

The present state of Mecca is undoubtedly a disgrace to the Power under whose rule it lies, and remains a source of irritation and a particular grievance to pious Mussulmans. It must be a cause of pain and anxiety to the ruler of Islam, the Sultan, that while Western Powers are co-operating to prevent the spread of cholera along the track of a purely Mohammedan pilgrimage, the Porte

[7] See analyses by Professor E. H. Hankin. *British Medical Journal*, June 30, 1894.

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should do so little to reform the present state of affairs at Mecca, the very centre of diffusion of cholera to the West.

It must always be remembered that the infection of cholera is carried by the sufferer, and deposited when and where the disease overtakes him, and that if it is not then introduced into another individual by means of polluted food or water, the whole process is at an end.

Protection from cholera can, then, be obtained by so organising the habits and customs of communities that they shall not drink defiled water. This the Western nations ask the Sultan to do for Mecca and Jeddah: to make them resting-places where, even if cholera be introduced, it shall be put down, and not taken up again.

If, however, this sanitary reorganisation of Mecca should be considered too great a task, then we ask him, at the least, so to arrange the pilgrimage within his own dominions that the sick shall be picked out and cared for, that cholera shall be dealt with as we are dealing with it at our Indian fairs, and that Mecca shall not remain the standing danger to Europe which it now is. The Mohammedans are themselves now reinforcing this demand, by meetings held and resolutions passed, and I shall before long have the opportunity of personally laying all the facts of the case before the advisers of the Sultan, who takes an enlightened and benevolent interest in the matter.

ERNEST HART.

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DID OMAR DESTROY THE ALEXANDRIAN LIBRARY?

To those unacquainted with the inner life of the Mohammedans, with the real spirit of the teachings of the latest of Prophets on earth, with the circumstances under which, and the state of society in which, Mohammed lived and laboured for the regeneration of his fellow-creatures, and with the esoteric significance of the precepts of the Sacred Book of nearly a fifth of the human race, in whose hearts is yet living the flame of religious zeal and faith, and whose every action and word can be traced to it, no enormity has appeared too improbable to be imputed to the Mussulmans. During the greater period of European history since the Crusaders, when the descendants of the Aryan and Semitic races were brought face to face in deadly strife, notwithstanding the characteristic qualities—strength of purpose, nobility of soul, bravery, and contempt of personal danger—displayed by Saladin, the Commander of the Faithful, even in the heat of religious feuds and disagreements, the European nations have persisted in depicting the followers of Islam as a barbarous and destructive people, the subverters of peace and order—in short, as monsters in human shape. This state of the public mind rendered it easy for the reception of the most unfounded stories and fictitious narratives, whose sole object appears to have been to blacken with a yet deeper dye the already gloomy picture of that unfortunate race.

The impression that generally prevailed in Europe against the Mohammedans only acquired colour and strength from the exaggerated reports of the Crusaders, many of whom returned from the Holy Land with stories of suffering and cruelty of the wildest description. It is a well-known fact that such is the avidity with which the human mind receives communications of the marvellous, and such the interest attached to those researches which describe any remote or extraordinary event, that the judgment of the traveller receives a bias, which induces him to fix upon that extreme point in his opinion which is calculated to afford the greatest surprise and interest. This characteristic of the human mind no doubt affords a competent solu-

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tion. But a more important, not to say a stronger, argument is that the pilgrims who carried to their remotest homes these wonderful tales of their sufferings, and their one-sided impressions of the customs and manners of an alien people, were largely actuated by motives of religious hatred, intolerance, and superstition.

The historians of Europe of the times gave currency to such floating accounts in their works, and thus unconsciously stamped them with the seal of their authority. The writers themselves were zealous Christians, and considered themselves, with what sufficiency of grounds we need not pause to consider, smarting under a sense of personal injury at the hands of the 'unbelieving infidels' who followed the 'False Prophet'! It is not to be wondered at that they threw in their lot with vulgar opinion, and loudly proclaimed the imaginary shortcomings—nay, barbarities—of the 'turbaned' Saracenic hordes. The science of history had not come to be cultivated in any critical spirit. The genius of a Gibbon or a Buckle had not dawned. Calm dispassionate criticism was entirely unknown. As a consequence, we at the present day find that a mass of false allegations were at one time laid at the door of the Mussulman nation, for which that nation was not in the least degree responsible.

The subject of the present essay is of this class. We shall, in the course of the following pages, discuss the question fully with a view to find out what blame, if any, attaches to the Mohammedans for the destruction of the once famous Royal Alexandrian Library.

In discussing and arriving at a definite conclusion on this subject, it will be necessary to have recourse to the writings of historians of the East as well as of the West, who in their works have in any manner referred to it, and which are accepted as of any value at all. In this connection, and in assigning their respective values to the compositions of the West as against the East and *vice versa*, it will be necessary to premise a few introductory remarks.

It is admitted by the enlightened critics of this nineteenth century that the rudest people are entitled to respect in the annals of their own country, provided of course they do not contradict probability. When the writings of an Eastern nation coincide with those of European authors, history is strengthened; when they are silent, the silence naturally leads to inquiry and circumspection. But when the writings are opposed to each other, the question arises as to whom we are to believe. Are we to believe the natives, who might have had access to genuine records, or the enemies of their race and religion, who probably never could have had such access?

This question is not so difficult to decide when the Arabs of Eastern nations and the Christian monkish writers of Europe represent the parties. When we remember how few writers faithfully record the facts even of their own experience and observation; when we bear in mind the peculiar bent of humankind which causes

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writers to record passing events concerning their country, their ideas, or their party, in a manner conducive to their best credit; when we bear in mind the necessity, which even the most enlightened and impartial minds the world has ever seen have found, of swimming with the tide of popular prejudice; when we often see that rational evidence and unvarnished truth are sacrificed to vanity, fiction, exaggeration, or the support of an individual theory; in short, when we consider such circumstances, it must candidly be confessed that we should pause before placing implicit belief in any particular class of historians to the exclusion of any other. In the darker ages of every community the materials available to the historian are but few indeed, and the place of facts is not unfrequently supplied by ideas evolved out of a strong and fertile imagination.

During the period with which we are here concerned the light of spiritual faith, accompanied by a revival of letters, had dawned on Arabia, while Europe was yet slumbering in the long intellectual night of the Dark Ages. For the first three centuries after the rise of Islam, it was a rule observed by all the Arab historians to quote the authority which they relied upon in mentioning any fact; and in cases in which they obtained their information second-hand or third-hand, &c., they used to mention the names of all the intermediate authorities. It was another rule with them to reject any authority whose writings may have been proved even in one single instance to be untrue. Thus history, as it was written by the Moslems in their early days, was very trustworthy.

With the greatest respect to the monkish historians of the Dark Ages of Europe, it cannot be denied that they have strung together masses of impracticable and untrue circumstances into the contiguous whole of history, indenting largely on their imagination for facts. The historians of the Middle Ages belonged to the clerical order. According to Buckle,[1] history, as habitually written by the highest European authorities, previous to its improvement in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, 'was little else than a tissue of the grossest errors.' The learned author proceeds to show 'that, during several centuries, Europe did not possess a single man who had critically studied the past, or who was even able to record with tolerable accuracy the events of his own time.'

Tracing the history of the origin of historical literature, Buckle (vol. i. p. 307) points out that

> Shortly before the final dissolution of the Roman Empire, the literature of Europe fell into the hands of the clergy, who, taken as a body, have always looked on it as their duty to enforce belief rather than encourage inquiry. Hence literature during many ages, instead of benefiting society, injured it, by increasing credulity, and thus stopping the progress of knowledge. Indeed, the aptitude for falsehood became so great that there was nothing which men were unwilling to

[1] Vide *History of Civilisation in England*, i. 291.

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believe. Nothing came amiss to their greedy and credulous ears. Histories of omens, prodigies, apparitions, strange portents, monstrous appearances in the heavens, the wildest and most incoherent absurdities, were repeated from mouth to mouth, and copied from book to book with as much care as if they were the choicest treasures of human wisdom.

As an instance of the absurd notion that prevailed in former days in Europe regarding Mohammed and his religion, we shall here relate a story, as given by Matthew Paris, the most eminent and learned historian, not only of his time, but of the Middle Ages, to explain why the 'Faithful' refuse to eat pork. 'It appears that Mohammed, having on one occasion gorged himself with food and drink till he was in a state of insensibility, fell asleep on a dunghill, and in this disgraceful condition was seen by a litter of pigs. The pigs attacked the fallen Prophet and suffocated him to death, for which reason his followers abominate pigs, and refuse to partake of their flesh.'[2]

Some modern compilers of ancient history may be inclined to dispose of the whole range of the literature of the East as wild, uninteresting, and obscure. But, as an intelligent writer remarks, 'such a mode of indiscriminate censure can only tend to perpetuate error. Truth ought to be searched for wherever it can be found; and a well-authenticated fact, if told by a Persian, an Arab, or a Chinese, should remove an improbability, though adorned with all the eloquence of Greece or Rome.'

Alexander the Great, the son of Philip of Macedon, commemorated his conquest of Egypt in B.C. 332 and his capture of Tyre, which yielded only after a determined resistance, by building the city of Alexandria, at the mouth of the Nile, to which the commerce of which Tyre had till then been the centre was transferred as being the most convenient situation connecting the Eastern with the Western world. Though the conquests of Alexander were not of a permanent character, the unwieldy empire he had founded having fallen to pieces immediately after his death, the centres of Greek civilisation which he had planted in the shape of Greek colonies flourished for a long time after and left their mark in the history of the conquered countries. The province that profited most was Egypt, and, as a matter of course, Alexandria—the only one of the cities of that name founded by the great conqueror to mark his exploits—which rose to eminence, and became its capital. This city, as it was intended to be by its royal founder, soon became the centre of intellectual and literary life, as well as of commerce and industry. Geography and ethnology, and the practical sciences—mathematics, mechanics, and natural history (to promote the study of which sciences Alexander laboured hard, a predilection no doubt derived from the teachings of Aristotle, whose pupil he was)—flourished greatly.

In the scramble for territory that followed the death of the

[2] Buckle's *History*, i. 315.

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Conqueror, one of his famous generals, Ptolemy, the son of Lagus, surnamed Soter, obtained possession of Egypt in B.C. 323. He developed Egypt into a great military and naval State. During his reign, Alexandria became the great centre for Greek civilisation and culture, both for the Eastern and the Western world. Like his royal master, Ptolemy also was the pupil of Aristotle, and the taste for learning which he displayed was no doubt imbibed from that great philosopher. His most celebrated institution was the Museum, which contained the Alexandrian Library, and residences for philosophers, poets, and scholars. Ptolemy's Museum, unlike its modern namesake, which is only a repository of curiosities, was a unique institution. It

> was a portion of the king's palace, appropriated to men of learning, who were there maintained by the royal liberality, and provided with all the appliances for facilitating their studies. The vast libraries containing upwards of 700,000 volumes were close at hand. There was a botanical garden for the phytologists, a menagerie for the zoologists, a dissecting room for the anatomists. Here the astronomers were supplied with every instrument known to their science—armillary spheres, astrolabes, mural quadrants, dioptras. Here poets, grammarians, historians, astronomers, mathematicians, engineers, chemists, physicians, theologians, magicians, and astrologers dwelt under one roof and ate at one table. Sometimes the monarch himself would preside at their repasts. Verily these were golden days for men of learning. To Alexandria, as to a centre, were attracted the studious of every nation, of whom there were, it is said, at one time, no fewer than 14,000 gathered together.[2]

When Ptolemy abdicated in favour of his youngest son, Philadelphus, the latter continued to extend the same patronage to art and literature. The institution founded by his father, attained, under his unremitting care, the highest prosperity. Natural history in particular was studied with great ardour, and many scientific books were produced. His son and successor, the third Ptolemy, also was a great patron of letters, and added largely to the treasures of the Alexandrian Library. Thus it was in the reigns of the first three Ptolemies that Alexandria flourished as the centre of Greek civilisation and enlightenment, and the Royal Alexandrian Library was mostly collected. The later kings of Egypt of the same name were indolent and debauched in the extreme; in consequence of which, after numerous vicissitudes, Egypt became a Roman Province, about B.C. 30.

The obligations which the Alexandrian school of philosophers has laid the world under, in almost every branch of learning and science, are immense. This school produced some of the most eminent men, among whom may particularly be mentioned the following: Euclid, the mathematician (B.C. 323-283), Aristarchus of Samos, who, in the third century B.C., distinguished himself by his efforts to establish the Pythagorean doctrine of the earth's motion; Archimedes, the Syracusan mathematician; Hipparchus, the Newton of the Greeks

[2] *A Popular History of Science*, by R. Routledge, B.Sc., F.C.S.

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(B.C. 160-125); and the great astronomer Ptolemy, who flourished about A.D. 150. The greatest service to modern science, however, rendered by this school is 'the adoption of a method of attacking the problems of nature, that thenceforth proved the true and faithful method of natural science . . . in which observation, experimental investigation, and a careful sifting of facts took the place of deductions from assumed principles and of theories based upon foregone conclusions or false analogies.'

It will thus be seen that a Royal Library did exist at the capital of Egypt; that it was established in the pre-Christian period of the idolatrous kings of Egypt; and that the library contained almost all the writings of the world then known, collected by Greek industry from various sources. The existence of the Library having been proved, it remains to find out when and by whom it was destroyed; and particularly whether it was the Mussulmans who, as is the general belief in Europe, destroyed it in their first outburst of religious enthusiasm, insatiable thirst for conquest, and blind iconoclasm.

Direct evidence on this point there is none. No historian—Christian, Pagan, Jew, or Moslem—who lived at the time of the Saracenic conquest of Alexandria (A.D. 642), or who was present at the capture of the city, or lived so near that period that he could have learnt from one who lived at the time or witnessed the event, has ever mentioned this subject.

The authorities relied upon by the historians of Europe in this controversy are four—Abulpharagius, the Armenian historian, and the three Arabic authors, Haji Khalifa, Makreezi, and Abdul Lateef of Bagdad. We shall proceed to a detailed and critical examination of the writings of these authors.

Abulpharagius was born in A.D. 1226 in Malatia (Asia Minor), and was early brought up in the tenets of the Jacobite faith, which his father, a Jewish physician, had embraced. He was appointed to the bishopric of Guba in his twenty-first year, in consideration of his extensive learning, knowledge in divinity, and linguistic attainments. Ultimately he became primate, a rank that is second only to that of patriarch. The most celebrated of his works is his *History of the Arabian Dynasties*, composed originally in the Syriac language, which displays great erudition coupled with extensive research. He also wrote an abstract of this history in the Arabic language, which was translated into Latin and first given to the European world by Dr. Pococke in 1664. The abstract differs in many points from the original *Dynasties*, one of them being that the destruction of the Alexandrian Library under orders from the Caliph Omar finds mention in the former. Gibbon wrote: 'Since the *Dynasties of Abulpharagius* were given to the world in Latin version, the tale has been repeatedly transcribed.' The celebrated historian adds: 'For my own part I am strongly tempted to deny both the fact and the consequences.

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Before entering into a discussion as to the weight to be attached to the testimony of Abulpharagius, we give below a literal translation of the passage bearing on this point from the Arabic abstract of Abulpharagius, called *Mokthasar-ud-Dawal* :—

And, at this time, John, who in our language is surnamed *Philoponus*, came to be known among the Arabs. He was a resident of Alexandria and a Jacobite Christian. He afterwards denied the Christian doctrine of the Trinity. Hereupon all the priests of Egypt joined together and requested him to relinquish his (heretical) belief. He did not listen to them. In consequence of which, he was degraded from his rank. He lived to an old age; so much so that when Amr Ibn-ul-A'as took Alexandria, he presented himself before Amr. As Amr had already heard of his abilities, he treated John with great respect, and listened to his philosophical discussions, such as were entirely unknown to the Arabs. These discussions created such a deep impression on Amr's heart that he became enamoured of him. Amr was a clever, intelligent, and discreet individual; and the society of John, therefore, became a necessity to him, and he never used to separate him from himself.

One day John said to Amr, 'You are master of every kind of thing in Alexandria. I do not wish to object to your remaining in possession of those things that may be useful to you; but we people are more entitled to such things as are not useful to you.' Amr asked him what he wanted; to which John replied, 'The books on philosophy that are in the Royal Libraries.' Amr said that he could give no order on the subject without obtaining the sanction of the Caliph Omar. Amr then informed the Caliph of John's request. The following reply was received: 'Regarding the books you refer to, if they are in accordance with the Book of God (Koran), then in the face of the existence of that book, there is no need for them; but if the subjects they treat of are contrary to the Book of God, then let them be destroyed.' Amr commenced to distribute them among the baths of Alexandria, and burn them. In short, it took them six months to be completely consumed. Thus, listen to what happened and wonder!

Abulpharagius was a high dignitary of the Christian Church, who flourished about the same time as Matthew Paris, whose story to explain why the Moslems refuse to eat of the flesh of the pig has already been related. In the next place, he wrote six hundred years after the capture of Alexandria, and was the first writer who gave currency to the story in the shape he is supposed to have done. We say, 'supposed to have done,' because we have no authentic information to show that Abulpharagius did mention the alleged circumstance. Its absence in the larger and fuller original work in Syriac is a point not to be lost sight of. This circumstance leads to the conjecture that the mention of the Alexandrian Library and its fate in the Arabic abstract *Mokthasar-ud-Dawal* is a spurious interpolation by some ingenious writer, who perhaps wanted to clothe a common tradition with the authority of the great historian. Even supposing that Abulpharagius himself gave insertion to the story in the Arabic abstract, it cannot be held to strengthen the truth of the incident. For, as is common in every age and in every clime, there are many traditional narratives which are handed down for centuries, from generation to generation, which are but the fabrications of ingenious

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story-tellers[4], who are guided by no higher motives than those of making them exciting and interesting by supplying a large number of exaggerated details. That there did exist, at one time, a vast collection of books in Alexandria, and that the library was destroyed, are, as we have already pointed out, historical facts. The Christian story-tellers might have innocently made capital out of these circumstances and invented a story to blacken the character of their enemies in race and religion. This story may thus have been a Christian invention, handed down for generations among the Christian inhabitants; and Abulpharagius, being a Christian Primate, may have mentioned it as such in his Arabic abstract. But, however this may be, it stands to reason that, under such suspicious circumstances, a stain of this magnitude cannot be allowed to attach itself to any nation on the uncorroborated testimony of an alien in religion who lived six hundred years after the alleged event in Asia Minor, and wrote of Alexandria in an age when religious bigotry always tortured events to the best advantage of its votaries. The improbabilities of the story are also very great, as we shall point out in a future paragraph.

The next authority we shall consider is Haji Khalifa. His words, translated, are as follows:—

> The Arabs, in the early days of Mohammedanism, did not turn their attention to any branch of knowledge except lexicography, revealed law, and medicine. Only this species of learning, on account of its general utility, was cultivated by a few. The reason for this was, as the principles of the faith of Islam and people's beliefs had not become firm and rooted, it was feared that they (the beliefs, &c.) might be shaken by (a cultivation of) the ancient sciences; so much so, that *it is said* that the said people, at the time of their capture of cities, destroyed the books which they found.

This general hearsay statement of Haji Khalifa about the destruction of books at the capture of cities, which is all that in the remotest degree has any reference to the question at issue, used to be construed into evidence in support of the accusation. But when Baron de Sacy pointed out the exact nature of Haji Khalifa's testimony, it was put forward as corroborative evidence. Evidence in order to be corroborative must be direct. Not only is there not the slightest reference to the Alexandrian Library, or, for the matter of that, any library in Egypt, but even the general allegation is prefaced by the introductory phrase '*it is said*,' which removes all responsibility from the writer. This evidence is therefore entirely valueless against the Mussulmans.

[4] The following instance is quoted from Gibbon: 'The Christians, rashly enough, have ascribed to Mohammed a tame pigeon that seemed to descend from heaven and whisper in his ear. As this pretended miracle was brought forward by Grotius (*De veritate religionis Christianæ*), his Arab translator, the learned Pococke, inquired of him the names of his authors, and Grotius was obliged to confess that it was unknown to the Mohammedans themselves. Lest, however, it should provoke their indignation and ridicule, the *pious lie* was suppressed in the Arabic version, but still maintains a conspicuous place in the numerous editions of the Latin text.'

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Next we shall give a true translation of Abdul Lateef's passage, which has been transcribed in his book by Makreezi, who, however, has no independent evidence to offer. It is therefore unnecessary to say anything further of Makreezi. Abdul Lateef, in his history, has a chapter on *The Minaret of Savari*, in which, after describing the minaret around which are said to have existed 400 smaller columns, he adds: 'And it is said that this is one of those columns which supported the roof of the portico of Aristotle, wherefrom Aristotle taught medicine, that in it was located an Academy, as also the Library which Amr Ibn-ul-A'as burnt under the orders of the Caliph Omar.'

Abdul Lateef lived five hundred years after the conquest of Egypt. He was not so much of an historian himself as a compiler. He compiled his history from the earlier works of the earlier writers. If he were indebted to any historian for this description, he would have referred to his authority. That no Arab author before the time of Abdul Lateef mentions the destruction of the Alexandrian Library is convincing proof, not only of the baseless nature of the allegation, but of the fact that Abdul Lateef had no valid authority—indeed, no written authority of any historian, contemporary or subsequent—for making the statement. Nor does Abdul Lateef appear ignorant of this circumstance. The very style in which he has expressed it shows that he only casually mentions a hearsay tradition, to which neither does he attach any importance himself nor expect his readers to attach any.

All the circumstances contained in the above extract are untrue; and this strengthens our opinion that Abdul Lateef gave no credence to it, but, in the manner of historians when inserting popular beliefs and stories, he has prefaced his statement by the irresponsible 'it is said.'

The absence of any mention of this important event in any contemporary work, or in any work for near five centuries after its alleged occurrence, is a strong argument against its truth. If the Library were so vast at the time of the Saracenic conquest as historians have made it appear, and had the Caliph ordered its destruction on the grounds imputed to him, it was only natural that the Moslem historians who have sung the praises of this great conqueror should have made capital out of it, and extolled, with Oriental exaggeration, the Caliph's order as having proceeded from a devout follower of the Prophet, who had once compared Omar to Noah,[5] and have gloried

[5] Sale, in his *Alcoran*, p. 146, note, thus wrote: 'Among the seventy prisoners whom the Moslems took in this battle (Bedr) were al Abbâs, one of Mohammed's uncles, and Okail, the son of Abu Taleb, and brother of Ali; when they were brought before Mohammed, he asking the advice of his companions what should be done with them, Abu Becr was for releasing them on their paying ransom, saying that they were near relations to the Prophet, and God might possibly forgive them on their repentance; but Omar was for striking off their heads, as professed patrons of

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in it. But there is no mention of it whatever in any book on any subject that was composed in any language for five hundred years afterwards.

Before proceeding further, we shall have to consider what position in the world the Arabs occupied from the seventh to the tenth century after Christ, in order to understand clearly the value that should be attached to this negative evidence.

That Mohammed had enjoined religious toleration, especially with regard to the Christians, is evident from a curious document, the authenticity of which may be considered sufficiently guaranteed by the high reputation for piety, integrity, and learning, enjoyed by Richard Pococke, Bishop of Meath, who quotes it in his book called *A Description of the East and other Countries*, vol. i. p. 268, ed. 1743. The document is entitled: 'The patent of Mohammed, which he granted to the monks of Mount Sinai, and to Christians in general.' It is dated the third day of Moharrum, in the second year of the Hegira, and is a promise of toleration and protection to the Christians, to hold good 'until the end of the world'; and further plainly points out that anyone who acts contrary to it 'becomes truly an apostate from God and His Divine apostle.' The document is based upon the express word of God that says: 'Do not molest those who have a veneration for the books that are sent from God; but rather, in a kind manner, give of your good things to them, and converse with them, and hinder everyone from molesting them.' This spirit is evident in the action of the Caliph Omar, who, after his capture of the city of Jerusalem in A.D. 637 (five years before the conquest of Alexandria), made his triumphal entry into the town in the company of the Patriarch Sophronius, conversing with him on the antiquities of that city.

To further prove that toleration was inculcated by their Prophet and practised extensively by his followers, we shall make two extracts.

A Christian writer in *Chambers's Encyclopædia* says: 'One

infidelity. Mohammed did not approve of the latter advice, but observed that Abu Becr resembled Abraham, who interceded for offenders, and that Omar was like Noah, who prayed for the utter extirpation of the wicked antediluvians; and therefore it was agreed to accept a ransom for them and their fellow-captives—soon after which, Omar, going to the Prophet's tent, found him and Abu Becr weeping, and asking them the reason of their tears, Mohammed acquainted him that this verse (Unless a revelation had been previously delivered from GOD, verily a severe punishment had been inflicted on you, for *the ransom* which ye took *from the captives at Bedr*) had been revealed condemning their ill-timed lenity towards their prisoners, and that they had narrowly escaped the Divine vengeance for it, adding that if God had not passed the matter over, they had certainly been destroyed to a man, excepting only Omar and Saad Ebn Moadh, a person of as great severity, and who was also for putting the prisoners to death. Yet did not this crime go absolutely unpunished neither; for in the battle of Ohod the Moslems lost seventy men, equal to the number of prisoners taken at Bedr, which was so ordered by God as a retaliation or atonement for the same.'

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remarkable feature of the Moslem rule in Spain deserves mention, as it contrasts them so favourably with the contemporary and subsequent rulers of that country—and that is their universal toleration in religious matters.'

Godfrey Higgins wrote :—

> Nothing is so common as to hear the Christian priests abuse the religion of Mohammed for its bigotry and intolerance. Wonderful assurance and hypocrisy! Who was it that expelled the Moriscoes from Spain because they would not turn Christians? Who was it that murdered the millions of Mexico and Peru and gave them all away as slaves, because they were not Christians? What a contrast have the Mohammedans exhibited in Greece! For many centuries the Christians have been permitted to live in the peaceable possession of their properties, their religion, their priests, bishops, patriarchs, and churches; and the war between the Greeks and Turks was no more waged on account of religion than was the war between the negroes of Demerara and the English.

The latest instance of Christian intolerance is the persecution of the Jews in Russia at the present day. What a different treatment they received under the Moslems, when, during their rule in Spain, we read of learned Jews occupying high positions at the head of the great Moorish schools and universities!

If the Mussulmans had destroyed the Alexandrian Library, they can only be supposed to have done so from a spirit of religious intolerance. But after the patent above referred to, how could they have destroyed the property of the Christians?—for such the Library must have become when the Christians became the rulers of the country. This raises the presumption that at the time of the Mussulman invasion of Egypt the Library had been shorn of its grandeur, even supposing that a wreck of it did exist. This question we shall discuss further on.

History teaches us that the Arabs had a true aptitude for science, literature, and philosophy, for these found a home with that nation when Europe was steeped in ignorance and barbarism. Three Caliphs, who ruled at Bagdad from the middle of the eighth to the middle of the ninth century of the Christian era, deserve special mention in this connection. They are Jaafer al Mansur, Haroun ar Raschid, and Mamoun ar Raschid. These three Caliphs were great patrons of learning; and, as examples of their spirit, may be related the facts that in the time of Mansur the services of a Christian physician were engaged to instruct his people in the healing art; that Haroun decreed that a school should be attached to every mosque throughout his vast dominions, and placed the schools under the superintendence of John Masue, a Nestorian Christian—facts which go to prove that these Arabs looked upon a man's intellectual fitness, and not his religious principles, as constituting the criterion of his ability to perform the duties entrusted to him. The reign of Mamoun (A.D. 813–833) is regarded as the Augustan age of Arabic learning. In

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his time, his capital, Bagdad, became the recognised seat of learning. Hundreds of ripe scholars, and students eager to learn, flocked to his capital from all parts and nationalities, as they did twelve centuries ago to Alexandria. The Caliph sent out his emissaries to all parts of the then known world to collect ancient manuscripts to his library, and it was not an unusual sight to see, in his days, trains of camels entering Bagdad laden with the literary treasures his emissaries had succeeded in hunting up from the four corners of the world. One of the stipulations of a treaty which Mamoun concluded with Michael the Third, the Greek Emperor, was that one of the libraries of Constantinople was to be given up to him.

Nor were there wanting signs of alarm expressed by orthodox theologians at this indiscriminate patronage of ancient learning. 'It is recorded that a Doctor of Divinity of the period took upon himself to denounce such studies, asserting that the Caliph would assuredly draw down upon himself the vengeance of Heaven for daring to permit the diffusion among the faithful of philosophies and sciences which might unsettle their beliefs.' But the protest fell upon deaf ears. The Caliph not only ordered a measurement of the spherical earth to be made, but caused an Arabic translation to be prepared of Ptolemy's great work on Astronomy. This was completed in 827, the translation being called *Almagest.*

Thus it will be seen that we moderns are greatly indebted to the Arabs for preserving and handing down to us, together with their own researches,[6] the ancient sciences and learning during a period of some centuries, when Europe was sunk in ignorance, so much so that even kings could not sign their names, and priests could hardly read.[7] It will also be evident that the Arabs were not such an ignorant or

[6] Improved preparation of gunpowder; cultivation of silk; weaving of silk; fabrication of finely tempered weapons, as in the famous Toledo blades; preparation of the best kind of leather, still called Morocco and Cordovan; training of the horse, so that the world obtained a variety of that noble animal possessing the highest development of its finest qualities; use of the mariner's compass—these are but a few of the advances in the arts of civilised life which we owe to the Arabs. We must not omit to mention another invention of theirs which has in no slight degree contributed to the diffusion of learning, and that is paper made of fine linen, to take the place of the far more costly parchment.

[7] Draper, in his *History of the Intellectual Development of Europe*, wrote: 'A man might walk through Cordova in a straight line for ten miles by the light of the public lamps; 700 years after this there was not so much as one public lamp in London. The streets of Cordova were solidly paved: in Paris, centuries afterwards, whoever stepped over his threshold on a rainy day, stepped up to the ankles in mud.' Compare the beautiful residences of the Moorish princes of Granada, and the Alhambra Court, with 'the dwellings of contemporary monarchs of France, Germany, and England, which are described as mere hovels, without windows or chimneys, and with mere holes in the roofs for the smoke to escape.'

Everywhere in the extensive dominions of the Arabs, universities, colleges, and schools had been established. Spain alone boasted of seventy public libraries. The Royal Library of Spain contained 600,000 volumes. The library at Cairo contained an immense number of books. Cairo was also the seat of a great medical school.

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illiterate race as to allow such a splendid opportunity to pass unheeded, of recording one of the grandest achievements of iconoclasm the world has ever witnessed (that is to say, supposing the Alexandrian occurrence had its foundation in truth) as a monument for their future glorification.

Next let us turn our attention to the question of probabilities. Even here we find ourselves confronted by numerous obstacles in the way of giving credence to this tradition. As pointed out by historians, this Library during the greater part of seven centuries sustained great damages from fire, war, plunder, and theological bigotry. We shall mention one instance of popular commotion. In the commencement of the fifth century A.D., bitter disputes and deadly feuds existed among the three principal classes that composed the population of that city—Christians, Jews, and Pagans. In A.D. 415 lived the famous Hypatia, a female cultivator of mathematics and astronomy. She was murdered by the Christians at the instigation of their fanatical leader Cyril. This marks the last stage of the Alexandrian school. And yet this was fully two centuries before the Moslems took that city.

Draper, in his *History of the Conflict between Religion and Science* (p. 103), in referring to Abulpharagius's description of the destruction of the Alexandrian Library, wrote:—

> But it must not be supposed that the books which John the labour-lover (Philoponus) coveted were those which constituted the Great Library of the Ptolemies, and that of Eumenes, King of Pergamus. Nearly a thousand years had elapsed since Philadelphus began his collection. Julius Cæsar had burnt more than half; the Patriarchs of Alexandria had not only permitted, but superintended the dispersion of almost all the rest. Orosius expressly states that he saw the empty cases or shelves of the Library twenty years after Theophilus, the uncle of St. Cyril, had procured from the Emperor Theodosius a rescript for its destruction. Even had this noble collection never endured such acts of violence, the mere wear and tear, and perhaps I may add the pilfering of a thousand years, would have diminished it sadly. Though John, as the surname he received indicates, might rejoice in a superfluity of occupation, we may be certain that the care of a library of half a million books would transcend even his well-tried powers; and the cost of preserving and supporting it, that had demanded the ample resources of the Ptolemies and the Cæsars, was beyond the means of a grammarian. Nor is the time required for its combustion or destruction any indication of the extent of the collection. Of all articles of fuel parchment is, perhaps, the most wretched. Paper and papyrus do excellently well as kindling materials, but we may be sure that the bathmen of Alexandria did not resort to parchment so long as they could find anything else, and of parchment a very large portion of these books was composed.

Allotting one volume per diem to each of the four thousand baths of Alexandria, we find that the number of volumes, to last for six months, must have been 728,000! This represents, however, the number that existed in the palmiest days of the Ptolemies. But history proves that this vast collec[illegible]lculable damage for

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centuries. How, then, are we to believe that there was even a remnant of the Library when Amr took Alexandria?

We must also bear in mind that at the time of the Saracenic conquest Alexandria was the second city, in matter of importance, in Christendom. We read that the Saracenic siege lasted for near fourteen months before it was taken. During this period Heraclius, the Byzantine Emperor, helped the beleaguered city by sending reinforcement and provisions from the sea side, which was open to his fleet. Many of the richer citizens also escaped from the city, by sea, with all the worldly effects that they could carry, when they found that their chances of holding out much longer against Saracenic odds were feeble indeed. The emperor could easily have caused the treasures of the Library to be transferred to Constantinople; and probably he did so. Or more probably the books might have been removed two centuries before, when Theodosius the Second established his library in Constantinople; particularly as the majority of that collection was composed of books from Egypt and Asia Minor.

Draper, however, is of opinion that 'there can be little doubt that Omar gave this order;' and in support of this states that 'the Khalif was an illiterate man; his environment was an environment of fanaticism and ignorance.'

That Omar gave such an order is highly improbable. In the first place, the existence of even a wreck of the Alexandrian Library has not been proved. Next we have to bear in mind the patent of protection, granted by the Prophet to the Christians in general. We read of treaties concluded by Jesuiabbas, the Pontiff of the Nestorians, with the Prophet and the Caliph Omar. We have seen that Omar made his triumphal entry into Jerusalem, on its capture in 637, discoursing with the Patriarch Sophronius on the antiquities of that city; which further shows that Omar was not illiterate.[8] It was Omar who first appointed the Hegira, which dates from the 16th of July, A.D. 622. Amr, the general who took Alexandria, was, according to Abulpharagius's own showing, an intelligent and shrewd individual, who delighted in the company of Philoponus. When we remember that Amr had unbounded influence over the Caliph—for it was on his own initiative that he undertook the conquest of Egypt, against the inclination of Omar—it is easy to see that Amr could, and would cer-

[8] The following story of Omar's conversion to Islam further proves that he was not illiterate. It must be remembered that Omar was, before his conversion, one of the most uncompromising, but most generous of the Prophet's enemies. 'Omar had been highly displeased with his sister Ameina for having embraced the new faith, so that finding her one day reading the Koran aloud, he struck her violently, dashing, at the same time, the book on the ground. The maiden, calm and collected, picked up the volume, but still persisted in refusing to give it to her brother, who, now still more exasperated, snatched it from her; but, his eye glancing involuntarily over some of its lines, he was seized with wonder and, conviction succeeding to admiration, he became a Mussulman on the spot.'—Davenport's *Apology for Mohammed and the Koran*, pp. 21–22.

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tainly have pleaded for the preservation of the Library, had it existed. Again, if the Library had really been destroyed by the Moslems, the books of John, the labour-lover, would have been the first to perish; but all his works are extant, and Arabic translations of them exist. None of the biographers of Philoponus, who have studied and admired his productions, mention this incident. Nor can it be urged that Philoponus rewrote his works after the destruction of the Library; for John was already an old man at the time of the Saracenic conquest, and, during the short term of life he enjoyed since, it is impossible that he could have recomposed his numerous and voluminous works—the production of a long lifetime.

The period of the Caliph Omar was not one of ignorance, as will be evident from the following extract. The Prophet and the first four Caliphs belonged to the *Koreish* tribe of the Arabians.

The Koreish tribe were the noblest and most learned of all the Western Arabs; they were also the greatest merchants, and carried on an extensive commerce with every adjacent State; whilst the *Kaaba*, or Square Temple of Mecca, which before the era of Mohammed was solely under their guardianship, drew annually a great concourse of pilgrims from every Arabian tribe and every country where the Sabian religion prevailed. Where many strangers are accustomed to assemble at stated times, politeness and refinement are a natural consequence. Numbers of the pilgrims were people of the first rank, and possessed of all the science peculiar to their country or their age. Great fairs were held during their residence, and a variety of gay amusements filled up the intervals of their religious duties. Of those entertainments, literary compositions held the most distinguished rank; every man of genius considering not his own reputation alone, but even that of his nation or his tribe as interested in his success. Poetry and rhetoric were chiefly cultivated and admired; the first being looked upon as highly ornamental, and the other as a necessary accomplishment in the education of every leading man. An assembly at a place called *Ocadh* had been, in consequence, established about the end of the sixth century, where all were admitted to a rivalship of genius. The merits of their respective productions were impartially determined by the assembly at large; and the most approved of their poems written on silk, in characters of gold, were, with much solemnity, suspended in the temple, as the highest mark of honour which could be conferred on literary men. These poems were called *Moallakat* (suspended) or *Mozahebat* (golden). Seven of them are in many European libraries, being the compositions of *Amralkeis, Tarafa, Zoheir, Lebid, Antara, Amru,*[9] and *Hareth.*[10]

Omar was no fanatic; nor was his period one of fanaticism. The light of religious enthusiasm which the Prophet had kindled burnt on with undimmed brightness during the period of the first four Caliphs. Gibbon wrote: 'The wars of the Mohammedans were sanctified by the Prophet; but, among the various precepts and examples of his life, *the Caliphs selected the lessons of toleration*[11] that might tend to disarm the resistance of the unbelieving.'

[9] The Saracenic general who took Alexandria, and who is supposed to have destroyed the Library under orders from the Caliph Omar. The name is written in Arabic with a *v*, which is silent. It is pronounced Amr.

[10] John Richardson's *Dissertation on Eastern Nations*, prefixed to his Persian, Arabic, and English Dictionary [illegible] and iii.

[11] The italics are ours.

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Omar undoubtedly was a man imbued with a strong sense of what was due to God and his apostle. He was a very severe man. But when the idolaters and polytheists had been extirpated from Arabia—'the temple and patrimony of the God of Mohammed'—the intolerant zeal of the Moslems was converted into the steady and wise policy of allowing the conquered nations to retain their freedom of conscience and religious worship, on payment of tribute. This is what happened in the case of Alexandria. That city had resisted the attempts of the Saracenic besiegers for near fourteen months. Numerous assaults and sallies were made, in one of which Amr, the general of the Moslems, himself was taken prisoner, but he subsequently managed to escape. Twenty-three thousand Saracens were slain. Under such circumstances, it might naturally be expected that the city, immediately after its capture, would be given up to plunder and massacre, had the Saracens been what they are depicted to have been, viz. an intolerant and fanatical people. But no such thing was done. The Saracenic general, in reporting his exploits to the Caliph, gave a glowing account of 'its four thousand palaces, four thousand baths, four hundred theatres, twelve thousand shops for the sale of vegetable food, and forty thousand tributary Jews.' The Caliph ordered that, in addition to a tax of two dinars per head of the population and the usual land tax, a special tribute should be levied, and that the lives and properties of the citizens should be protected. This arrangement by no means savours of fanaticism.

From the foregoing it must be evident to the impartial observer that no blame can possibly attach itself to the Mussulmans over the alleged Alexandrian incident. We would, however, request those who will, notwithstanding, persist in their erroneous belief to practise a little more of that Christian charity which they profess. Them we shall request to read what Godfrey Higgins says—'In all the history of the Caliphs there cannot be shown anything half so infamous as the Inquisition.' Them we shall pray to compare the almost bloodless capture of Jerusalem by the Moslems with its subsequent capture by the Christian Crusaders, whose list of atrocities is thus summed up: 'The brains of young children were dashed against the walls; infants were thrown over the battlements; every woman that could be seized was violated; men were roasted on fires; some men were ripped open to see if they had swallowed gold; the Jews were driven into their synagogue and there burnt; about 70,000 people, men, women, and children, were cruelly butchered.'

The words of M. Jurien are very pregnant: 'The Mahometans, according to the principles of their faith, are required to employ violence to destroy other religions;[12] and yet they tolerate them now,

[12] This, however, is not true. As Gibbon wrote: 'The disciples of Abraham, of Moses, and of Jesus were solemnly invited to accept the more perfect revelation of Mohammed; but, if they preferred the payment of a moderate tribute, they were

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and have done so for many ages. The Christians have no order but to preach and instruct, and yet, time out of mind, they destroy with fire and sword those who are not of their religion.'

It is needless to add anything further. After a plain statement of facts we leave it to the intelligent reader to draw his own conclusions, and to treat with fairness and justice a race that has so long been maligned and misrepresented by the mistaken zeal of religious enthusiasm and miscalled patriotism.

R. VASUDEVA RAU.

Hyderabad, Deccan.

entitled to the freedom of conscience and religious worship. In a field of battle, the forfeit lives of the prisoners were redeemed by the profession of Islamism; the females were bound to embrace the religion of their masters, and a race of sincere proselytes was gradually multiplied by the education of the infant captives.' *Alcoran*, ch. ii. verse 300, commences, 'Let there be no violence in religion.' On this, Sale has the following note: 'This passage was particularly directed to some of Mohammed's first proselytes who, having sons that had been brought up in idolatry or Judaism, would oblige them to embrace Mohammedanism by force.'—Jallalo'ddin.

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A DIALOGUE ON DRESS

Urbane. May I ask, Neæra, what are you studying so intently? Exactly twenty-seven minutes ago you said you were too much tired to do anything but lean back with your eyes shut; but I have observed that they have frequently been open, while a fluttering of the pale green leaves of that pamphlet in your hand has gone on pretty constantly. There must be some cordial in them for ladies' fatigues. What is it?

Neæra. Oh! well, if you *must* know, it's—it's a—a *fashion-book—La Mode d'Aujourd'hui* for June. Nothing you would think the least interesting.

U. I beg your pardon. I consider dress—the fashioning of dress—a deeply interesting subject, and very important.

N. Ah! you are only poking fun at me, of course. Men always laugh at women when they talk and read about dress and the fashions. Of course it is very absurd, and very inconsistent, and very unfair that they should.

U. That who should do what?

N. Why, that men should laugh at women—

U. Gracious Heaven! half the mirth of life would be gone if they did not.

N. How you interrupt!—Should laugh at women for caring about dress, I mean.

U. I don't admit that they do, if by 'laugh' you mean 'mock at' and 'scorn.'

N. I *do* mean mocking and scorning, and giving yourselves absurd little airs of superiority over us, pretending that your squabbles about politics, and chatter about horses and dogs, and hunting and shooting and cricket, are the really important subjects, and that our talking about frocks and bonnets is mere frivolity. And it is very unfair and inconsistent of you; for, in the first place, you really care a great deal, most of you, about your own dress, and pay much attention to it, in a sly, quiet, determined way, of course; and in the next place, though men are pleased to laugh at women for paying attention to dress, they are not at all pleased with their own womankind when they don't. They can't bear their not being well dressed

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and 'up to date' as much as other women. If Phyllis were to come down looking like Miss Tubbs, who addresses the Women's National Liberal Federation, twenty-nine inches round the waist, and in a brown linen 'divided skirt,' you wouldn't like it at all.

U. No, I should not. But never mind Miss Tubbs—she is hardly a woman. She belongs to a species apart—almost as much apart from you fair ladies as a black prickly sea-urchin, or even a patch of grey lichen on a wall. My concern is with you and this huge indictment of yours. It is so voluminous that I am half afraid to begin pleading to it at this time of day. But to deal with a point or two. We men care about our dress, you say. I'm proud to own that we do. We also wish our women-folk to care about theirs. I'm proud to agree again. Where I join issue with you is on your assertion that men make a mock at women for 'talking and reading' about dress—a subject about which, we are agreed, both men and women ought to care. What we—if I may speak for my sex—mock at, is not the choice of the subject, but your method of treating it. The subject is too often treated by you in a shallow, frivolous manner—with no proper regard to the considerations involved.

N. Ah, ah! I knew we should get to 'frivolity' at last, whatever big fences of words you set up to jump over. Now, I know you are longing to set forth to me 'the considerations involved'; and you may—only pray remember that I hate a priggish view of life. It does nobody any good to be preached to, and exhorted to think and do as it's quite impossible they ever should.

U. No profit in high ideals to correct practice? Mayn't women in this sense look to

rise on stepping-stones
Of their dead selves to higher things?

N. It's not likely that women in general will ever rise above caring for their frocks and bonnets.

U. And it is not desirable that they should. We come round to where we were before. What is desirable is, that they should care for them in a better way.

N. Now, then, tell me, why should you say that women take a 'shallow, frivolous view' of dress? all the while hinting that we pay too deep attention to it—that I, for instance, have no business to be occupied with *La Mode d'Aujourd'hui*, but ought to be improving my mind by studying *Social Evolution*, or *Marcella*, or the Report of the Labour Commission.

U. I might answer that one evidence of the shallow, frivolous view is to be seen in the shamefaced, apologetic way in which you treat the subject. There is an uneasy consciousness about you; *parler chiffon* is huddled away *as* a *chiffon* when a masculine interloper approaches. But you will say, of course, that this is due to the instinctive sense of an unsympathetic listener.

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N. Yes, I shall; you are unsympathetic and unappreciative. You wouldn't understand what we say, and yet you would condemn us for saying it.

U. We might not appreciate details, but we can take account of the main drift. It is here I humbly beg your attention. One ground for thinking that women 'take a shallow, frivolous view of dress, with no proper regard to the considerations involved (excuse the priggish phrase), is the nature of the reasons which determine their choice in dress. The first and chiefest of those reasons—as far as a tolerably intelligent outsider can judge—is that a woman should wear what every other woman is wearing. Must you not admit this? What 'is generally worn' determines absolutely what Neæra and Phyllis and Lucasta shall wear.

N. Of course. What could be more absurd, and conceited, and out of all good taste, than to set oneself up as a model against everybody else?

U. Not as a model, except as preserving your own individuality in outward as in inward things, and as having some standard, other than the fleeting fancy of the multitude, of what is beautiful and becoming in costume.

N. Ah! there's the rub. Was it not settled long ago that there is no disputing about tastes? What is beautiful in one person's eyes will be ugly in another's. All that we do, we women whom you despise, is to go with the majority of eyes at present.

U. The very burthen of my complaint. You go with the majority. Its verdict as to 'the fair and fit' is final. You have no ideal to appeal to—by which to try the vagaries of the ignorant and vitiated eye—of the world of dressmakers, and milliners, and fashion-mongers of all trades.

N. After all, they are the people who devote most attention to the subject.

U. Surely many ladies pay quite as much?—only they follow the lead of the dressmakers and milliners when they ought to lead them. They ought to lead them, because they are (presumably) educated persons as compared with their tradespeople, and (presumably) less liable to be led astray in matters of costume by a craving for mere novelty, for mere expense of time, money, and trouble as an end in itself, for mere *startling* of the eye in the colour and cut of clothes. Educated women ought to know that, for everything which appeals to the eye, there is an ideal of the 'fair and fit' which is by no means adequately expressed in terms of the cost in money, time, and trouble involved, or to be satisfied with mere novelty or garishness.

N. I'm afraid I am but partially educated. You must explain yourself, as the caterpillar said.

U. I mean, that for everything we fashion there is a reason in 'the nature of things' for its being fashioned in one way, and not in

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another. Houses must be built with reference to shelter, and convenience, and the beauty of proportion and ornament, and to the nature of the materials of building. Jugs and pitchers must be made with reference to containing and pouring out fluids, and the beauty of proportion and ornament, and to the nature of the materials of which jugs and pitchers can be made. But with houses, and pitchers, and many other things of our fashioning we have (as it were) to make our own standards, governed by these considerations. We have no divinely made standard, to the shaping and colouring of which we can adjust the fashioning of houses and churches, jugs and chairs and tables, and all the furniture of life. Almighty God has never provided us with such. But with regard to the fashioning of dress there *is* a divinely made standard by which to adjust our notions.

N. The 'coats of skins' in Genesis?

U. O flippant sex! ever in bondage to the particular instance I speak of the general law, the standard by which to deal with each particular case. That part of the nature of things to which our dress must be adjusted is, of course——

N. What?

U. What! The human body.

N. Oh dear me! Did it need all this logic, all this reference to first principles and 'considerations involved,' to get to what we all know perfectly well already—that our dress must be made to suit our bodies?

U. *Do* you know it? 'If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.' From observation of your practice, I should have said there is something lacking in your theory—or, rather, that you have no theory at all; that, as I presumed to say before, you have no ideal in dress. If you recognise that the shape and colouring of the human body ought to determine the shape and colour of its costume, how comes it that in the shape of your dress you constantly disguise, nay, destroy its proportions, and in the colour of your dress outrage its colour?

N. How can dress 'destroy the proportions' of one's figure? It can't make a tall woman short or a fat one slim. It may *pad* an angular figure—but to very little purpose, *I* think.

U. Of course, the great majority of our people now are degenerate from the best specimens of the race—owing, I believe, a good deal to unwholesome ways of life, which are by no means confined to the poorer classes. Still, in the most important proportions of the body a fair average approximation to the best specimens is found—and it is constantly ignored in women's dress.

N. What do you mean by 'the best specimens'? Just those people, I suppose, whose looks happen to please your own eye.

U. By no means. There is a general consensus of opinion that the specimens presented to us in the statues of antiquity—a type of

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which, thank God! living examples are still to be found in the world —are the best. Their proportions afford a standard by which to judge beauty of form in man and woman.

N. As if we could all be like Greek statues!

U. Who looks for it? I am speaking of the ideal, and of the general scheme of proportion in that; there is room for much divergence in particulars. But in point of fact, if that classic ideal is widely departed from in the main scheme, even our vitiated modern eye detects and condemns it. For instance, everyone sees it to be a deformity when, in a grown person, a large head is joined to a small body.

N. Of course; that is what you see in dwarfs.

U. It is the great deformity of most dwarfs. If the head is what we call 'in proportion' to the body, we may say 'So-and-so is a pigmy, but not deformed.' And yet in the matter of the proportion of head to body modern dress often offends the ideal grievously. Our women's ways of dressing and *increasing* the hair, and of arranging the covering and ornaments of the head, for the most part greatly overload it; so that most women who are 'in the fashion' are top-heavy.

N. *I* don't see that.

U. No; your eye—your sense of proportion—is vitiated by constant contemplation of bad specimens. There is another proportion which is constantly outraged by modern costume—so constantly, indeed, that with most people the eye is hopelessly debased in the matter.

N. Ah! I know very well what you are at now—and it is one of the subjects on which men's inconsistency is *most* glaring. I will maintain that if a pretty girl were to allow her waist to be 'natural,' according to the preaching of artists and doctors, there would be a general outcry, and strongest from the masculine relations who are always inveighing against the evils of tight-lacing. I don't care what you say, no man really wishes his wife, or his sister, or his daughter to have a waist like a Greek statue. If she had, he certainly wouldn't care to take her to the Park in a pretty frock.

U. Yes, it was to the proportion of waist to shoulders that I alluded. It seems to me there is nothing short of a craze among women on the subject. Their ideal is diseased.

N. Oh! oh!

Lucasta. What has excited Nearra so much? I thought she was to be resting before dressing this evening.

U. I have presumed to say that modern taste in women's dress errs in loving to squeeze and tighten the waist.

N. *I* say that men don't really admire large, clumsy figures. They only say and fancy they do.

U. When you say 'clumsy' you beg the question. It is a question

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of beauty of proportion; and referring that to the standard of the best specimens, as shown us in classic statues, or, say, a Circassian woman to-day, modern taste stands condemned.

L. Should you really say that classic dress can be a model for us now? I cannot think it.

U. I was speaking rather of the human figure as dealt with by modern women's dress than of the dress itself. But I do think—and better judges than I think—the old Greek dress itself a model which you ladies would do well to imitate. And I should have expected Lucasta to be on the side of art, and Nature, and uncommon sense, as against common custom and ignorant whim——

L. Oh! thank you. But, my dear Urbane, men do not, cannot be expected to understand and judge this particular question *au fond.* If you were a woman, you would know, and (what is more) *feel*, that classic Greek dress is wholly unsuited to our climate and our ways of life.

U. Why?

L. Well, in the first place, it would not answer one great purpose of clothing—keeping us warm.

N. To be sure not!

U. Why not, if you choose the proper stuffs?

L. It is too loose and floppy; we want something sitting closer to the body.

U. Well, that something need not be constraining and pinching. If you look at, say, the great Venetian portraits—Giorgione's and Titian's women—you see that close-fitting dress may be beautiful and becoming without the modern wasp waist.

L. Well, I will admit that.

N. *I* only say I am certain that what people admire in a conventional, artistic way, in pictures, they would not tolerate to-day.

U. But it is for you fair ladies to dictate—not for men to tolerate. You don't know your power.

L. I think, Neæra, we must surrender the wasp waist. It is a weak point, and we had better not try to hold it. But some sort of belt or bodice is, I should say, Urbane, essential both for comfort and grace for us—unless one is to sit still all day in a warm room, in the reposeful attitude of Agrippina's statue in the Vatican. For active life in our English climate we should be ill-found in those flowing draperies.

U. Be it so. Let us concede the belt. But let me entreat that, first, it be not a *pinching* one. Next, that it be placed rightly, not shoved down so as to destroy the just proportions of the *height*, as the pinched waist destroys those of the *breadth*, of the figure.

N. Oh! you would carry us back to those absurd 'Empire' styles, with the waist just under the arms.

U. No, I would not. 'Fashion' then, as now, ran into unreasoning

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extremes; and since a preceding generation had placed the waist too low, the perverse dictatress then put it too high. I humbly beg that your belt should be put where the best classic and the best mediæval dress put it—about halfway between the arms and the hips.

L. I have no objection to that.

N. *I* don't think it would suit our frocks—unless, of course, you go in for the regular Empire style.

U. Well, whether placed an inch below or above the ideal girdle, it might be accepted, provided there be no squeezing. *There* should be no compromise. The wasp waist is the ruin of all grace and health. If young people could have some facts in the constitution of the human body well impressed upon them—not merely spread over the surface of the mind—there would be much less, I believe, of this waist-squeezing, and much less admiration of the squeezed waist. It would then give anyone quite 'the cold shivers in and out of my back,' as the old woman said, to see such a waist.

N. Well, all I can say is, I have heard a first-rate doctor defend stays. He was asked by a lady who was running them down with all the usual hygienic—isn't that the word?—hygienic commonplaces of the strong-minded woman, whether all stays weren't utter abominations? And all he said was, 'The human body has a wonderful power of adjusting itself to various conditions.' So there! If we like small waists, and they do no harm, why shouldn't we have them?

U. My contention has been all along that you ought not to like them—that they destroy the true proportions of the body. But, *pace* your doctor, I still say they are bad as well as ugly. Doctors are not all above *respect humain*, else they would have protested to their patients long ago against this folly and vice in dress, and loudly; but they don't protest loudly, because their patients wouldn't stand it. If your doctor was wise and truthful, he must have meant his approval of stays to be limited.

L. I think so, Neæra. And I must own that, as far as my observation goes, a great deal of poor health and deficiency of vigour in women is, even now, caused by tight clothes. I never knew any woman admit that she squeezed; but I know many who can only walk up a gentle hill very slowly—who find it very disagreeable to stoop and hunt for a needle on the floor for a few seconds, and who are unnaturally chilly and ill-nourished, all through the tight constraint of the figure—of what Italians emphatically call *la vita*.

U. I am not at all surprised at what you say from what I, a poor humble male outsider, have noticed. No doubt in this, as in many other cases, the effects of an unhealthy practice are very insidious; they do not proclaim themselves related to it, so that those who follow it literally know not what they do.

L. Exactly; I am convinced that many are the ailments due to this particular practice, but never referred to it.

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U. But what an indictment is this of numbers of women who ought by this time to know better! Why is there not a League of Sensible Mothers, a Protest of Mistresses of High Schools against this pernicious habit? It is vastly more important that it should be put down than that young women should construe Greek or wrangle in mathematics.

L. I should say there is a real improvement among educated women of late years in the view taken of dress in general, and of this practice in particular. It is one of the gains we owe to their better education. But, no doubt, admiration of an unnaturally small waist is still only too common.

N. Some girls have naturally small waists.

L. Certainly; and a *naturally* slim figure is a beautiful thing, for it is unconstrained. It is the unnatural squeezing that should be protested against. But I would suggest to Urbane that they who protest against unwholesome and ungraceful dress would have more chance of being attended to if they would have more regard to our present conditions and ways of life.

U. I perpend.

L. For instance, when you advocate Greek dress, you lose sight of another objection, or rather defect, in it for our requirements. It leaves the neck too bare.

U. I should have said that that is one of its great merits. The spring of the neck from the shoulders is one of the characteristic beauties of the human figure—a beauty which the old Greek dress displayed.

L. Yes, and the old Greek dress was, no doubt, suited to the old Greek life and to the climate where it was lived. But it would not suit our ways and our climate to have the neck bare all day and all the year.

U. Surely it is very much a matter of habit, which may be altered. I have heard my mother say that in her youth the collar of a woman's gown was arranged to show the collar-bones of the wearer, even in morning costume. I don't know that there were any more colds or sore throats then than now.

L. I suspect there were more among women. And it is pretty certain, I believe, that the craze for 'classical' dress in our grandmothers' days, during which women went about, *décolletées* and bare-armed, in flimsy clothes and wintry weather, resulted in a great increase of lung and throat ailments.

U. On the other hand, I have been told that doctors strongly disapprove the muffling up the throat with 'boas' and fur tippets, now so much in vogue.

L. True. But does not our argument, as usual, tend to recommend the just medium which is always the safest way? Let there be neither excess nor deficiency in the amount of clothing worn.

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U. Everyone would allow that; but they would differ as to where excess and deficiency begin. However, I would concede that present habits of life, at all events, necessitate more covering of the neck in the day dress of women than the old Greek dress gave. But I should beg that neither the collar nor its adornments disguise the spring of the neck. A collar of moderate height, not *encumbered* with frill or ornament, should satisfy everybody.

L. That is reasonable.

U. May I say that Lucasta is so? And perhaps together we may persuade my fair opponent here to be so too.

N. Everyone, of course, thinks their own the reasonable view.

U. At the risk of being denounced anew for priggery, I submit that my endeavour throughout this discussion has been to put the ideal of the 'fair and fit' in the dress of the fair on a reasonable and permanent basis, instead of the shifting sand of passing and ignorant caprice. The reasonable and permanent basis is the adaptation of your dress, first, to the life and beauty of the human body, and, next, to the nature of the materials of clothing.

N. Reasonable *and permanent*! So! we are always to be tied to the same fashions. That is *so* like a man to propose.

U. If I were bold and rude enough, I might say that it is *so* like a woman *so* to rush to a conclusion. I merely meant that there are certain canons, certain principles, not to be departed from in the ordering of dress, which I endeavoured to point out; while, so long as these are maintained, great variety of detail may be allowed, and even sought. Change and variety afford legitimate pleasure, in this as in other matters.

N. Well, I am glad we are not to be shut up to perpetual repetition of the same dress. That would be *too* dull and dreary. But as to your canons, as you call them—would they, for instance, forbid the full *bouffant* sleeves we wear now?

U. There is no objection, I should say, to fulness of drapery, provided it be not such as to disguise the proportions or impede the action of the body. Apart from that, you may vary the fulness according to taste—though taste is, perhaps, apt to err more on the side of redundancy than scantiness at present. But there is one abuse that must be absolutely forbidden.

N. } Well?
L. }

U. I'm afraid it is a hard doctrine; but please give it consideration. There must be no artificial stiffening or sticking out of drapery—of the folds or 'puffs' of your dress. Any stuff of which it is made ought to be allowed to hang in its own folds, or to 'puff' just as much as its own texture allows; and all artificial supports of drapery—the 'hoops' of past ages, the crinoline of a more recent day, and all the pads and wires and buckram of all time—are false and bad

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in taste; they offend not only against our first, but against our second canon—that dress ought to be adapted to the nature of its materials.

N. But there are some materials—slight 'art' silks, for instance—which *won't* stand out of themselves; they *will* fall flat unless they are supported.

U. That only shows that they are not suitable for a particular style of *bouffant* drapery. Use them where they are appropriate.

N. They would always look forlorn and dowdy.

U. Only to the eye habituated to a bad standard.

N. A bad standard! That is the burden of your song. And how may we poor folk 'habituate ourselves' to a better?

U. The great desideratum is to regain in this matter of dress what Ruskin calls 'the unity of the eye,' in speaking of the power of seeing a colour as it is, apart from previous associations. 'Very few people,' Ruskin says, 'know that sunlit grass is yellow.' They are used to think of grass as green, and it is always called so; so that an effort of mind is needed for them to realise that grass in sunshine becomes a kind of sulphurous yellow, and that a painter must put such a colour on his brush to paint it. Just so an effort of mind on your part is needed to see the dress-fashions of the day as they really are—there is so strong a prepossession in their favour, as being in themselves a law for taste, allowing of no appeal to any other standard. But a very simple way of testing your notions is to get an illustrated history of costume, or even an old scrapbook of 'fashions,' and compare one epoch of dress with another.

N. Oh yes, my aunt has just such a funny old book here; do you know, it goes back to 1724! I've often looked at it.

U. Well, pray look at it again. You will find yourself condemning one fashion as 'ugly,' another as 'preposterous'—while of others you will say, 'that is pretty,' and 'that is graceful.' Ask yourself why?

L. I'm afraid that our approval and disapproval will very often be dictated by the resemblance, or the reverse, of past fashions to present.

U. To some extent, very likely. Still, I have confidence that the ideals of freedom and grace are not 'all *utterly* decayed' in the feminine mind. And I would plead for the strengthening of those ideals in young people, by a constant and careful education of the eye. Many parents believe themselves to be providing the best 'culture' for their children who never give a thought to this branch of it. But though all young people can't be taken to see the best statues and pictures, none, in these days of photographs and autotypes, ought to be without intelligent acquaintance with the types of beauty and grace which the great works of sculpture and painting present. The youthful idea should be *trempé*, saturated with these, and then

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there would be no danger of anyone's taste being led astray by such a monstrous figure as I see depicted on the frontispiece of that pamphlet you have in your hand.

N. Poor 'pamphlet'! it has been well torn to pieces. We have almost talked ourselves hoarse on this dress question.

U. Well, we have done rightly; for if the outward aspects of life be worth attention, surely the investiture of the human form divine must be pre-eminently so.

N. So, then, I shall dress for dinner with an illumined mind. Come, Lucasta.

THEO. CHAPMAN.

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A SCOTTISH VENDETTA

You may throw open your bedroom window, and if you are so material as to indulge in a morning cup of tea, you can fling the biscuit which accompanies it two hundred feet down into the blue sea, for it flows round three sides of the rock on which this fairy castle stands. It is a modern one, having been built some hundred and twenty years ago by one Adam of whom we wot, whose genius, it must be confessed, lay rather in classical or Palladian piles than in this mimic Gothic. Yet is Culzean Castle an impressive mass of masonry, in spite of the many large rectangular windows, and has been invested with a military character by a former Lord of Ailsa, who, impressed with the imminence of foreign invasion, set about creating bastions and earthworks on a formidable scale. The entrance hall reminds one of the armoury of the Tower of London; a thousand stand of arms, of an archaic type it is true, but carefully oiled and burnished, garnish its walls; brass carronades defend the circular staircase, and outside, on the terraces, pieces of heavier calibre grin defiance across the Firth. It is said that the designer of these defences, the first Marquis, took grave umbrage at a relative in the Navy who offered to wager that he would capture the castle on any given night with a dozen gamekeepers armed with dog-whips.

Nevertheless Culzean (you must pronounce it Cullàne, please, with the stress on the last syllable) was well placed as a stronghold in the days when artillery was more remarkable for terrific nomenclature than for strength or precision in shooting.

The castle stands on a bold headland of the coast of Ayrshire; its walls are built to the very verge of a precipitous crag, and the waves roll in on three sides of it. The landward access is interrupted by a deep ravine, across which the roadway is carried level on a causeway of masonry, while the chasm itself is formed into terraces and flower gardens.

From the windows there is a noble prospect seaward. The long line of Cantyre bounds the western horizon; on the north the fantastic outline of Arran, with many cusps and crests, ends abruptly in the beehive mound of Lamlash; and towards the south, beyond where Turnberry lighthouse rears its warning finger within the

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enceinte of one of Robert the Bruce's castles, the granite dome of Ailsa heaves itself in mid-channel, interrupting the fainter blue contour of the coast of Ulster. And lest one should weary of vacancy in the middle distance, there is the never-ending procession of ships, outward or homeward bound, which the great Sidon of the north, Glasgow, and the lesser ports of the Clyde attract to these waters; the gannets for ever wheel and plunge, and the sea-parrots and razor-bills hurry along the wave-tops in little dark-clad companies.

One may turn from the rampart of the wild coast, and, passing a couple of hundred yards inland, find himself among great trees; for, by a peculiar ground contour, the park is sheltered from Atlantic gales, and hardly anywhere else can such fine timber be found so near an exposed seaboard. Silver firs, with a girth of fifteen feet at five feet from the ground, run up to a height of one hundred and twenty feet—a long start over some of the newer Californian species, which, however, are making a good stern chase of it—while oak and beech and other deciduous trees furnish greenwood glades like those of Berkshire, yet within sound of the thunder of the tide.

The terraces are rich with those flowers and shrubs which revel in the moist warmth of the west coast, and the walls are thickly clothed with myrtles, camellia, lemon-verbena, fuchsia and escallonia—a garniture not more strangely in contrast with the warlike armament of the place than social life of this day is at variance with the times recalled by the name of Kennedy in the south-west of Scotland. For this castle of Culzean, at one time but the tower of a scion of that family, has been for two centuries the principal seat of a race whose sway was at one time far more dreaded in Carrick and Western Galloway than that of the monarch himself. One has only to turn to the records of the Kennedys, Lords of Cassilis, to realise through what troubles the people of Scotland have passed to present security.

The family of Kennedy, like many other great Scottish houses, first came into prominence when Robert Bruce established himself on the throne and rewarded with broad lands and feudal rank those who had been faithful to his cause; but, unlike most of these, the Kennedys were not of Norman descent, but of Celtic blood, descendants of the Pictish or Scottish Cinaedh. Nevertheless, this honourable outset might not have availed to preserve a heritage to the name, for royal favour of old was as fickle as popular applause nowadays, and there is to be observed this difference in the loss of the two—beaten in a general election, a Minister may amuse himself unmolested in private life by the study of anything, from Homer to hymenoptera; but the monarch's displeasure was generally the passport to a dungeon and the heading hill, accompanied by forfeiture of titles and land. The ban lay upon the children to the third and fourth generation.

The age of the early Jameses was one that witnessed the reversal

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of many a fair fortune, but Dan Cupid came timeously to the aid of the Kennedys. To the second Lord Kennedy his wife bore a beautiful daughter, Janet, who was to have a notable influence on the history of her time. She was betrothed to Archibald 'Bell-the-Cat,' Earl of Angus, to trifle with whom required a cool head and a stout heart. The girl seems to have been wanting in neither; for, although matters went so far that Angus, in terms of great affection, actually made over to her the lands of Braidwood and Crawford-Lindsay, she continued to receive the addresses of that flower of chivalry King James the Fourth, and became his mistress. He was, it will be remembered, an exceedingly devout individual, and in his minutely detailed personal accounts articles for the use of 'the lady,' as the fair Janet is decorously called, appear side by side with expenses on pilgrimages to St. Ninian's shrine and other religious exercises, as well as those incurred at golf and 'the tables.'

She bore a son to the King; thus in 1501–2 is noted in the accounts:—

> *Item.*—ye xx day of December for viii elne small quhit (white) to be blancatis and wylycottis (petticoats) to ye barne (child) in Doun, ilk elne ii*s.* viii*d.*, summa xxii*s.* viii*d.*

The child thus born in Doun Castle became James, Earl of Moray, and his mother was splendidly endowed by her royal paramour with the lands and castle of Darnaway. The ethics of this transaction will not bear very close analysis, perhaps, but here comes the least creditable part of it. The King quietly annexed the lands of Crawford-Lindsay, the gift of 'Bell-the-Cat' to his betrothed, on the plea that they had been conveyed without the royal license, and when that proud peer presumed to claim the hand of his bride he was promptly clapped into prison in Dumbarton Castle. That, at least, is the only reason that can be surmised for his sudden imprisonment at this time.

Now the bearing of all this on the fortunes of the house of Kennedy is not difficult to trace. David, the brother of Janet, was created first Earl of Cassilis, and, like almost every other man of note in Scotland, fell with his King on Flodden Field.

Even misfortunes seem to serve the interests of fortune's favourites. In 1527, Gilbert, the second earl, was waylaid on the sands of Prestwick and slain by Hugh Campbell of Loudoun, Sheriff of Ayr. In atonement for this murder Campbell's lands were forfeited and bestowed upon Gilbert, the third earl: thus extending and strengthening the influence of a family already very powerful.

But it was in the person of Gilbert, the fourth earl, that the power of this puissant house culminated. The extent of his lands and fiefs was succinctly described in a popular rhyme of the day.

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'Twixt Wigtoun and the toun o' Ayr
Portpatrick and the Cruives o' Cree,
Nae man need think for to byde there
Unless he ride wi' Kennedy.'

He was a trusted councillor of Mary Queen of Scots, and was present with her at the battle of Langsyde.

There are preserved in the Culzean charter-room many interesting letters to him from the Queen, written by an amanuensis, but signed by herself, and sometimes an autograph postscript was added. It is rather interesting to note how much more fluently the Queen wrote in French than in English; indeed, her spelling in the latter language exceeds even the liberal latitude of orthography in the sixteenth century.

Ze schal be asuried (she wrote in 1568) that I schal be as kerful off zour weil and of zour hous as zou shal wuische mi, as ze shal hir by zour awn man wuam tu I hef spokne my mynd.

And again in the same year:

ie vous prie en labsance de mi lord boyd, que ie retiens pour vn temps pour mon seruise, suporter et meintenir son fils & serviteurs en leur actions. Mi lord heris (Herries) vous informera de lestat de mes affayres; ie vous pri aussi vser de son bon conseil comme celui qui scet lestast des choses issi.

But this 'richt gud cusigne and trustye frind,' as Mary was wont to call him, sometimes played a *rôle* less amiable than the champion of beauty in distress, and of the extraordinary proceedings in which he bore a leading part a minute chronicle by a contemporary but anonymous writer has been preserved.[1] It was carefully edited and printed by Mr. Robert Pitcairn, who says that at one time he believed it to have been the work of Mure of Auchendrayne when confined in the Tolbooth of Edinburgh, awaiting his trial for the series of atrocious crimes which Sir Walter Scott embodied in 'Auchendrane, or the Ayrshire Tragedy.' Certain it is that this narrative was composed by one who took an active and interested part in the events described; that he is able, or professes to be able, to repeat what was said in most secret conferences, and that the manuscript comes to an abrupt end at the very time when the Mures were arraigned on the charge of murder. It is known that Mure, unlike most Scottish lairds of that day, was an accomplished scholar, having composed a history of Scotland, which remains in manuscript in the Advocates' Library, Edinburgh, but it might be supposed that, were he indeed the author of the *Historie of the Keneddyis*, he had drawn on his imagination for the details of almost incredible violence which marked the course of family feuds in Ayrshire three hundred years ago. There is, however, ample confirmation to be found in the Records of the Court of

[1] *Historie of the Kennedyis*, with notes &c., by Robert Pitcairn, Edinburgh, 1830.

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Justiciary, and the interest of this vivid though anonymous history consists in the fact that it was written by an eye-witness of the closing scenes of feudalism in Scotland, and, if Mure was the real author, by one who was blood-stained more deeply than any of his fellows.

The first letting-out of waters seems to have been the treatment by this Gilbert, Earl of Cassilis, of Allan Stewart, Commendator of the Abbey of Crossraguel. The office of Commendator was created on the secularisation of Church property at the Scottish Reformation, and was held by a layman appointed by the Crown. Cassilis obtained this appointment from his uncle, Quentin Kennedy, the last Abbot of Crossraguel; but this was not confirmed by the King, who appointed Stewart commendator. Cassilis, whom men called the King of Carrick, was not of the temper to brook this sort of thing. 'He was,' runs the *Historie*,

ane particuler manne, and ane werry greidy manne, and cairitt nocht how he gatt land, sa that he culd cum be the samein, and thinking himself gritter than ony king in these quarteris, determined to have the whole benifice.

So, having first tried soft means to obtain from Stewart the surrender of the Abbey lands, and failed, he had recourse to cruelty of a blood-curdling sort.

To read the story aright, with all its horrible reality, one should follow the unhappy Commendator's own words, as set forth in his supplication to the Privy Council; but it is lengthy, and the gist of it is that the Earl carried his victim to the 'black vault' in Dunure, one of his many castles, and there caused the cook, the pantryman, and one Sir Thomas Tode, who, it is shrewdly suspected, was none other than his domestic chaplain, to strip Stewart, tie him to a spit, and deliberately roast him into compliance before a huge fire. Richard Bannatyne, in his *Memoriales*, gives a vivid description of the scene:

And that the rost suld not burne, but that it might rost in soppe, they spared not flambing with oyle (Lord luik thou to sic crueltie!). . . . In that torment they held the poore man, whill that oftymes he cryed, for Godis saik to dispatche him; for he had alameikle gold in his awin purse as wald bye poulder (gunpowder) aneugh to schorten his paine.

At last, in sheer agony, Stewart consented to sign the renunciation of the lands. This took place on the 1st of September, 1570. Apparently Cassilis found a flaw in the conveyance, for on the 7th of the same month he brought another paper for signature by the miserable Commendator, who boldly replied that he would rather die than obey. On this the ferocious monster ordered the fire to be rekindled and the torture repeated.

'Then,' runs Stewart's supplication,

Being in so grit paine, as I truste never man was in. . . . I cried, 'Fye vpon you! will ye ding whingaris (drive swords) in me and put me out of this world? or elis put a barrell of poulder vnder me, rather nor to be demaned (treated) in this

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vnmercifull maner?' The said Erle, hearing me cry, bade his servant Alexander Ritchard put ane serviat (napkin) in my throat, which he obeyed . . . wha then seing that I was in danger of my life, my flesch consumed and brunt to the bones, and that I wald not condescend to thair purpose, I was releivit of that paine: whairthrow I will never be able nor weill in my lifetime.

The Privy Council could not refuse to administer justice in such a heinous case, even against such a powerful subject as Cassilis, and he was punished by being ordered to find security for 2,000*l.* Scots (about 100*l.* sterling) to keep the peace towards the half-roasted Commendator, who, as the chronicler testifies, 'was ewer theirafter onabill of his leggis.' They would have been more than mortal 'leggis' had it been otherwise.

Thus the criminal may be held to have got off cheap; but there was retribution in store, though not for himself (for he died five years later, before events had developed themselves), but for his posterity, who were to see their great house rent by faction and deprived of its despotic sway. Certain powerful lairds of the clan and name of Kennedy were disgusted with their chief's brutality in this affair; for the Reformation was at work in the land, and men had begun to feel squeamish about senseless cruelty. Kennedy, laird of Bargany, espoused the Commendator's cause, stormed the house of Dunure, and bore off Stewart, 'brunt as he was,' to Ayr. Thereupon broke out a feud between the two branches of the Kennedys, so bloody and so long-continued as if the whole fury of expiring feudalism had concentrated itself in this corner of Scotland. How near it is brought to these our times by the observation that the Laird of Bargany's 'neise was laich (nose flattened) be ane straik of ane goiff ball on the hills of Air in reklesnes.' They were strong drivers, it would seem, the golfers of Queen Mary's reign, to break a man's nose with a ball made not, like modern ones, of hardened gutta-percha, but of feathers pressed into a leathern covering.

Bargany had such a strong force of his own in Carrick, besides contingents of his friends from Kyle and Cuningham, that he was able to bid defiance to his chief, and eventually the Earl, who was probably thoroughly ashamed of himself, consented to allow the Commendator a handsome pension for life. The chronicler makes use of a curiously modern bit of slang in bringing his account of this transaction to a close. 'And this way,' he says, 'wes my Lordis conqueise of Corsragall; *quhilk wes bot ane bad forme.*'

The King of Carrick came to a violent death not long after this peace had been patched up, for in riding to Edinburgh his horse fell, and he died of his injuries. He left Lord Glamis, Lord Chancellor of Scotland, as tutor or guardian to his son and heir, the fifth earl; and herein was matter for rekindling the flames of feud, which were presently roaring more fiercely than ever. For the uncle of the young earl, Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean, brother of the late 'King of

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Carrick,' took grievous offence at not being appointed guardian. There was, indeed, good cause why he should not be chosen for that trust, because some years before he had brought a company under cloud of night and fusilladed the house of Dunure, intending that this was an assault by the Laird of Carse, with whom the Earl was at feud. Cassilis, however, was duly informed how it was his own brother who had done this, and also how the benevolent intention was to cause his Countess, at that time *enceinte*, to miscarry, in order, of course, to secure the succession to Sir Thomas.

Lord Glamis found his office of guardian no sinecure, for, on arriving in Ayrshire to take up his duties, he found the Lairds of Culzean and Bargany in arms against him. Thereafter, having to attend a convention of peers at Stirling, Lord Glamis was slain by the Earl of Crawford's men, the shot, it was alleged, coming from the Laird of Bargany's stair. This cleared the path for Sir Thomas, the Laird of Culzean, who immediately assumed authority over the ward.

There are so many side currents of feud, involving slaughter and raids between Kennedys, Crawfords of Carse, Gordons of Lochinvar, Macdowalls of Garthland, and other families, that it is difficult to keep to the main conflict which, arising from a dispute about land, now broke out between the Lairds of Bargany and Culzean. In order to obtain a clear impression of the state of parties in 1596, it is necessary to marshal the chief combatants on paper as on more than one occasion they met on the field of battle.

The Earl's side	*The Master's side*
John, fifth Earl of Cassilis.	Hew, Master of Cassilis (the Earl's brother).
Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean.	Kennedy, Laird of Bargany.
Baird, Laird of Pilquhenzie.	Thomas Kennedy of Drummurchie (Bargany's brother).
Cuningham, Laird of Pochquharne.	Kennedy, Laird of Gervanmains.
McIwean, Laird of Gremmat.	Kennedy, Laird of Blairquhan.
	Kennedy, Laird of Bennan.
	Kennedy, Laird of Knockdaw.
	Mure, Laird of Cloncaird.
	Mure, Laird of Auchendrayne.
	Stewart, Lord Ochiltree.
	Stewart, Laird of Dunduff.
	Cathcart, Laird of Carleton.

The old Laird of Bargany died just as the war was breaking out. He was a fine old Scottish cavalier, and 'had ewer in his houshald xxiiij galland gentilmenne, doubill horssitt and gallantly cled with sik ane repair (so many guests) to his house that it was ane wonder quhair the samin wes gottin that he spendit.' His mantle fell upon a fine young man, his son, who entered upon the feud with spirit.

On New Year's Day, 1597, Mure of Auchendrayne and Stewart of

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Dunduff led their followers to attack Culzean as he was leaving Sir Thomas Nesbitt's house, where he had supped. Culzean escaped, the 'nycht being mirk,' and prosecuted his assailants before the Council. Mure and Stewart were declared outlaws, and Culzean, getting possession of Auchendrayne tower, dismantled it. Fresh fuel to the fire! for Mure and Stewart had henceforward but one object—to compass the death of Culzean.

Affairs were getting so serious in Ayrshire that King James summoned the Earl of Cassilis and the Laird of Bargany to his presence and

gart thame schaik handis; and also the laird of Colzeone in sum missour: bot not with thair hairttis, because thair particular wes not sett doun at the agreanse.

This ceremony was without the slightest effect, as was straightway seen. The Earl of Cassilis, at the request of Culzean, had let a farm to one McEwen, which farm the Master of Cassilis had previously promised to his foster-brother, Patrick Richard. The Master sends over to the farm and tells the new tenant to clear out, which he, being 'ane prowd cairll,' flatly refuses to do, on which the Master sets out and slays him with his own hand. The Earl was not in a posture to avenge this outrage at the moment, being closely besieged in his house of Inch in Wigtonshire by his Galloway vassals, with whom he had fallen at grave issue. Moreover, bitter as was young Bargany's personal feud with the Earl, he was not going to sit idle while his chief was beset by a parcel of Galloway lairds. He led his men to the rescue, and by skilful diplomacy, backed by a display of force, induced the gentlemen of Galloway to raise the siege. The Earl was eloquently grateful, and profuse in promises of the favours he intended to shower upon Bargany when he got back to Ayrshire. Matters having been amicably arranged,

my Lord drew on his bwittis (boots) and raid with the Laird to Ardstinchar, being convoyit be the Galloway menne to Glenapp, quhair the Laird of Barganyis frendis and seruandis mett him.

He was hospitably entertained that night by Bargany in his house of Ardstinchar; but ten or twelve days after, when the Laird called on him to fulfil some of his promises, 'me Lord,' being under the influence of Culzean, 'geff na ansuer, bot lat the samin pass ouer with sylense.'

And so ended this strange and brief armistice, and the Laird of Bargany set about equipping and drilling his forces. It was harvest-time, and the Earl and the Laird both claimed the teinds—that is, the tithe crop—on the lands of Girvanmains. Bargany was first on the ground, with no fewer than seven hundred horsemen (including one hundred of Lord Ochiltree's) and two hundred musketeers. Cassilis arrived soon after, with nearly a thousand men; but, finding his adversary strongly posted, declined battle.

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He must have been *preux chevalier*, this lawless Laird of Bargany, and the chronicler waxes enthusiastic in describing him:

> He was the brawest manne that was to be gottin in ony land; of hiche statour and weill maid; his hair blak, bott of ane cumlie face; the brawest horsmanne and the ebest (champion) of mony at all pastymis, for he was feirse and feirry (sturdy) and winder nembill.

All these fine qualities did not prevent him engaging in a detestable plot with the Laird of Blairquhan to take Culzean's life, for whom they laid an ambush in Glentressock to intercept him on a journey to Galloway. Auchendrayne, however, who was in Bargany's confidence, warned Culzean of what was in store for him, and Culzean sent forward his squire, Lancelot, to spring the ambush. Lancelot was taken prisoner, and Culzean appealing for protection to the king, the misdemeanants were sent for, and the old farce was repeated: 'the King gart thaim drink togidder and schaik handis.'

Matters might have gone on simmering for a long time but for Bargany's listening to the Laird of Blairquhan's evil counsel. It happened on a day that Lady Bargany and her sister were riding, with a small following, into Ayr. The Earl spied the party, and, recognising their white-and-red liveries, sent a clump of twenty spears to reconnoitre them. Bargany himself not being there, the party was suffered to proceed unmolested. The incident was not lost on Blairquhan, who hied to Bargany, and, assuring him that it had been the Earl's intention to have his life, finished by taunting him with cowardice in not giving him, Blairquhan, leave to put an end to the trouble at once. 'How could you do that?' asked Bargany. 'To-morrow,' whispered the tempter, 'he is to ride to Maybole from Craigneill, and on his return we may all do as we please.' 'Even as you please,' quoth Bargany, shrugging his shoulders and turning away from his kinsman.

Blairquhan was not slow to act on the permission. An ambuscade was prepared by the way-side, and holes were cut in the hedge 'to schutt me Lord in the by-ganging.' But even as the ambush laid for Culzean had miscarried, so did this one, by timely warning conveyed to the intended victim.

The time had come for Cassilis to act in earnest, for it was clear that the same country would not contain him and his kinsman, Bargany. One snowy morning in December 1601, Bargany having been for some days in Ayr on business, with a small following of a dozen spears, the Earl determined to attack him on his return, and to that end assembled a body of 200 horse and pike-men, with 20 musketeers, at Maybole. Auchendrayne, who seems to have been constantly in the confidence of both parties, galloped to Ayr and warned Bargany of what was in store for him. He begged him to remain in the town, 'for,' said he, 'your friends are not with you, and you have to do with men this day. I take God to witness, that

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if you ride forward, I have no will for this day's work, for I see not the men who will do your turn.'

The gallant young Laird (he was but five-and-twenty years of age) laughed scornfully, and persisted in setting out, having first, however, collected reinforcements among his adherents in Ayr. Halting the party on the Brig of Doun, he addressed them thus: 'Sirs, I am here to protest before God that I seek not the blood of my Lord, nor his dishonour in any sort. I shall ride home to my own house, if he will let me; but if he molest me, I trust you will all do your duties, as behoves men. He that is unwilling to do this for love and kindness to me, let him declare that he will see me through it, or turn back at once.' They all declared their readiness to die in his defence, and the troop moved on in two companies, one led by Bargany, the other by Cathcart, the young Laird of Carleton. It was a severe storm; the snow was falling so fast that 'nane cud seine the lenthe of ane lanse befoir him.' But as they neared Maybole the sky lightened a little, and they beheld the enemy, a dark mass against the white ground, defiling out of the town gate and drawing up across the road before the Lady Cross.

The men of Ayr deployed, and began blowing their matches, but Bargany would not allow them to begin the fight. 'I will nocht persew me Lord,' said he, 'bot I will eschew all cummer, alse far as I may.' In order to 'eschew cummer' it behoved him to leave the highway, and this he did, seeking to make his way home through some boggy meadows, without entering the town of Maybole. Lord Cassilis gave the word to his men to attack Bargany's force in flank: his musketeers and mounted hackbut-men dashed down the hill, lined the turf dykes, and opened fire. Bargany rode foremost, with six other gentlemen, but in crossing a stream Knockdaw's horse was shot under him, the bridle was shot out of the hand of Bargany's brother, Drummurchie, who fell, dislocating his shoulder. Three other lairds and a page, Edward Irving, rode on with Bargany, but the men of Ayr turned and fled.

'Good God!' exclaimed Bargany, 'we are too few;' and, drawing rein, these five turned and charged the Earl's cavalry, lances in rest, 'in sik sortt as the young Laird of Grinak (Gremmat) was strukin throw the chin, and he and horse baith strukin to the eird (earth), and Row Cuninghame, Pochquhairnis broder, was strukin in at the knie with ane lanse and out at the buttok.' Cassilis' Master of the Household was killed outright.

Bargany was frightfully outnumbered. His page had been killed, Auchendrayne lay grievously wounded in the snow, two others of his five followers were unhorsed, yet he fought on, crying, 'Where is my Lord himself? Let him keep his promise and break a tree with me.' They were his last words; for while he was engaged with two spearmen in front, a third, 'ane fellow callitt Johne Dik,' thrust a lance into his throat, severing the windpipe.

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They carried this gallant young gentleman to a barn hard by, to which the Earl rode up intending, it is said, to finish him; but those with him persuaded him to let him die of his wound, or, if he recovered, to put him judicially to death, he (Cassilis) being Judge-Ordinary of the County. Bargany lived some days: his wound was so swelled with the frost that the true nature of it could not be ascertained till he was taken to Ayr, where, aided by the chirurgery of 'Doctour Low,' he breathed his last. It is clear that Cassilis was the assailant in this fray, and that Bargany tried to avoid the encounter: nevertheless the Earl can hardly be blamed if, according to all the rules of warfare, he chose his own time to attack a hostile force threatening his territory. Anyhow, he escaped punishment on the plea that he was doing the King service, seeing that Thomas Kennedy, who rode with his brother, Bargany, on that fatal day, was an outlaw at the time. It might have followed that, his principal enemy being laid low, the Earl might have resumed peaceful sway over his dominions, had not a deadly quarrel ensued between him and his lieutenant, Sir Thomas of Culzean, about an appointment made by the former to the Provostship of Maybole College. Sir Thomas was assured by the omnipresent Auchendrayne that he went in danger of his life, at least so says our anonymous chronicler; but if the authorship of the *Historie* be justly suspected to be Auchendrayne's own, then, as will be seen, there is good reason to doubt this statement.

Howbeit, what was subsequently established on oath is this: that on the 11th of May, 1602, Culzean sent his squire, Lancelot, to find Auchendrayne in Maybole, inform him that he, Culzean, was to set out for Edinburgh next day, and desire him to meet him for a conference at the Duppil near Ayr, as he should pass that way. Mure had left Maybole before Lancelot's arrival, so Lancelot got the schoolmaster to embody the message in a letter, which was sent to Mure at his own house of Auchendrayne, distant some six or seven miles, by the hand of 'ane puir schollar, quha beggit his leirning, callit William Dalrumpill.' The lad returned with the letter, and declared that Mure was away from home. The importance of getting at the true history of this letter will be seen hereafter; meanwhile we may accept the chronicler's statement of what preceded the events of the 12th of May. Culzean had sent word to Hew Kennedy of Chapel to meet him at Auchendrayne, which lies on the high road to Edinburgh, about four miles south of Ayr. This Hew acquainted Mure of Cloncaird and Thomas Wallace, sworn foes of Culzean, of Culzean's coming, and they sent for Drummurchie. Assuredly our chronicler was also with them, for he inadvertently says, 'quhatt wordis was amangis thame, I will not repeitt itt.' Culzean did not tarry, it would appear, at Auchendrayne, but rode on to Greenan Castle, now a conspicuous ruin on the sea-cliff south of Ayr. He remained there a space in conference with Kennedy of Baltersan, and then resumed his journey.

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Apparently he had taken no heed to Auchendrayne's warning, if indeed he ever received it, for he rode 'ane small haiknay,' and Lancelot Kennedy was his only companion. As he was passing St Leonard's Chapel, which stood on what is now the south-west corner of Ayr racecourse, he was set upon by Drummurchie, Cloncaird, and four others, and done to death among the sandhills. Obviously, the motive was revenge for Bargany's death, and there is not the remotest suspicion attaching to the Earl of Cassilis, though he happened to be at the time in feud with his old ally, Sir Thomas.

Mure of Auchendrayne's hand was in this affair, as was subsequently proved, though he was not one of the actual assassins, and we seem to read his sentiments in the cold reference to the dead man's character:

> He was ane werry potenteous man, and werry wyise. . . . be ane moyane and wther had conquessit ane gude leiwing (amassed a good fortune).

The immediate effect of this murder was the reconciliation of Cassilis and his brother, the Master, who united their efforts to bring the assassins to justice. To do this, however, took some years, while the hounds were puzzling over a false scent, and there were stirring deeds enacted after the old sort, enough to make men slow to go abroad without their harness. It is almost incredible that, in a district so well settled and cultivated as that lying round the town of Ayr, a miscreant like Thomas Kennedy of Drummurchie, who had been an outlaw for years, should have been able to maintain himself at large. But so it was; and one evening in May 1602 the Countess of Cassilis was returning from Galloway, escorted by the Master and a retinue of fifteen horsemen, when they suddenly found themselves confronted with a body of nine horsemen and twenty-four musketeers, led by Drummurchie. Among the Countess's men rode John Dick, who had slain Bargany, and his life Drummurchie was resolved to have. Seeing that his party was outnumbered, the Master seized the bridle of Lady Cassilis' horse, and, giving the word to his men, galloped off to Auchensoul, a small house belonging to one Crauford. Drummurchie's party, consisting chiefly of infantry, were slow in pursuit but sure, for they surrounded the house and set it on fire. Thereupon a parley ensued. Drummurchie's conditions being the surrender of John Dick, that worthy wisely took the hint and escaped under cover of the smoke from the burning thatch. Only one man of Lady Cassilis' following was killed, she herself was released, and afterwards, at the intercession of the wives of the country gentlemen of Ayr, with whom Drummurchie was on the best of personal terms, the Master and the other prisoners were also set at liberty after some days' confinement.

A grisly episode is here recorded, wherein a member of a family shortly to become famous came to a violent end. Thomas Dalrymple,

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brother of the Laird of Stair, had been one of Bargany's men at the battle of Maybole, and Cassilis had obtained letters of horning (outlawry) against all his opponents in that affair. Him the Earl, as he was riding to Galloway, met by accident on the bridge of Girvan, seized, and hung him on the dule tree 'besyd the yett (gate) of Craigneill.' The chronicler feelingly observes that he was 'ane pretty little manne, and werry kynd. He was ane manne that had never offendit manne.' It was unwise of him to go about unattended; and doubtless a similar fate would have overtaken the other adherents of Bargany had they laid aside their arms and dismissed their attendants.

The usual consequence was not lacking. To avenge Dalrymple, Mure of Cloncaird rides to Cassilis' house of the Inch in Galloway, and there slays his lordship's Master of the Works.

Drummurchie was now persuaded by the Lady of Bargany and others that the country was too hot to hold him, so he went to France, and thence to Ireland, 'quhair he was wondir weill interteynit, and sindry of thais that wes at the slachter of Culzean.' The men who had served Drummurchie so faithfully took his desertion of them terribly to heart, especially Cloncaird, who 'tuik sik heaffie malancolly' that he died thereof.

Before coming to the closing scene of this long story of horrors, notice must be taken of one feature in the magnificent obsequies which, at this time, five years after the death of Bargany, were performed in honour of him and his lady, she having lately died. It was a great feudal demonstration, whereat the partisans of Bargany mustered in force; the special feature referred to being the Banner of Revenge, borne in the procession through the country, from Bargany to Ayr, some twenty miles, by young Mure of Auchendrayne, whereon was painted the likeness of the late laird, with his son sitting at his knees, and the legend 'JUDGE AND REWENDGE MY CAUS, O LORD!' One would give something handsome for this relic now.

All this time ugly stories had been afloat about the elder and younger Mures of Auchendrayne, whereby their names were brought into sinister connection with the murder of Sir Thomas Kennedy of Culzean.

The affair of the letter informing Auchendrayne of Culzean's journey to Edinburgh became of momentous importance. This letter, it appeared, which Mure had been supposed never to have received, had been duly delivered into his own hands and read by him. He had then closed it up again and given it back to the boy, charging him to return with it to Maybole, and to declare to the schoolmaster and Culzean's messenger that he had been unable to find him to whom it was addressed. He had then sent to Drummurchie and showed him how Culzean might be w[illegible] morrow and Bargany's death

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avenged. After the deed was done, Auchendrayne realised that ish safety lay in the silence of the lad Dalrymple; he therefore had him kidnapped, and shut him up in Auchendrayne tower for nine or ten weeks. Thence he sent him to a friend in Arran, the Laird of Skelmorlie; but the boy, being treated with harshness there, made his escape back to Ayrshire, where Auchendrayne captured him once more, and, after some further weeks of imprisonment, took him to Leith and shipped him off as a recruit for the regiment of Sir Walter Scott of Buccleuch, devoutly trusting, no doubt, that he would there be knocked on the head. All this, of course, was a device to conceal the fact that Culzean's intended journey to Edinburgh had been made known to Auchendrayne.

Nothing was heard of Dalrymple for some years, when, to Mure's horror, he reappeared in Ayr at his mother's house, and straightway came to ask employment from him. Young Mure, who had been as deeply concerned in the plot against Culzean as his father, was called into counsel, and this worthy pair were of one mind that Dalrymple must be silenced for ever. On some pretence or other they induced him to accompany them to Girvan, where he was lodged with Auchendrayne's tenant, James Bannatyne, in Chapeldonald. It was a light matter in those days for a laird to exact service from a tenant, and a very serious matter for a tenant to refuse. The service Auchendrayne now asked of Bannatyne was that he should assist him and his son to murder Dalrymple. To this end the elder Mure and Bannatyne led the victim upon the sands of Girvan at ten o'clock at night. Bannatyne, who seems to have been of 'milder mood,' had qualms, declaring it was a cruel purpose when it would be as effective to send the youth to safe keeping in Ireland. Auchendrayne seemed to incline to this proposal also, but his son settled the question by rushing suddenly upon Dalrymple, throwing him down, and, assisted by his father, strangling him. Thereafter they waded out to sea with the corpse and committed it to the waves, which washed it up on the same spot seven days later.

Bannatyne was straightway sent to that convenient receptacle for inconvenient individuals, Ireland, and it was sworn by witnesses at the trial that Auchendrayne had afterwards hired one James Pennicuik to go to Ireland to murder Bannatyne. It is difficult to see where this chain of crime would have finished had it not come to a fitting conclusion in the trial and execution of both the Mures and James Bannatyne.

The trial has become celebrated, not only because of the atrocity of the crimes committed, nor because one of the accused, the younger Mure, was put to the torture of the boots to extract evidence against himself—there was nothing unusual in either of these circumstances—but because the ordeal of touch was employed to find the murderer. The Earl of Cassilis caused Dalrymple's corpse to be exhumed, and,

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finding that he had died by violence, ordered all the people of the neighbourhood to attend and touch the corpse. The order was obeyed by all except the elder and younger Mure, who were not so simple as to trust themselves in the clutches of Cassilis. But Mure's daughter was one of the throng, and it was alleged that so soon as she drew near the body blood spouted upon her therefrom, in consequence of which the Mures were apprehended and put upon trial.

There are no scenes in Scotland more peaceful than the green vales of South Ayrshire, the banks of bonny Doun, and the richly wooded Girvan. The dwellings of those who enacted the bloody deeds told in this long history of violence are standing to this day, some still inhabited by lairds of the old families; others, roofless and storm-beaten, have been deserted for roomier modern mansions. The traveller may find himself wistfully musing on the dulness of the reign of security, sighing for the jingle of plate-armour and the bray of the trumpet to waken these sleepy woods, for the gleam of steel and flutter of pennons to brighten yon dusky hill brow. But, on second thoughts, he will probably realise how much pleasanter it is, on the whole, that country gentlemen should be able to move about in safety, without each a clump of spears behind him, and with no weightier defence than a tweed suit; and better for the tenants that they should not be liable to be compelled to assist their landlords in every enterprise, whether 'boden in ffeir of war' or equipped conveniently for 'privat murther,' on pain of forfeiture of all their goods, not to mention their lives, as was the case with James Bannatyne.

HERBERT MAXWELL.

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THE FARCE OF UNIVERSITY EXTENSION

'BERNADETTE never spent a winter at Bartrès; besides, the Pope believes in her.' Thus Monseigneur Ricard in his attack upon Zola's *Lourdes*. And Mr. Sadler has no better argument to advance on behalf of his favourite fad. 'No certificates are given on courses of less than ten lectures; besides, Lord Salisbury believes in the movement.' 'The Facts about University Extension' is, in fact, little else than an appeal to authority, and Mr. Sadler must be a miracle of innocence if he still trusts to authority as a controversial weapon. Though every politician in England found comfort in an itinerant University, the institution would not on that account be sacred from criticism, and the expressed opinion of Lord Herschell or the Duke of Devonshire must be taken merely for what it is worth, unless, indeed, you would accord to these statesmen a share of the Pope's infallibility.

But if Mr. Sadler does insist upon the examination of his authorities, he will not find them ranged upon his side. He is indignant to see his movement described as 'a pleasant pastime'; he forgets that Lord Salisbury's phrase is completely similar: 'intellectual enjoyment.' 'Whether the term University Extension precisely expresses what you have done I have some doubt,' said Lord Salisbury, in a mood of enforced friendliness; and Mr. Sadler instantly mistakes this most damning of faint praise for salvation. Even Lord Herschell ventures on nothing more than the timid platitude 'that the intellectual life of England would have been poorer if the University Extension system had not come into existence.' This may be true enough, since there is an 'intellectual life' (not worth living) which is stimulated by the study of 'the classics for English readers'; but there is no word here of the University carried into the cottage homes of England, and not one of Mr. Sadler's quoted champions attributes to Extension the benefit of a University education. But when the partisan gravely quotes the utterances of MM. Espinas and Leclerc in support of his heresy, his *naïveté* is so great as to compel admiration. An Englishman's judgment of French institutions can never be accepted without reserve, but that Englishman must be hard pressed indeed who would seek self-knowledge from the compatriots of Victor Hugo, while to describe M. Leclerc as an 'unprejudiced

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eye-witness' proves a lack of humour that is positively enchanting. So unprejudiced is this eye-witness that he openly declares the debt he owes to Mr. Sadler, from whom he gathered all those facts which were not contributed by Dr. Roberts, Mr. Sadler's colleague in the work. To appeal thus to yourself at second-hand is ingenious, if unprofitable; yet even this subterfuge does but defeat the cause of popular learning. For there was a lecturer indiscreet enough to furnish M. Leclerc with a criticism of his victims' essays. 'The orthography,' said our missionary, with pride, 'is not very correct; but they are full of original views.' Thus is the standard of learning kept up by bad spelling! Thus is the dignity of the University preserved by an originality which springs from ignorance! And it is pleasant to note that Mr. Sadler's own witness, who is tainted firstly because he is a Frenchman, secondly because he is a pale reflection of others, is no sooner cross-examined than he sacrifices the cause he is adduced to support.

Again, says Mr. Sadler, 'an educational movement does not live and grow for twenty years . . . if it is merely a pretentious bit of humbug.' Age is no extenuation of vice; else were drunkenness, the British Drama, a popular franchise, entitled to universal respect. It is possible, even probable, that the movement lives and grows precisely because it is a 'pretentious bit of humbug'; since 'humbug' is nearer and dearer than all the virtues to that human heart which beats at the sacred name of philanthropy. And why should not the lecturer who promises a University education in five weeks flourish as exuberantly as the quack who is prepared to cure a wooden leg with a pot of ointment?

But Mr. Sadler attempts to disparage my statements in order, and in order I am content to reiterate them. (1) 'The published evidences of the superficiality of University Extension are incontrovertible.' Thus I wrote, and Mr. Sadler affords abundant, if involuntary, confirmation. At the outset he asserts that I am 'unaware that examinations are held at the end of the courses.' On the contrary, I am quite familiar with the examinations; I know, also, that a very small percentage of the 'students' who 'sit under' the lecturers can be persuaded to put their information to the test. The figures are instructive, and one year is very much like another. In 1892–93 the number of the victims at the Cambridge centres was 15,824, of whom 1,881 were examined, and 1,730 were granted certificates. Whence you may learn (*a*) that a vast majority prefers not to confront the examiner, and (*b*) that of those who enter the examination-room very few are sent empty away. Moreover, how many of the competitors are the outcasts whom the travelling missionary hopes to reach? Is it not true that schoolgirls and their teachers make this pretended Extension of our ancient Universities an opportunity of testing their knowledge, and that schoolmistresses claim their

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certificates as proofs of efficient instruction? But, having omitted the figures, Mr. Sadler proceeds most disingenuously to quote the following passage from a paper of instructions: 'The standard of a pass should be as far as possible that observed in the Oxford Pass Final Schools.' Thus he would have the guileless believe that there is a possibility of comparison between the genuine University student and the member of an Extension class. But comparison is impossible. The undergraduate qualifies for the Pass Final Schools by previous ordeals. He submits to be examined in several subjects and with some thoroughness. The ardent working man wins an education in ten weeks (at a moderate estimate), is examined in one corner of one subject, and Mr. Sadler would have the world confuse his limited and superficial performance with an examination which, though not rigorous, is still reputable. No; the paper of instructions means no more than that the two examinations, unlike in all other respects, shall preserve the same *low* standard of *lowness*; that in the one case as in the other, the same small percentage of marks shall give a certificate. Nor even is the one corner of the one subject treated with respect. The questions may not go beyond the lecturer's syllabus, that dishonour shall never be done to the ideal of shallowness. And what are the subjects a knowledge of whose syllabus it is deemed worthy to test? Here is a sample: 'Characteristic Englishmen: Sir Thomas More—Sir Walter Raleigh—Strafford—Samuel Johnson—William Wilberforce—Charles Kingsley.' It is the old penny-reading in its crudest form, and he who knew the lectures backwards would not deserve a certificate from a respectable seat of learning. It should be unnecessary again to mention Mr. Moulton's Greek Drama for those who have no Greek. But Mr. Sadler, by chronicling 'the brilliant and disinterested service' rendered by Mr. Moulton to 'the cause of higher education,' makes free acknowledgment of his sins; if Æschylus, seen through the blameless blank verse of Mr. Lewis Morris, is 'higher' education, let us know where the 'lower' is to be found; for now we are disputing not of facts, but of definitions. 'Besides the more serious students,' said Professor Jebb a year ago, 'there are others who attend lectures for the sake of obtaining some general acquaintance with scientific or literary subjects; these prefer variety.' Of course they do; and why should any one resent the charge of superficiality?

(2) In enumerating the qualifications of the University Extender I did but quote from Mr. Sadler's own colleague, Dr. Roberts. The words are so precise and emphatic that it is a pleasure to repeat the passage at length. That there may be no mistake it is headed 'Qualifications of an Extension Lecturer.' And here they are: 'He should be able to speak fluently in public, and have the power of putting the principles of his subject clearly and attractively before his audience. He must also be a man of tact and sympathy, and

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should possess the art of conducting a class so as to induce the students to ask questions freely, and put their difficulties to him.' Thus Dr. Roberts, without a word of scholarship or learning; nor is Mr. Sadler ignorant that to hold an audience is a popular lecturer's first necessity, that the Extender is but a missioner in masquerade. The fact that many distinguished men have delivered discourses in the country proves nothing. One may be sure, from the advertised qualifications, that they were not chosen for their learning; one may be equally sure that those among them who were gifted with a sense of humour entered the hall tongue in cheek, and in the proper spirit of cynicism. Of those whom I have known—and they are many—there is none who regarded the system or his own part in it with any seriousness. Mr. Sadler, appealing to the French critics, has endorsed their judgments, and those who will take their testimony for what it is worth cannot do better than consult the French portraits of Messrs Moulton and Hudson Shaw. M. Leclerc does more than justice to Mr. Shaw, Oxford's most popular and distinguished missionary, and thus it is that Mr. Moulton appears to M. Espinas: 'M. Moulton nous paraît réaliser le type du conférencier itinérant: issu de quatre générations de pasteurs méthodistes dont la vie s'est passée à prêcher l'Evangile à travers toute l'Angleterre, né, pour ainsi dire, en voyage et transporté de ville en ville par sa famille pendant ses premières années, puis fixé à Cambridge et enthousiasmé par ses études littéraires, il devait tout naturellement mettre un peu de son âme d'apôtre dans l'enseignement des belles-lettres et faire, pour l'*extension*, dans les îles Britanniques, ce qu'un de ses frères fait pour la foi chrétienne dans les îles de l'Océanie.' That is either a libel upon Mr. Moulton or a corroboration of my statement; and though it is quoted in the full knowledge that the source is not above reproach, it puts the movement in its most sentimental aspect. In the judgment of Mr. Sadler's friend, then, University Extension is a kind of travelling prayer-meeting, wherein 'soul' is of more importance than 'brain,' and where learning does not matter so long as the spiritual aspirations are vaguely satisfied. But shall we confuse learning and hot-gospelling? Are our Universities to become branches of the Salvation Army?

(3) Mr. Sadler asserts positively that it is *not* proposed 'to substitute for the longer courses of study, once imperative, a series of short, sharp sprints.' Has Mr. Sadler forgotten a conference held last July at Burlington House and attended by himself? For at that conference the champions of the sprint spoke with a courage that was worthy a better opinion. Professor Jebb, for instance, advocated a 'short-course department.' 'This would include,' said the Member for the University of Cambridge, speaking (let us hope) rather as a politician than as a professor, 'lectures of the kind known as "picneer lectures," such as those, for instance, which, under the name of

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"people's lectures," had been successfully used by the London Society in preparing the ground for the establishment of a regular centre.' Mr. Mackinder, again, can scarcely be unknown to Mr. Sadler, since they have collaborated in the production of a book, and here is his testimony: 'The more popular portion of the movement was not an evanescent but a permanent, if a preparatory, element. The needs of successive generations had to be considered, and the short course and the popular lecture would always be necessary for a large portion of the community.' But most emphatic of all was Professor Tout, who boldly declared that 'it was not the object of University Extension to increase the number of students.' Such an increase, said he most righteously, meant the conversion of honest working men into inefficient teachers. 'It was the stimulating of intellectual interest which was the main object of the movement.' If that be true the Universities should preserve their dignity at home, and let the itinerant lecturer do what good he can and make what money without lending him their honourable name as a cloak for his hypocrisy. By the admission of Mr. Sadler's own party, the movement is the enemy of learning, nor has it ever performed the work that legitimately belongs to the Universities. Besides, it is the first duty of a popular institution to yield a profit, and University Extension doesn't even pay. The fact that no certificates are given on courses of less than ten lectures is immaterial, firstly, because not many more than ten per cent. of the victims compete for certificates; and, secondly, because the most fluent missionary cannot hope to cover the smallest back-yard of knowledge in ten lectures, classes and all.

(4) On behalf of the summer meetings Mr. Sadler makes an appeal *ad misericordiam*. Doubtless he has read the weary, sad impressions of students who have sojourned from time to time in Oxford, and these might have given him pause. They are far too tragical to quote, and resemble nothing so much as the harangues of those newly converted to the doctrines of blood and fire. Anyone but the uncompromising sentimentalist might deem it the most desperate unkindness to give people a false enjoyment, a spurious culture; to hurry hard-worked pitmen and exhausted school-teachers, hungry for Margate and indolence, through college courts and college lecture-rooms. Never have I witnessed anything more pitiful than the attempt of a dozen perfectly honest working men to pose at a summer meeting for giants of intellect. Indeed, it is precisely because I have seen the miserable 'delight' which these picnics bring to 'many a poor and struggling student,' that I find the movement of University Extension a disgrace to the Universities which support it. Whatever the value of learning, learning is not worth acquiring at the cost of honesty and by the encouragement of cant.

(5) Though Mr. Sadler acknowledges that a 'persistently restless

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change of interest' is a blot on the system, he was unwise to attempt to rub out the blot with the rag of 'affiliation.' Applied to University Extension this inelegant word has no practical meaning. It remains, and it is likely to remain, an empty title, if it do not degenerate into a corrupt practice. Though 'affiliation' has been constantly upon the tongues of enthusiasts, it has had not the smallest influence in fact, and it is of a piece with the swagger which calls a popular lecture University Extension. The statute (in force at a few Cambridge centres) has only enabled two students to proceed to the University. And of these one is rumoured to be the son of a clergyman, who was coached by his father, and whom the neighbourhood of an Extension lecturer enabled to save the expense of a year's residence at Cambridge. Is it for such evasions as this that submission is made to the popular demand?

To Mrs. Stuart I have nothing to say, save that she has been loyal to her own ideal of superficiality. She has criticised my article which she plainly has not read. And, in truth, I don't know why she should have read it. But she need not be in despair over the countless men and women who are like 'infants crying for the light, and with no language but a cry.' The Extension of the Universities has given them plenty of 'wool.' And what more do they want?

One other question awaits an answer. 'If its proceedings amount to an educational fraud,' says Mr. Sadler, 'how is it that both Oxford and Cambridge have within the last few years given emphatic proof of their increasing confidence in University Extension?' How, indeed? That is for Mr. Sadler and his colleagues to explain. It may be that the Universities are throwing this sop of cheap culture to the hungry Cerberus of Democracy. It may be that the younger graduates, who in ancient times would have drifted into the Church, are seeking elsewhere an outlet for their missionary zeal and fervid eloquence. But, whatever the motive, the result is dishonourable to the Universities.

CHARLES WHIBLEY.

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A SUGGESTION TO SABBATH-KEEPERS

ALMOST all the Christian Churches of Great Britain have adopted the Sabbath of the Jewish lawgiver as a divine institution, only changing the day from Saturday to Sunday, though many of the Nonconformists retain the Jewish term Sabbath. Many, perhaps most, religious persons hold that to work on Sunday is an actual sin, comparable in gravity with most other acts forbidden in the Ten Commandments; and the strong condemnation of Sabbath-breaking in religious tracts and Sunday-school teaching is a sufficient proof of the importance attached to a due observance of the day.

An impartial onlooker is, however, somewhat puzzled by the circumstance that, notwithstanding this general uniformity of precept, the practice, even of the teachers, is exceedingly lax; since there is hardly a Christian family in the whole country, not excluding those of the clergy of the various denominations, where the Sabbath is not broken fifty-two times in every year. Now the fourth commandment, as read every Sunday in our churches, is either binding on Christians or it is not. In the latter case breaking it is no sin, and any observance of a seventh day of rest is merely a matter of expediency or of human law. It is, however, nearly certain that the majority of Protestant clergy do not accept this latter view; and I therefore propose to discuss the question—how Sunday may be most consistently and beneficially observed by those who believe it to be a divine institution? and my argument will apply equally to those who maintain that we are only bound by the spirit of the commandment, not by the letter, still less by the special interpretation of it adopted by the Jews.

Let us then first inquire what is the spirit and purport of the law; and in this there can be little difficulty, because it is more fully explained than any other of the commandments, so that its full meaning and purpose cannot possibly be misunderstood. This command is not given briefly, as so many others are; not merely 'thou shalt not work on the Sabbath,' as in 'thou shalt not kill,' or 'thou shalt not steal'; but with full and impressive reiteration and detail. First, we are told, 'Six days shalt thou labour and do all thy work'; then, on the Sabbath, 'thou shalt not do any work'; and then, to show how wide and complete is the law, there is added, 'thou, nor thy

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son, nor thy daughter, thy manservant, nor thy maidservant, nor thy cattle, nor the stranger that is within thy gates.' If ever there were plain words with a plain meaning these are such. They mean, as clearly as words can convey meaning, that each one's work during the week, that work which is the duty of our lives, and by which we maintain ourselves, is to cease on the Sabbath; and that the law is especially to apply to all servants of every kind, and to all beasts of burthen, which are included under the generic term 'cattle.'

This being the commandment, how is it obeyed by those who uphold the sanctity of the law; by those who are continually urging others to keep the Sabbath; by those who take every opportunity of putting in force human laws against Sabbath-breakers? Are not manservants and maidservants all at work on Sunday? Are not servants and horses employed by the thousand to take people to church on Sunday? Many persons, if asked why they go to church or chapel, will say that it is to save their souls or to please God, and yet they seem to think that they may break what they believe is God's own commandment week after week, without any chance of displeasing Him or of losing the souls they are so anxious to save.

What makes the matter worse is that, while they are thus disobeying the scriptural commandment in the most flagrant manner, they are salving their consciences by abstaining, and trying to force others to abstain, from things which are *not* forbidden by the commandment, and which are not in any way opposed to its spirit. To walk for health or pleasure, to row in a boat, to play at cricket, or at chess, to whistle, or sing, to read amusing books, to look at great pictures in art galleries, or to admire the beauties and wonders of nature in museums or gardens—all these things have been, and many of them are still, considered by the more strictly religious to be 'breaking the Sabbath,' and are denounced as such in many a tract and sermon. And the good people who hold these views seem quite unconscious that they themselves are far greater sinners than the people they denounce as 'Sabbath-breakers'; for to direct Sabbath-breaking they add the sin of pharisaism, inasmuch as they condemn in others what is, at the worst, a far less offence than their own, and are guilty of impious presumption in venturing to add to and improve upon the divine commandment, while constantly and knowingly disobeying the commandment itself. Do not the words of Christ exactly apply to such, when He rebuked the Pharisees from the mouth of Esaias?—'But in vain they do worship me, teaching for doctrines the commandments of men.'

And when we inquire the reason for this strange and inconsistent conduct, we find only a series of excuses. They say, that the requirements of health and decency render a certain amount of work necessary on Sunday; that we keep a Christian and not a Jewish Sabbath; that we reduce the work of our labourers as much as possible; and

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that we only recognise works of necessity and of mercy as permissible on the holy day. It is true that Christ justified deeds of charity and of mercy to both man and beast on the Sabbath, but He nowhere abrogates the law of rest for each labourer, whether man or beast, from his six days' work. To tend the sick and to supply the wants of the animals which serve us in various ways is not to break the Sabbath; but all these things and much more may be done without infringing even the letter of the Commandment, if we choose to seek out the right way of doing them. Christ clearly emphasised the spirit of the law when He declared that the Sabbath was made for man, not man for the Sabbath; by which we are taught that the essential principle of rest on the seventh day for all who have laboured during six days is what we must seek to preserve. How we may preserve this, and yet have everything done that is necessary for health, comfort, and refreshment of mind and body, I now propose to show.

The whole essence of the Sabbath-question rests upon giving the proper meaning to the words 'labour,' 'work,' 'thy work,' as used in the fourth commandment. These words, as the context shows, do not refer to any particular acts, but to the work done by each one of us in the business or profession by which we live. To the summer tourist in the Alps the ascent of a mountain or the passage of a glacier is pleasure and health-giving recreation; to the guides who accompany him it is their work. A hired gardener works for his living in a garden; but though I do many of the same things as he does, to me they are not my work, but my recreation. So, a domestic servant's work is to cook or to prepare a meal, or to wait at table; but when a party go out for a picnic, light a fire, make tea, roast potatoes, arrange the meal, and help the guests, they are certainly not working but pleasuring. When a doctor attends the sick in a hospital, or the wounded on a battlefield, he is doing the work of his life; but if any one of us nurses a sick person or binds up a wound, we may be doing acts of mercy or of charity, but we are not doing 'our work.' Even if we take upon ourselves some of the work of others, carry a heavy load for a weary woman, or do an hour's stone-breaking to help an old rheumatic labourer, what we do ceases to be work in the true meaning of the term, but is transformed into a deed of love or mercy; and such deeds are not only permissible, but even commendable, on whatever day they are done.

We have here the clue to a method by which all that needs doing for health, for enjoyment, or for charity, may be done on Sunday without anyone breaking the fourth commandment. Almost all this necessary work is now done by various classes of hired servants who, as a rule, are fully employed for six days every week, and who also have not much less to do on the seventh day. To keep the Sabbath, both in the letter and the spirit, these workers must be allowed full and complete rest; they must do none of their special

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work on that day. All that portion of their weekly duties which is necessary for the well-being of their employers, and for the rational enjoyment of their lives, must be done by those other members of the household who have spent the week largely in idleness or in pleasure, or if in work, in work of a quite different character from that of their servants. In doing this work; in helping each other; in sharing among themselves the various household occupations which during all the week have been undertaken by others; and in doing all this in order that those others may enjoy the full and unbroken rest which their six days' continuous labour requires and deserves, each member of the family will be doing deeds of self-sacrifice and of charity (in however small a degree), and such deeds do not constitute the 'work' which is so strictly forbidden on the Sabbath-day.

In the ordinary middle-class household, where there are six or eight in family and two or three servants, all that is necessary may be easily done, and allow every member of the family to go to church or chapel once or oftener. In other cases there will, no doubt, be difficulties, but none which may not be overcome by a little arrangement and mutual helpfulness. Where a household consists only of aged or elderly people to whom the needful operations of housework would be painful or even impossible, there are always younger relatives or friends, or even acquaintances, who could, either regularly or occasionally, spend the Sunday with such old people; and there is probably not a single difficulty of this kind which could not be overcome by two or more households combining for the Sunday in such a way as to divide the work and thus render it as little irksome as possible. If it were once really felt that the thing *must* be done, that on no account must the commandment be broken by servants doing any of their usual work on Sunday, and that the truest and most divine 'service' would thus be 'performed,' all difficulties would vanish, and the day would become, not in name only but truly, a holy one, inasmuch as it would witness in every household deeds of true charity and mercy, because in every case they would involve some amount of personal effort and self-sacrifice.

In the larger establishments of the higher classes there would be no greater difficulty, since it would be easy to effect such a division of labour as to render the work light for each. The son or other relative who was fondest of horses and dogs would of course see after their wants on Sunday; another might undertake the fire-lighting; while the young ladies would prepare the meals and do all other really necessary domestic work. And as all visitors would be acquisitions, almost the whole of the lodging- and boarding-houses would be emptied, their occupants becoming guests at the houses of their friends and taking their share of the Sabbath-day's duties. Of course the greater part of the servants thus released from their regular

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work would also visit their friends, and by giving some little voluntary assistance would take their part in the great altruistic movement that would characterise the day.

Among the more important of these deeds of mercy would be the relief of the nurses in hospitals and asylums, and of the attendants in workhouses and prisons. When the great principle of rest for each individual from the weary monotony of his or her weekly work was once thoroughly accepted, volunteers by thousands would be found to take part in every duty of the kind; and it would probably not be necessary for anyone to undertake the more repulsive duties more frequently than once a month, or perhaps three or four times a year. This would of course imply some general instruction of the young in the principles and practice of nursing, which is much to be desired on other grounds.

In the same way all the national treasures of art and nature in our galleries and museums, our libraries and gardens, might be thrown open to the great body of toilers who can enjoy them at no other time, the place of the week-day guardians of these treasures being taken by volunteers from among the more leisured classes, or from the higher ranks of workmen. Thus would be remedied the great injustice that these grand institutions, for the support of which all alike pay, are yet closed at the only time when those who contribute most toward them would be able to benefit by them. Of course the police would also be relieved by a body of special constables who would volunteer for the service. This occupation might be restricted to the Volunteer force, whose recognisable uniform and military organisation would render them admirably fitted for the purpose. Further details on this part of the subject are unnecessary, since it is evident that by an extension of the same principle it would be possible to relieve everyone whose week-day labour is now extended over some portion of Sunday also.

And now, having briefly set forth the arguments and suggestions which seem to me needful for illustrating my views as to the consistent observance of the day of rest by all who look upon it as a divine institution, I will state with equal brevity the good effects which such an observance of it would produce. The substance of the present article has been in my mind for the last twenty years, and I have now made it public because many circumstances seem to render it less likely to give offence and also more likely to do good than at an earlier period, on account of the ever-growing strength of the great altruistic movement, with the principles of which it so well harmonises. For this latter part of the nineteenth century will be characterised in history by the awakening of the cultured classes to the terrible failure of our civilisation to provide even the barest necessaries and decencies of life for thousands and tens of thousands

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of those by means of whose work *they* live in luxury; and also by their strenuous effort no longer to rely on mere almsgiving, but to devote themselves to a sympathetic study of the condition and needs of the poorest among the workers, and to helping them with personal advice and assistance. Toynbee Hall and Dr. Barnardo's homes, missions innumerable and General Booth's slum-lasses, serve to indicate a few of the many ways in which this great movement is now making itself felt.

And it has begun none too soon if society is to be saved from a great catastrophe. Fifty years ago Thomas Hood caused a spasmodic excitement among the well-to-do by the pictures of hopeless misery he set before them in his *Song of the Shirt* and *Bridge of Sighs*. Nearly half a century passed away; England's wealth had increased to an unprecedented extent, when society was again startled by the *Bitter Cry of Outcast London*, showing that the utter and hopeless misery of the earlier period was still with us, but increased and multiplied in quantity, just as the great city which produced it had increased and multiplied in size and riches. Then came official inquiries, and the 'Commissions' on the Housing of the Poor, and on the Sweating System, revealed horrors so terrible that it is simply impossible for men and women to live in a lower condition of want and misery and continue to exist. And during all this period there has been an ever-increasing growth of charitable institutions, trying in vain to cope with the ever-renewed crop of human misery; yet, notwithstanding all this effort, during last winter the only difference of opinion seems to have been whether the distress was worse than ever or only as great as it had been for years past. How bad it still is may be inferred from the constant records in the daily press of suicide from hopeless misery, and death from want of food, fire, and clothing.

On the other hand, a change is now taking place in the attitude of the sufferers. They are no longer like the dumb beasts which perish uncomplainingly. They ask for work in order to live, and will no longer silently submit to be driven back to their cellars and slums by the police. They march by thousands into the churches, and listen to the platitudes of the preacher with murmurs of dissent. Many of them are now educated, and are quite as well able as their social superiors to reason on their condition. They begin to ask why it is that multitudes are enabled to live their whole lives idly and in luxury, while they themselves cannot obtain the poor privilege of constant work in order to provide the scantiest necessaries for their families. They now possess an amount of political power sufficient to overturn governments which do not satisfy them, and year by year they are becoming more able to make effectual use of that power; and it becomes ever more evident that, unless some real and great improvement in their condition is soon effected, very drastic, and perhaps dangerous, attempts at reform will be made.

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To those who watch the growing enlightenment of the workers, it is clear that they will not much longer be satisfied with mere administrative reforms, or with petty palliatives which in no way touch the real causes of their unhappy condition. They have learnt enough of political economy to know that the whole of the wealth annually consumed by the nation is the annual product of the labour of the working classes; and that, just in proportion to the number of the non-producers and to the extent that labour is expended on the useless luxuries of pleasure, pomp, and fashion, to that extent are they deprived of the product of their labour and have to live in comparative penury. They begin to see clearly that hereditary wealth of all kinds, and especially the possession of land, enabling millions to live luxurious and idle lives, is the fundamental cause of the poverty of the workers, and the time will soon come when they will determine that this state of things must cease. They do not wish to rob anyone of what he has been allowed by law and custom to consider his own, but they will not consent to the indefinite continuance of hereditary idlers any more than of hereditary legislators. They will probably say, as they will be perfectly justified in saying, 'We recognise no rights in any portion of the next generation to live upon the labour of others. No child born after the passing of this Act shall inherit land, nor any greater amount of wealth than is necessary for a thorough education and such an endowment as to give him a fair start in life.'

Such radical opinions as these are common among the workers, but they are also spreading beyond them, owing to the efforts of many talented and energetic thinkers, who expound analogous views with eloquence in the lecture hall, and with argumentative power and literary skill in numerous books and periodicals. The effect of this teaching is manifested in the growing opinion among the more thoughtful even of the wealthy and leisured classes, that a life spent in ease and idleness and the pursuit of pleasure is not the admirable and desirable thing it was once thought to be. The vices and frivolity, the extravagance and the barrenness of modern society are now felt, and are being fully exposed by its own members; and one of the latest of these prophets, Mrs. Lyttleton Gell, ably urges, in a former number of this Review, 'that definite work of some sort should be the law, not merely the accessory of every girl's life,' and that it should be the means of bringing about more union between the classes, and a real friendship between the highest and the lowest.

Now, I venture to think that nothing would tend more to bring about these desirable results than a method of observing Sunday in some way resembling that here advocated, while the beneficial effect on all concerned would be very great. The upper classes would learn, many of them for the first time, how great and how fatiguing

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is the labour daily expended in securing them the unvarying comfort and æsthetic enjoyment of their surroundings, and how often they cause unnecessary work by their thoughtlessness or extravagance. The need they would have, at first, of learning the duties of the particular department they were going to undertake, would bring them into friendly and intimate relations with their servants; and, in seeing how much care was often required to secure the comfort of the family, they might begin to appreciate that 'dignity of labour' which is so often preached to the poor but so seldom practised by the rich. To many this 'Sunday service' in their own families, or in that of some of their friends, would be the introduction to some serious occupation for their week-day lives, and thus inaugurate the great reform which the more thoughtful leaders of society see to be of imperative necessity.

On the whole body of the workers the effect would be great indeed, since it would at once bring about better relations with the wealthy classes, and especially with those who teach or profess religion. They would see, what they had hitherto doubted or denied, that the religion of the upper classes had some real influence on their lives, by leading them, not merely to give away a portion of their surplus wealth in charity, or to take part in the public proceedings of charitable institutions, but really to sacrifice something which they have hitherto considered necessary to their comfort, in order to obey the laws of that religion. They would further see, everywhere, men and women of culture voluntarily undertaking various public and private duties, in order to allow all kinds of workers to enjoy repose and recreation on one day in seven; and this great object-lesson in brotherhood and sympathy would lead to a general good feeling between all classes. The harmonious relations which would be thus produced may be of inestimable value when the time comes for those radical reforms in our social organisation which are more and more clearly seen to be inevitable in the not distant future.

It is, perhaps, too much to expect that the 'counsel of perfection' here set forth for the consideration of the religious world by an outsider will have much effect on conduct. But even if it should influence a few here and there to alter their mode of life on the day they hold to be divinely instituted as a period of complete rest for all servants and beasts of burden, and if it should render others less severe in their judgment of those they term 'Sabbath-breakers,' but who often less deserve that name than do their accusers—and if it thus helps, in however small a degree, to lower the barriers which now divide class from class, and to remove one of the causes which lead many of the workers to look upon the religion of the rich as little better than hypocrisy, the object with which it is written will have been fulfilled.

ALFRED R. WALLACE.

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THE CHINAMAN ABROAD

It has been my good fortune to have had opportunities for studying John Chinaman abroad in many climes and under many diverse conditions. In the East End of London I have visited the haunts where he caters for the Lascars who man so many of the great vessels trading with the Orient, and whose long-desired luxury between voyages is not the fiery alcohol affected by the white sailor, but the soothing and meditative pipe of opium. In Bombay I have many a time and oft held converse with him as merchant, amidst his stores of curious things from far Cathay. In Calcutta I have not merely chatted in the shops of the Bow Bazar with Chinamen industriously plying their vocation of making slippers and shoes, but, in the necessary company of an inspector of police, I have stood in the small hours of the morning amidst fifty men of the race, stripped to the waist, congregated around a shoulder-high, mat-covered table, eagerly playing, with all the appurtenances of cowrie shells and cup, banker, and croupier, the game of *maithan*, the primitive form of the roulette of the western world.

In Hong Kong, again, I have met Chinamen who have gathered together from every corner of the globe to spend the declining years of life and the savings of long periods of exile amidst their own countrymen and the familiar surroundings of youth, but under the British flag, which they know well secures them from spoliation at the hands of rapacious mandarins. In every colony of Australasia I have made acquaintance with sons of the Flowery Land, and have watched them selling vegetables or laundrying in the large cities, working old claims on the gold diggings, and serving as gardeners or cooks on the large sheep stations. In Hawaii, where the Chinese are nearly half as numerous as the native Polynesians, mustering over 15,000 strong, I have encountered the Celestial toiling in the cane brake; or, in the town of Honolulu, engaged in tailoring, shoemaking, trading, and the score of other occupations that come all equally handy to the Chinaman abroad. In the far-famed Chinese quarter of San Francisco I have heard the rattle of pistol-shots exchanged between the rival factions of 'high-binders,' have wandered through narrow streets and alleys swarming with Celestials, have visited joss-houses and theatres which have their exact prototypes

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in Canton and Foochoo, and have studied them as a dominant and dreaded power in a foreign land. In Southern California, amidst the vineyards and the gardens of that sun-kissed region, I have found the Chinaman once more the patient and assiduous toiler, nursing to maturity with tireless care all kinds of fruits and vegetables. In Chicago and New York and other great American cities I have penetrated to the little side streets where a handful of the almond-eyed race contrive to live amidst surroundings of squalor and racial hatred that would strike despair into the hearts of any other people.

But the Chinaman, although proverbially meek and mild, is a man of dauntless courage and unflinching fortitude. Voyages over vast tracts of stormy seas, extremes of heat or cold, prolonged separation from home and all he holds most dear and sacred, contumely and wrong at the hands of the men among whom he casts his lot—nothing of all this can turn him from his one purpose in life, namely, the accumulation of the little store of dollars which twenty years forward will make him a rich man in the country of his birth, will enable him to provide for his parents and erect monuments to the honour of his ancestors, and will cause him to be looked up to and envied by his fellow-villagers. To achieve this he goes everywhere—everywhere, at least, except to lands whose hostile laws of recent years block him at the ports of entry; and in countries where such laws have been passed the very fact shows that the Mongolian has already secured a foothold. We are told that there is no place of consequence the wide world over where a Scotchman is not to the fore. For myself I expect as confidently, wherever I wander, to find my Chinaman.

Like all the rest of human kind, the Chinaman has his vices as well as his virtues. But while the former are made the most of by his enemies, it is undeniable that 'John's' virtues in foreign lands count still more heavily against him. Untiring industry, patience, and perseverance, extreme thrift, the inborn habit and faculty of saving a little day by day, however scanty his earnings—these are the very qualities that have turned against him the hands of men belonging to a less industrious, less frugal, and less provident race. The vices of the Chinaman are magnified out of all proportion to their seriousness, simply that a pretext may be found for hunting him from the community like a pariah dog.

Let it be granted that a certain proportion of Chinamen are addicted to the opium habit. My own experience is that not 25 per cent. of the Chinese abroad ever use the drug either to eat it or to smoke it. But, apart from this consideration, and driving from mind the absurdly overdrawn pictures that have been given to the world of Chinese opium-dens filled with haggard men and ruined women, let me ask the very individuals in America and Australia who are loudest in decrying the Chinese, whether drink among their

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own class is not a hundredfold more debasing and more far-reaching and terrible in its results than is opium among Chinamen. The immediate effect of opium—and in this connection the ultimate effects, about which even medical men hold diametrically opposed opinions, may be left out of the question—is simply to temporarily lift the mind far above the trials and troubles of this sublunary sphere. The man who indulges in the drug remains absolutely quiescent; if evil there be in the practice, the evil affects himself alone. The same assuredly cannot be said of the hoodlum of San Francisco or the larrikin of Sydney, who, inflamed by drink, beats his wife and brutally abuses his half-starved children, driving the latter to a life of crime, and the former most probably to a life of shame. But the retort may be made that white women are occasionally to be found in the Chinaman's opium-dens; therefore, it is contended, the Chinaman is a corrupting influence in the land. Such an argument is the most obvious of logical fallacies—the old familiar confusion between the *post hoc* and the *propter hoc*. The women—and they are happily very, very few—who take to opium-smoking in the Chinese quarters of Australian or American cities are simply those who have fallen to the lowest depths of female degradation, and in such cases it is certainly a debatable point whether the opium debauch is more shocking, more shameless, or more harmful than the drunken debauch in which they have been accustomed for years previous to drown their feelings of remorse. They have taken to opium as a last experience in what is so grimly miscalled 'a life of pleasure.' The Chinaman with his opium-shop has contributed nothing whatever to their undoing. His association with these women in their final stage of moral degeneracy is merely a circumstance; it is certainly not the cause of their downfall.

This subject, repellent though it be, requires in justice to the Chinaman to be pursued yet a little further. There are in the country districts of Australia a limited number of places known as Chinese camps, where Chinese store- and cookshop-keepers permanently reside, and where there are caravansaries for the accommodation of Chinamen who may be travelling from one station to another, or may be out of work, or may be bent on enjoying a brief holiday among men of their own race. In these settlements two or three fallen white women may occasionally be met with. But why? In nearly every case because they have come to find in the society of the Chinamen more real kindness and consideration than they have ever known among the brutalised section of the city population with whom their lives were formerly spent. Moreover, numerous cases are on record where a well-to-do Chinaman, who except in rare instances can obtain a white wife from no other rank, marries one of these outcasts, rescues her from a career of vice, and gives her a life of comfort and self-respect such as she could other-

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wise never have attained. Authenticated cases of women under these circumstances having become good wives and mothers are on record in a New South Wales Government report on the subject of Chinese camps. The reclamation work effected by the Chinaman is therefore a point, even though a small point, that must be duly taken into account when the case against him comes up for adjudication.

After opium and its incidentals comes the charge of gambling. A plea of guilty may be freely entered, but there are certain qualifying circumstances that must be considered. There appear to be three races of men—the Chinese, the Malays, and the natives of Manilla—to whom in every grade and under all conditions of life gambling in some form or other is as the breath of their nostrils. The love of it is inborn; they seem unable to live contented lives without the pleasurable excitement that is to be found in games of mingled chance and skill. But among Chinamen generally, and certainly among Chinamen abroad, the gambling is of a very mild type indeed. In most cities where there is a considerable alien Chinese population to be dealt with the necessity for licensing and regulating, or at least winking at the existence of, their gaming-houses is recognised. It is the one pastime in a life of continuous toil, the denial of which would be intolerable and practically impossible. But the evil never assumes proportions of any more seriousness than our own domestic hand of 'Napoleon' or the club rubber of whist for nominal points so long as the authorities confine the games strictly to the Chinamen themselves—a course followed in such cities as Calcutta and Sydney. It is only when the riff-raff of other races are allowed to 'take a hand' and to utilise the Chinese games, tables, and banks for the gratification of their own gambling propensities that anything like widespread mischief is wrought. A Chinaman may in rare instances lose his all when gaming among his own countrymen; but if this result does happen he goes next day contentedly back to work, and is not, like most ruined gamblers of European stock, permanently incapacitated for honest toil. If white men lose money in a Chinese gambling-house, they are at once illogical, dishonest, and contemptible in denouncing the Chinese as the cause of their misfortune. The bush-workers inveigh against their Chinese competitors for their habit of gambling, yet it is notorious that the shearers' and the rouseabouts' huts on the sheep stations are frequently scenes where men are, in colonial phraseology, 'lambed down' and fleeced of all their season's earnings by quasi-professional gamblers, who find the evening game at cards far more profitable and to their taste than the day's work on or around the shearing-board. Similarly in the cities the poor Chinaman is denounced for his fondness for *fan tan* or *pakapu*, played for coppers; while the very men who throw the stone openly frequent racecourses and card clubs.

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Gambling is a vice of which the Mongolian holds no monopoly, and fairness demands that the men who accuse shall come up to the bar of justice with their own hands free from stain.

But there is one element in Chinese gambling that I have never seen present in gambling among other nationalities. I remember upon one occasion, in the city of Sydney, visiting a Chinese club and eating-house. Here there were present about a score of quiet, decorous, eminently respectable Chinamen of the merchant class. The inevitable game of cards was in progress. The stakes were copper coins, and the hands were played without one word of dispute or the least show of ill-humour. To all intents and purposes these Chinamen were engaged in what to Englishmen would be a quiet rubber of whist for small points. But, be it observed, at the side of the table stood a box for the poor, and the successful player at the close of each game dropped a portion of his winnings into it! Similarly, among a much humbler class of players in Calcutta, I have seen at the close of a pool in *maithan* all the money on the table first counted, then one-fourth placed in the charity-box, and, finally, the remaining three-fourths divided in proper proportion among the winners. The Chinaman abroad invariably provides for his own poor, and his games are voluntarily and cheerfully taxed for the purposes of charity. Can his Caucasian detractors in America and Australia say the same thing of their gambling saloons and race meetings?

But the real vices of the Chinaman abroad—the vices that cause him to be reviled by certain classes of the community among whom he lives—are, as I have before said, precisely his virtues. Because he can live contentedly on humble fare, and can save a little money where a white man would starve, he becomes straightway an object of execration among his white industrial competitors. When 'John' cuts into such trades as mining, sheep-shearing, cabinet-making, or washing and ironing, the Australian or American working men and women hold him up as a detestable being, to be spat upon and despitefully used whenever opportunity offers. As a market gardener he may be tolerated, the reason being that he can grow succulent vegetables of all kinds where no white man could make a thistle sprout, and under conditions requiring patience and perseverance such as very few white men would be capable of exercising. But in every other line of industry where he becomes a competitor with the self-named 'superior' races, he has—in the Australian colonies and in the United States at least—to pursue his calling amidst curses and invective that would break the heart of any other man. Now, while I sympathise strongly under these circumstances with the down-trodden Chinaman, I am not blinded to the fact that too many Chinese in what is called a 'white man's country' may reduce the standard of living to an intolerably low level. I make no plaint whatever over America and

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Australia having put a stop with a firm hand to *unrestricted* Chinese immigration. Under such conditions there may come to be too many Chinamen in the land, just as in a precisely similar way, while irrigation is a splendid thing, over-irrigation may be more disastrous to the soil than no irrigation at all. My plea for the Chinaman in new countries such as California or Queensland amounts to this—that for the development of these regions his presence in certain force cannot but prove one of the grandest factors conducing to success. His total exclusion is a most short-sighted and mistaken line of policy; his deportation is little less than a national crime, for it puts back the clock of progress and renders useless a large amount of necessary and arduous pioneer work. Furthermore, I say unhesitatingly that both the Australian colonies and the Western States of America could take thousands more Chinamen than they at present have, to the advantage of the whole community in each and every case. Yet we find Chinese being dragged from their orchards in California and deported under the Geary Act, and the harbours of Queensland and its inland boundaries being closely guarded against Chinese immigrants, who would be the very men to reap harvests of gold from mineral fields which now perforce lie idle because white labour cannot profitably work them, and to create gardens in regions where all the year round a cauliflower cannot at present be purchased for love or money.

To show what the Chinaman is capable of accomplishing in Australia, let me endeavour to recall two scenes that have vividly impressed themselves upon my memory.

It is a period of partial drought, and a broiling day at Christmastide, the midsummer of the Antipodes. I am driving over the parched plains of Riverina, the vast flat tract of fertile land enclosed by the mighty Murray River and its scarcely less mighty tributaries the Lachlan, the Darling, and the Murrumbidgee. The travelling stock road which I am following is cleft by the fierce heat of the sun every here and there into yawning fissures. Not a single tree or patch of brushwood breaks the horizon. Although I am right in the centre of a vast sheep-run, no flocks are to be seen; the animals have been driven to the dried-up watercourses, where there is perhaps enough grass left to sustain life for a few days longer. I have once during the day caught a glimpse of a small flock of emus, far away in the distance, their long necks and fluffy, ball-like bodies sharply outlined against the steel-grey sky. On two or three occasions I have drawn rein to watch a group of 'native companions' dancing and curtseying on the plain in the peculiarly graceful manner of all the crane tribe. A brace of wild turkeys beneath the seat of the buggy bear silent witness to a bit of sport in the earlier hours of the morning. But other trace of animal life, during a long six hours' drive, there has been none. At last, through the quivering heat haze, I descry one green spot in the desert. Is it a mirage? I keep asking myself, as the horses instinctively

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quicken their leisurely jog-trot at the vision, with its promise of water, before them. When I drive nearer, I can answer that the scene is no mirage. It is a beautiful God's acre of fruit trees and vegetables and flowers, enclosed on all sides by a hedge of vivid green. I look around for an explanation of this seeming miracle. The creaking of a wheel falls on my ear and directs my eye. The riddle is solved. John Chinaman and a draw-well!

He has not heard the footfall of my horses, but when I 'cooeey' he looks up, breaks from his work, advances to the side of the hedge, and answers my kindly greeting by a broad smile. 'Vely walm day,' he acquiescingly replies, in the soft pigeon-English which I once heard a Chinaman aptly describe as a 'vely lady-like way of talkee.' He fetches a bucket of water for the horses, and of his own goodwill bestows upon me a couple of large and beautiful oranges. As I drive off after this brief and pleasant interlude to my monotonous journey, I hear the creaking axle of the draw-well again in operation. The industrious Chinaman is once more at work!

Now, this man lives amidst these lonely and uninteresting surroundings from one year's end to the other. He has no companion, and sees no human face except that of the lad who twice a week rides out from the head station with his rations of flour, sugar, tea, and mutton, of his employer occasionally, or of some rare passer-by like myself. I venture to say without fear of contradiction that no man other than a Chinaman could endure such an existence. I should certainly wish to condemn no white man to such a lot. Yet the Chinaman is perfectly contented and happy, for week by week he is laying by a golden sovereign, and in three years more he will return to China or betake himself to Hong Kong, with ample provision for the remainder of his days. And for this end he has toiled cheerfully for twenty long years, amidst the solitude of a mid-Australian sheep-run.

When, a few hours after my encounter with the Chinese gardener, I reach the station, I find that trouble is in the air. The hands have struck work at the bidding of a travelling delegate from their labour union. The cause of complaint is that the owner of the station has a Chinaman in his employment. The Chinaman in question is my friend the gardener! Ye gods! can there be such short-sightedness, such unthinking prejudice among a sane body of men? I engage in conversation with one of the malcontents. With this particular Chinaman in the concrete he has no fault to find whatever, and his only objection to Chinamen in the abstract appears to be that 'they don't spend their money in the country like other men.' To such a man there is little use pointing out that, even if 'John' does save a pound a week to carry away with him from the country, the product of his labour is far in excess of that sum, his industry adds measurably to the health, comfort, and wealth of the whole community, and in the end he leaves a rich legacy

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behind him. Arguments are of no avail. But the squatter stands firm; for his family's sake alone, if not for that of the station hands themselves, who are under no compulsion to eat the Chinese-grown cabbages, he absolutely refuses, be the cost what it may, to dismiss the gardener. After a couple of days, when the union delegate has ridden away, a few of the older hands come to reason and return to work, despite the threats of the extreme unionists, most of them young men, in their ranks. The latter are then ordered to vacate their quarters, and after drawing the pay due to them take to the road. A night later I again meet them. They are 'knocking down' their cheques in a villainous bush public-house a dozen miles away. A week will not elapse before every man jack in the party will be penniless, and will be compelled to tramp onwards on the outlook for another job, or to 'cadge his tucker' by walking from station to station and begging the night's quarters in the travellers' hut and the twenty-four hours' rations which are never refused the wayfarer on an Australian sheep station. And these are the men who find cause for quarrel in the employment of a Chinaman to grow vegetables on a spot where no one else could make them grow, and denounce him for not spending his earnings in the country as they themselves do!

The second scene I shall describe is a widely different one. I am on the gold-field of Bendigo. I have descended the deepest gold-mine in the world—Lansell's '180' shaft, which is down 2,850 feet and is being sunk another 300. I have seen the quartz being quarried from its matrix, I have watched it ascending to the surface, I have followed it to the stamping battery, and I have witnessed the finely powdered product passing through all the complicated processes connected with gold-saving, in which quicksilver, ripples, blankets, and delicate chemical operations all play a part. The gold-bearing sand from the batteries is subjected to manipulation after manipulation, and with untiring care each series of manipulations is repeated several times over. At last, when human patience and ingenuity appear to have been exhausted, the useless sludge is allowed to run off. I follow the muddy channel as it cuts its way through a vast mountain of tailings. At the extreme edge of these I encounter—a Chinaman and a break-wind. The latter shelters him from heat and wind, and behind its cover are a miniature set of sluices, with quicksilver plates, ripples, and blankets all complete. Where the Caucasian has admitted himself to be played out, the Mongolian is saving gold! Here is an alchemist who can find the precious metal in the dirt-wash from the battery in which every appliance that money can purchase and man's ingenuity devise is in operation. Yet the average Australian miner would, if he could, hunt this Chinaman from the field. But John pays a small rent to the mine to secure the right of occupation, and once in the country and duly registered he is protected by all the forces of the law.

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The unconcealed hatred of those around him does not disturb his equanimity, for he is amassing—slowly perhaps, but surely—a competency. And it is safe to say that a white man would starve, even if he did not first break his heart, were he put to a similar task.

In this way the few Chinamen in Australia subsist on sufferance. Besides working as miners and vegetable gardeners, a considerable number of them will be found on stations and in country-town hotels engaged as cooks, despite the hoot and howl of jealous unionists. They are experts in the kitchen, like most Orientals trained to European ways, and are invariably paid the ordinary white cook's wage. Therefore, in this calling at least, they cannot be accused of lowering the standard of the working man's remuneration. But their great disqualification in the eyes of their enemies lies in the fact that they make their employers' interests identical with their own. 'John' the cook is absolutely reliable. He never goes on strike for an eight-hours day, and never by any chance touches a drop of liquor. Yet many an hotel in the colonies has been burned to the ground for no other reason than that the owner employed a Chinese cook. The disabilities of the Jews in mediæval Europe sink into nothingness when compared with the disabilities of the Chinese in modern Australia.

Occasionally we get a glimpse of what the race might achieve were these disabilities removed. Thus in Melbourne, two or three years ago, a Chinese boy in attendance at the premier high school in the city beat everyone in the senior class, and came out first in Latin, Greek, French, mathematics, English literature, and each and every subject in the curriculum. But he was the son of a christianised Chinese missionary, and so had avenues opened to him that are barred to all other Chinese children in the land. The average working Chinaman, as I have shown, has to bear the burden of contumely, and has to live the life of the leper outside the gates. Yet he braces himself to the cruel and unequal struggle, and in the end achieves a quiet triumph in the face of every difficulty. Has chivalry died out among the Caucasian race that honour should be denied to such achievement? Will not every unbiassed reader who gives serious thought to the facts I have placed before him recognise the truth of my contention that it is the virtues and not the vices of the race that really bring unpopularity to the Chinaman abroad? Moreover, will not everyone who is acquainted with the conditions prevailing in Australia and on the Pacific slope of America, and who is not blinded by prejudice and self-interest or bound hand and foot by base political considerations, admit that it would be to the great advantage of mankind if the gates swung inwards for the welcome, instead of standing as barriers for the exclusion, of Chinese immigrants in numbers proportionate to the vast undeveloped resources of these lands?

EDMUND MITCHELL.

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A TRIP TO BOSNIA-HERZEGOVINA

ONE day during his trip in the Crimea with the great Catherine and her great favourite Potemkin, Joseph the Second wrote to his mother, Maria Theresa of Austria, 'We have done to-day a fine piece of work; the Empress has laid the foundation-stone of a new town, and I the last.'

These words from the correspondence of the future ally of Catherine were recalled to me by M. Sabouroff, the ex-Russian Ambassador at Berlin, whom I met the other day on my way home from the excursion into Bosnia-Herzegovina which is the occasion of these pages.

M. de Kallay, the Austro-Hungarian Minister of Finance, upon whom the absolute direction of Bosnia-Herzegovina has fallen, has not built a city in a day. He has emulated no cyclopean work; but within only twelve years—scarcely a day in a nation's life—he has created an entire province, and restored to civilisation a people which for centuries had been the prey of ignorance, fanaticism, and indeed almost of barbarism. This country, thus won back in so brief a period, he has endowed with all those vital organs of normal existence that are necessary to-day for any community which claims its share of life under the modern sun; he has opened up numberless routes, he has brought into being a regular administration, he has revived decaying or all but defunct national industries; he has established schools, hospitals, and churches; he has succeeded in introducing or fostering liberty of conscience, respect for the law and equality before the law, as well as the instinct of personal dignity and self-respect and the impulse to social individual well-being by contributing to the well-being of others; he has managed, in a word, to sow broadcast the good seed from which men are born, and almost to make Bosnia and Herzegovina to-day—but at all events in the very near future—a chosen corner of the planet, destined to become the model State of the Balkans.

Nowhere in the Balkan peninsula has such a transformation taken place, nowhere is the contrast between yesterday and to-day more immense and striking; and the only reproach which I feel inclined to make as to M. de Kallay's work is that it has been accomplished quite without any semblance of Parliamentary aid, and only by the will and intelligence of one man, seconded by the enthusiastic

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devotion which he has inspired. So true is this, that the more attentively his work is studied, the more inevitably the observer is led, in spite of himself, to feel a kind of predilection for the almost autocratic activity which has presided at its realisation, for it is a result which surely would not have been thus so quickly brought about by any collective action. In this case, however, the reassuring thought immediately arises that it is not the principle of autocracy, but the temperament and the qualities of the autocrat, that deserve praise and admiration, so that one may recognise without any sort of reservation the strikingly admirable character of the results obtained. I consider it no slight honour to be able to draw attention to the transformation which has thus taken place in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and to the conclusions which this great change suggests to the attentive observer. I do not wish to exaggerate the importance of my subject, but I believe in all sincerity that, considered from the point of view in which it appealed to me, it well deserves, not merely because of what has been already done, but also on account of what is likely to be done in the immediate future, to hold the attention and to excite the interest of the whole of Europe.

Indeed, by a peculiar coincidence, no one was likely to take a greater interest in Bosnian affairs than myself. Some time before the Berlin Congress one of my dearest friends, who was even then considerably advanced in years, had told me the story of a trip which he had taken on the right bank of the Sava in what was known as the military frontier (*die militär Grenze*), opposite Bosnia, and marking the left bank of the Sava. This military frontier was then a narrow strip of territory extending for several hundred kilomètres along the boundary line of the provinces of the Balkan peninsula. Between Zagreb, the capital of Croatia, and Carlstadt, one of its most important towns near the military frontier, was a small stretch of territory called Turnopol, where the peasants faithful to Hungary, and all or with few exceptions nobles, willingly joined the frontier troops whenever—and it was frequent enough—a Croat rising had to be suppressed. My friend had run throughout Croatia, traversed Turnopol, and entered the military frontier just at the close of one of these sanguinary incidents, which were always occurring on one or the other bank of the Sava. The Bosnians had crossed the Sava and pillaged and burnt the villages of the military frontier while the able-bodied men were in military service; the Graniczars, moreover, on their way home had crossed the Sava, captured a score of Bosnians, and impaling them, literally planted their corpses along the left bank of the Sava. When my friend, surprised at seeing this country thus closed to travellers, asked how he might visit it, he was told that 'in the first place he must get a general permission, then two different escorts in two distinct *villajets*; for thus, by each keeping watch on the other, they would both protect him.' The advice was no doubt a

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little ironic, but it was enough to dissuade my friend from his plan, revealing to him, as it did, the condition of Bosnia at that time, and that too at a period not so very remote.

This story was fresh in my memory when in 1878, now some sixteen years ago, I met at the Berlin Congress Mehemed Ali, the Turkish general and plenipotentiary of the Sultan. Mehemed Ali was of Mecklenburg origin. He was a pure German, and his name was Oberscheider, or something of the sort. He had begun life as a cabin-boy on a ship trading with Turkish ports. A pacha became interested in the child, made a Mussulman of him, and sent him to a military school, which he left to enter the army, where he rose to the general's grade and gained a reputation for military capacity and bravery.

'This Mehemed Ali,' said Prince Bismarck to me, 'must be a very amusing fellow; I should like to have a talk with him. But the Mecklenburg people would never pardon me if I paid any special attention to one of their fellow-citizens who has got on in a fashion which so shocks their hierarchic notions.'

And indeed, if I may be permitted the digression, Mehemed Ali really was at times a 'jolly good fellow.' He liked a good dinner and good wine. His appetite was simply tremendous, and when the servant appeared to fill his glass, he took it in both hands in order to hide its contents from his neighbours, and, raising both elbows at once, emptied it at a gulp. No one ever detected a drop of wine in his glass, and he thus saved appearances. When the meal was finished he suffered visibly from the heat, and the blood rushed to his head. He then cast about for some quiet corner where he might remove his red fez, under which he wore a sort of fine white cloth bonnet, and thus at ease he became joyous, good-humoured, and communicative; at such moments he really was a very jolly companion.

'My master, my august master,' he said to me one day, 'has chosen as his plenipotentiaries the three men the most easily disowned in his empire. I am a German, Kara Theodori is Greek, and Sadoulak, whose great talent has mainly consisted in making himself quite forgotten, is here simply because he *was* here. Our mission is to unmake the Treaty of San Stefano, and to accept nothing whatever without asking for instructions. And Prince Bismarck always has the air of asking us what, after all, we are good for. Our instructions are so vague and floating that I sometimes ask myself whether it is I or Kara who is the chief plenipotentiary. The truth is the prince never lets us finish a sentence, apparently thinking we are only there to fill up. As for me, I knew perfectly well when I was sent here that I was already sacrificed. Whatever we do our disgrace is certain, we cannot help displeasing our Imperial master; but the very idea of coming to this congress as plenipotentiary amused me so much that I had not the courage to fly either from

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the honour or the danger. So, you see, I go everywhere, I accept all invitations, I take part in all pleasures; indeed, get the most possible out of the situation. For I know that I shall never have so good a time again. As for Kara, he speaks scarcely two words during the day; he wanders about the *salons* like a ghost, always with the air of a man weeping over the ruins of the Parthenon; and as to Sadoulak, I imagine he is more occupied with me than with the Treaty of San Stefano. Moreover, this congress is full of traps and mysteries. Everyone here has come with an *arrière-pensée*, and the Treaty of Cyprus has given the last wrench to the knots of this imbroglio. I don't much admire the cleverness of the English in this matter; it has made their position here absolutely false. They appear to have deceived everybody, and that too for a treaty which will not bring them in very much. The treaty has been made, indeed, at our expense; yet it is still we who have been blamed, because it is looked upon as a singular idea that in the same breath in which we make our claims to recover our own territory we should voluntarily, and in concealing it, abandon a portion of it.

'Again I may be in the wrong, but I have said it quite frankly; I shall never understand why the Russians stopped at San Stefano, instead of entering Constantinople. They would not even have met there with any military resistance, and once masters of that capital, they might have treated with others in authority. They let themselves be frightened like children, and now they are going to leave the congress abandoning almost their entire booty. They have trodden on everybody's toes and put on nobody's slippers. This campaign and this congress have added neither to their military nor to their diplomatic glory; and to cap the climax, they will wound the Roumanians, who saved their cause at Plevna, by taking Bessarabia from them under a sentimental pretext. They got Prince Danilo here thinking to make him give up Herzegovina by abandoning Bosnia to Servia, and then dominating both these countries by the antagonisms which were sure to arise between them. *Eh bien*, as to Bosnia and Servia, it is Austria which will now have them, and it is once more with morsels of our flesh that Prince Bismarck is finally going to assuage the wounds which he dealt Austria twelve years ago.

'Finally, I don't understand Austria any more than I do Russia and England. I don't understand what she can make out of Bosnia and Herzegovina. They are two wild and savage lairs which she is thus introducing into the already so extravagantly varied provinces of her empire. I am well acquainted with these two provinces. I have been *mudjir* of Serajevo,' and he told me the anecdote which I have already related elsewhere, of the peasant who came to Serajevo with three horses loaded with oats, and sold the grain to the military authority, and who from bakschish to bakschich had oats,

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horses, and silver eaten up; indeed, finally having his clothing torn in tatters and being half killed because, when quite at the end of his resources, he dared to treat the men who had robbed him as thieves. 'That,' said Mehemed Ali, 'that's the fine country which Andrassy dreams of conquering for his master's empire.'

II

Since 1882 Bosnia and Herzegovina had not shown, so to speak, a sign of life. While the other little Balkan States were constantly in commotion and a continuous cause of anxiety to Europe, the very word 'Bosnia' seemed to have been blotted out from the memory of men. From time to time, when I recalled the story of my old friend or the anecdote of the peasant with his three horses, I said to myself that Mehemed Ali had been very clear-sighted, that Austria-Hungary had made a very bad bargain, but that it was prudently holding its peace as to the error it had committed. A great surprise, however, awaited me.

In the early days of last June I received a call from Mr. Redfern and M. Guttmann, two young and intelligent agents of the *Compagnie Internationale des Wagons Lits.* They told me that their company was planning an excursion to Bosnia-Herzegovina; that the Austro-Hungarian Administration of the two provinces, wishing to show what it had already accomplished for the little country whose destiny Europe had confided to its care, would do all in its power to render the trip a pleasant one, and they urged me to join the little caravan which was about to get under way. I accepted unhesitatingly. It was a charming way of spending my holidays, the more so that it offered me the opportunity of satisfying a long-persistent curiosity. On the day after this visit I met Prince Roland Bonaparte, who informed me that he was to be one of the party, and that we were to travel together. That, again, was charming. The prince as a traveller is curious in the Greek sense of the word, attentive and penetrating; his observations are always to the point; and he is extremely affable, and, like all real travellers, the least exacting person in the world, putting up with everything as it comes. The thought of his companionship strengthened my desire to undertake the trip, and I made arrangements accordingly. The unexpectedly hot weather, however, which came on just at this moment obliged the prince, on his physician's advice, to go instead to Switzerland, and in the afternoon of the 9th of July the Orient Express started without him towards Bosnia.

I may mention here that my purpose in writing these pages is to make known the Bosnia of to-day, which remains for the immense majority of Europeans a *terra ignota.* I desire to reveal, in the course of this plain narrative of my trip, the changes which have

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taken place in a country which hardly fifteen years ago was as inaccessible as any corner of Central Africa. I am neither an explorer nor an intrepid traveller. The very fact that I can run through a country is of itself sufficient proof that it is easily accessible and a pleasant place in which to stay, and they whose only idea of real 'travels' is a trip, say, about the Albert Nyanza, will do well not to go further in these pages. I have no intention, therefore, of telling any tales of exciting adventure or daring enterprise; on the contrary, I wish to show that to visit Bosnia to-day is the easiest and the most charming thing in the world, and that they who have become sated with the Riviera, the Roman Campagna, the Rhine, the Champs Elysées, or the Scotch lakes, can, without quitting Europe, and without undergoing any pleasurable privations or extraordinary sufferings, visit a new country which everyday familiarity has not yet classed among those agreeable goals of excursion imposed upon the curiosity of schoolboy holiday-makers. Let me relate, then, the pleasant stages of my trip as simply and unaffectedly as I may.

The train went directly from Paris to Vienna, where we were to rest for thirty-six hours. My readers know already that, save for the charming passage of the Geislingen, which we accomplished on the following morning, where the railway, returning on itself and skirting a fresh and verdant valley, mounts steadily to the summit of the high declivities, revealing a picturesque landscape full of surprises, there is no portion of the route more monotonous and less captivating than that which leads across the plains of Germany and Upper Austria to Vienna; and it is scarcely before reaching the very gates of the Austrian capital that the traveller's curiosity is aroused by the rich spreading panorama which is, as it were, the necessary foretaste of every capital in the world. As for me, abandoning for the moment my fellow-travellers, only to join them two days later, I hastened across Vienna to catch the train for Buda-Pest.

I must confess that no city in the world holds or interests me less than Vienna. There is none whose commonplace and everyday characteristics less excite my curiosity, nor any the study or observation of whose inhabitants is less sterile. It is, let me say, as a town, merely 'one of a dozen.' And every time that I return to it I am struck by the fact that the older it grows the more improvised is its appearance. The Viennese, however, whom one meets abroad—for I have not been permitted to judge them very much at home—are extremely gracious, amiable, good-humoured, and well educated. This leads me to suppose they are equally charming in their own country, for it is scarcely likely that there are special brands of Viennese for foreign exportation, and an inferior product for home consumption. During the few hours that we passed at Vienna I took a good *droschky*, driven by a 'cabby' of much sagacity, and showed my son, who was with me, the

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powdery Prater with its hot inelegance of aspect, the leading arteries of the capital, the cathedral, which is a little stiff in its lines and *dépaysée* amid so fast-rushing a world, and the conventional Government buildings, which complete the impressions of this town, towards which converge reluctantly the multifarious and heterogeneous elements of the most complex empire in the world.

On the other hand, Buda-Pest has for me an invincible attraction, and when on the morrow—a warm, bright day—I was at last permitted to instal myself in the shade high up on one of the balconies of the Hôtel Hungaria overlooking the Danube, I experienced one of the most agreeable sensations that I recall. Here the ample breadth of the stream diminishes the force of the current, and the Danube passes majestically under the two imposing bridges which hide its course where it bends far below beyond the town with the dimensions and the appearance of a stream opening out into the sea. In front frowns the ancient and lofty fortress of Buda, which formerly held Hungary abject and trembling under its cannon, and the Burg, formerly Imperial, where watched the implacable eye of the conqueror. Both fortress and Burg, however, are to disappear for ever. A new royal *château* is going up near by, which will take the place of the old yellow barracks which serve now as dwelling for the King of Hungary in this capital, finally recovered from the age-long domination of Austria. Below, the life of the river is unceasing; and the whole warm, brilliant, animated picture is most enlivening. Buda-Pest! The very word names an idea which is big with the future. It is synonymous with restored liberty, unfolding now at each forward step; it is the future opening up before a growing people. Whole districts of the capital will one day be rebuilt and reappear under a fresh aspect; and this immense meeting-point between the East and the West adds daily to its power and its attractions. Never have I seen in any capital the signs and advertisements more strenuously insistent upon the use of the national tongue. All that I noted were in the Hungarian language, save one odd exception, the words *entreprise de pompes funèbres*, in good French, as if the word *funèbres* were not the least French of the tongue spoken by the gayest of nations.

On the morrow of our arrival we lunched at Sainte Marguerite's Island, pearl of the Danube, nest of flowers, sweet odours, and cool air, whence and whither the white steamers go—a spot unequalled by any one of the public gardens of any of the great cities from the Vistula to the Spree.

Our fellow-travellers arrived at two o'clock, conducted by M. de Horowitz, Assistant-Director of Bosnian Affairs, who was to accompany us during our entire stay in Bosnia and Herzegovina. The sun fell hot upon the endless and monotonous plains, arid even in their oppressive fertility, over which we were soon passing between Buda-

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Pest and Bosna-Brod. Only now and then the appearance of an Hungarian peasant in a floating white dress that streaked the burning landscape as with a brilliant calcined line gave variation to the scene. But finally the evening came, with scarcely undiminished heat. Crossing the Danube by ferry, we were at last in Bosnia. It was with a veritable feeling of relief that we had quitted the burning and endless *pousta*, and the moon which lighted the strange picture of a loaded train upon a boat, reflecting its curious silhouette in the silvered waters, revealed also our first Bosnian peasants running along the river edge to assist at our crossing and arrival.

If, fifteen years hence, the future Governor of the Soudan invites some tourists to come and see what he has made of that country, and if towards midnight a railway guard cries, 'Khartoum! passengers change,' such tourists, I imagine, will have pretty much the same impression as I when, towards midnight, suddenly startled from my dozing, I heard the cry, 'Bosna-Brod! tout le monde descend!' The Austrian wagons were to go back to Vienna, and we were obliged to change into the Bosnian train. There was indeed, then, a railway across this wild and savage Bosnia!

Here M. de Horowitz took the lead. I have never seen anyone act with a greater calmness or more constantly to the point. There is a great charm in the clever face of M. de Horowitz, Assistant-Director of Bosnian Affairs, the right arm of M. de Kallay, and the most perfect type of the functionary who is never surprised, never disturbed, never brought completely to a standstill, and never capable even of hesitation. Once a difficulty arises he looks it squarely and smilingly in the face, delighted at the thought of fighting the matter out, and sure of conquering. Of middle height, slim, with a slightly ironic expression, but an eye at once penetrating and sympathetic, he is willingly retiring when his intervention is not necessary, but always at his post when the right moment comes. His plain and voluntarily *négligé* dress in nowise distinguishes him from others, but when need be he can assert himself with an authority so natural that his figure stands out clearly and exactly in the place his position assigns him. A gesture, a glance, a brief remark, and matters which a moment before seemed all confusion are set right as if by enchantment. He has Bosnia at his finger-tips. He knows men and things there, and he places them unhesitatingly and exactly in the places allotted them. He is, moreover, a travelling companion who makes everything glide smoothly; without insistence, but readily, he reviews the work accomplished, without ever inserting a word which could lead one to suppose that he has had the slightest hand in it. Indeed, he hardly allows his subordinates to treat him as a superior, nor permits anyone to praise him. But it is apparent that he takes a real pleasure in praising other people, and assigning to his chief, M. de Kallay, the merit of all that people approve around him. It is he who from this

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moment on until we quit Herzegovina will direct our steps and watch over the programme of the trip.

In each compartment were two great armchairs opposite each other, forming a bed, much as in a Pullman car, and there in this privacy my young companion slept profoundly until even long after sunrise. I, however, had not come to sleep. With the first streaks of dawn I had unmade, if I may so say, the bed, restored the armchair, and drawn back the curtains. I was not long unrewarded. The train was moving with its dull and regular rumble across a landscape exquisitely fresh and gracious and seductive to look upon. Rounded slopes, covered with a thick and varied foliage, skirted on either side a long and winding valley. On our left the Bosna, reflecting the pale emerald of the hills still drowned in shadow, rushed turbulently on, raising foam-flakes as it dashed against rocks impotent to bar its passage; while along the stream on the left bank, separating hill and river, ran like a wide ribbon, glistening white under the first rays of the sun, a long silent road, upon which at rare intervals passed a sort of chariot drawn by two swift-stepping little Bosnian horses, excited by the morning air, and driven by a man in a red fez, who seemed now and then, with his quick, sharp cries, to be trying to urge his beasts to a race with the train, which outstripped them, whistling ironically across the valley. From time to time the view opened up effectively, the vale became a smiling valley, surrounded by an amphitheatre of pleasantly wooded mountains. Farmhouses and mills were scattered about the valley, across which still ran the high road and the river, while at the far extremity appeared some village, still fortified as in the times of Mussulman feudalism. White houses of a village huddled close together under the crenelated towers and the high walls of the fort, like a flock of sheep trembling beneath a cromlech.

At 7.30 we came to a halt at Zenika, the second or the third station in Bosnia. Close by the railway line, in the shade, a long table with a fresh white cloth wooed us by its gay and bounteous aspect to partake. The foaming beer in tall glasses, the Giesshubler in bottles fresh from the ice, as was shown by the moist, transparent beads on the outside of the bottles, the dishes of fish and meat already dressed, recalled the early morning repasts of England at which, without the annoyance of servants, the family assembles to fortify and refresh itself, perhaps a little austerely, before the labours of the day. I had been awake for at least four hours; so that this first meal on Bosnian soil, there by the roadside, at the beginning of a splendid summer morning, and after so radiant a journey ever since the dawn, chased every shadow from my mind. About the table, his eye on every point, watching the waiters and directing them with a word or a gesture, hovered with the greatest vivacity a quite round little man, all smiles and amiability, notwithstanding his preoccupations. He

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wore a small soft grey felt hat, a little jacket, little trousers, and little gaiters enveloping a vigorous little leg. The face, as round as the rest of him, was scarcely shaded by a little black moustache; the complexion was high-coloured; the eye, small, black and piercing, gleamed through silver-mounted spectacles; and his short, chubby arms were in as constant movement as a child's aërial telegraph. The voice, sharp and resonant, carried orders in all directions, and scarcely could M. de Horowitz manage to stop him long enough to present to us M. Pojeman, a sort of *intendant-général* or *officier de bouche* as the expression used to be, whose duty it is to inspect the eight hotels constructed by the State on Bosnian and Herzegovinian soil. This little person, so round, so indefatigable, so full of resource, and so inexhaustibly stocked with imagination, accompanied us as a joyous and beneficent providence throughout our stay, and I scarcely do my duty in fixing only in this connection, amidst the acclamations of our grateful stomachs, the not-to-be appreciated silhouette of our friend Pojeman. Where this rare pearl was discovered, this man who has increased the resources of Bosnia, yet has never said, 'That is impossible,' I know not; but to have found him, to have understood his special aptitudes, and to have discovered the right field of activity for them, prove once more the remarkable talents as ferreter-out of men which is one of the forces as well as one of the great resources of M. de Kallay.

At 11.30 we entered the station at Serajevo, in that ancient Bosna-Serai of which Mehemed Ali had been *moudjir*, and of which he had traced for me so wild a picture, but over which he was no longer to smile; for shortly after the Berlin Congress he died in Albania, where he had been sent to put down a revolt. A bullet fired, no one has ever known whence or by whom, put an end then and there to his imprudent criticism of the Turkish Administration.

III

Conquest or progress, it is with blood that the book of humanity is written. The page consecrated to the taking over of Bosnia and Herzegovina is no exception; it, too, is stained with the inevitable sanguinary horrors, but nowhere is the trace more inexplicable. From Bosna-Brod to Metkovitch, from the Danube to the Narenta—from end to end, that is, of the conquered provinces—is only about eighteen hours of an indolent train. The two armies which in 1878 penetrated hither to take possession of this corner of the Balkans in virtue of the decision of the Berlin Congress started, the one under command of Feldzeugmeister Baron Joseph Philiporic of Bosna-Brod on the Danube; the other, under the orders of Lieutenant-Marshal Baron Jovanowitz, from Metkovitch on the Narenta, and it was after incessant combats, after heroic fighting for eighteen days on the part

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of both armies, that they succeeded in joining their forces at Serajevo and captured with the greatest difficulty the fortress whose fall was the virtual end of the struggle and the sign of definitely entering into possession of the country. Both Turks and Orthodox had risen with the same enthusiasm, and the 'Spagnols,' the Spanish Jews who had fled from Spain during the terrors of the Inquisition of Philippe the Second, and who had settled in Bosnia in considerable numbers, also took up arms against the common foe. The Austrians say to-day that only the Mussulmans rose to fight *pro aris et focis*, in defence of their Prophet and their wives. The truth, however, is that Orthodox Bosnia also resisted, rose up against the unknown, and to drive back the soldier who was described as the soldier of the Pope; and in their turn the Jews swelled the ranks of the resisting army because they had found here in the shadow of the Crescent a safe and peaceful place of refuge, and because the armies whose chaplains spoke in the name of Rome recalled to them the vague and remote but terrible past of the tortures endured by their ancestors. Against these convinced and voluntary combatants, flocking from the hamlets, appearing from behind each isolated cabin, massing for ambuscade or guerilla warfare at a score of points in each defile, constant daily combats were inevitable. Sometimes desperate battles were necessary. It was a tale of ground slowly won, of dead and dying strewn by the rivers or among the hills, of the daring penetration of wild corners held in ambush. It was necessary always to give immediate battle, for a regular siege of the fortresses great and small, and of the feudal castles frowning on the hilltops, might have had the most disastrous consequences; and in the plain, even when all seemed quiet, death haunted the invaders' footsteps. The peasant who seemed to be working peaceably in his field, indifferent, or moved merely by a dull astonishment at the passage of the troops, once they had vanished from sight snatched up his gun hidden in a furrow, took shelter behind a wall or tree, and fired on the soldiers. It might really have been said that it was the Spagnols, knowing the modern story of their former fatherland, who taught the Bosnians how to defend the soil of their country against the foreign invader. But Bosnia and Herzegovina were too feeble to resist effectually the power of a great empire, and it is sufficient testimony to their heroism to repeat that eighteen days of the liveliest hostilities were necessary before the two Austro-Hungarian armies were able to lay hold as conquerors of these two corners of the earth, defended only by peasants and volunteers. Turkey, owing to the common action of Russia, Austria-Hungary, and Roumania, had withdrawn almost all its troops from the Balkans, and Bosnia was thus left without any regular troops to defend her. And to defend her against whom? Against whom was directed all this prolonged and violent resistance? Against Austria-Hungary, legally

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invested with possession, and in order to preserve her soil for Turkey, which had yielded up the two provinces after a feeble and merely nominal resistance. And this is the odd—I may add the unheard of—side of this struggle, absolutely without historic precedent. It was in the interest of a master who had abandoned them; to defend a soil which he had given up, to preserve for him a sovereignty which he had voluntarily let slip—for no one at Berlin dreamed of forcing Turkey's acquiescence, and before her absolute resistance, which would have plunged Europe into a terrible general war, the entire congress would have recoiled—that Bosnia and Herzegovina fought. This fact is stupefying.

But instinctively, blindly, Mussulman, Orthodox, and 'Spagnol' Jew flung themselves in the path of the Austro-Hungarians, and I know not if the Franciscans—the only Catholic religious Order which then occupied convents, and which even to-day, with their large leathern girdle restraining their black robes, their rounded civilian's hat, their bushy beards and formidable brushed-up moustache, have a distinctly militant air—did not as well mix in the ranks of those who were fighting for a master who had abandoned them. The resistance, at all events, was terrible, for this people have always had the passion for arms. In the good old days the Bosnians, whether Turk or Orthodox, carried at their belts, in their saddle-girths, or across their shoulders, guns, pistols, and *yatagans*, always marvels of damascene work. It was the emigration to Bosnia of the Jews from Spain which brought thither the rudiments of this fine and delicate art, later on happily applied and developed as a refined industry in the better class of arms. It is the old story of the dissemination after the Edict of Nantes of the fine flower of French industry over the hospitable soil of certain European countries. Alas! these treasures have disappeared; only here and there an authentic specimen can be found saved from the sweeping application of the orders, given after the taking over of the country, to surrender all arms or to destroy them. Yet, before the victorious entry of the Austro-Hungarians, each Bosnian, each Herzegovinian was a walking arsenal, and if these beautiful weapons did not carry very far, they were sufficiently effective in the petty ambuscade warfare proper to the land.

To-day weapons and ambuscades are things of the romantic past. The spectacle now offered is not less unique than that of its resistance to the invader. Twelve years have sufficed under M. de Kallay's administration not only to remove all traces of the wild, inhospitable, inaccessible Bosnia of which I have been speaking, but indeed and especially to banish even the memory of those dark days of strenuous battle, and to wipe away from the hearts of both invader and invaded all traces of the hate which then animated them. Up to 1882, from the time of the Austrian entry into the country, what is known to-day in Bosnia as the pre-Kallaic era, the administration had been disas-

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trous, and the memory of it rather a humiliation for the Austro-Hungarian Empire. It is useless to recall this page of history. It lasted nearly four years, and was a period of routine, careless indifference, or ignorance, which ended in 1882 in an insurrection and asks nothing better than to be forgotten. In that year, however, the superior administration of the two provinces passed into the hands of the Minister of Finance of the Austro-Hungarian Empire; who was then, and who is still, M. de Kallay. From this moment all is changed. The powers given to the new administration are almost unlimited. The civil element has been substituted for the military element, and pacification has succeeded conquest. The greatest effort is made to reassure all minds. Not a single minaret has disappeared, not a *muezzin* is deprived of his resources. On the contrary, the school of the Sharriat is opened, and, under the direction of a reis el oulemas, a smiling, affable, and learned Mussulman, teaches the law of the Prophet, which the pupils are then called upon to practise as khadis or judges. The school of the Sharriat at Sarajevo is, indeed, to-day one of the most interesting and liberal establishments imaginable. It is a building in the Moorish style, with inner galleries, and the *patio* which recalls the Lions' Court of the Alhambra. The floors, the lecture-rooms, the dormitories, the library, the refectory, the chapel or room of prayer, and the vast 'study' of the head of the school are models of the Oriental taste for comfort and repose. Through the gallery and lecture-room windows, across every opening, indeed, of this clear and luminous spot, one has an adorable view of the old Sarajevo with its innumerable minarets, stuck as it were all up the gentle declivities of the surrounding hemicycle of hills which slope to the right bank of the Bosna, and linked to the Spanish quarters and the bazaar by an old bridge leaping with one bound, in the Venetian style, from bank to bank of the river.

To-day Sarajevo, which is growing under the action of civilisation, and aspires to take its place in the modern world, has, like Constantinople, the city type in this respect, its Stamboul, which is on the right bank; its Galata, occupied by the 'Spagnols' and the Orthodox, who are still recalcitrant to modern life, its bazaar, its Sharriat school, which has been wilfully removed from the steep streets of the old town, and the Orthodox school, where in spacious cells young Bosnians are fitted for the priesthood. But it has also its Pera, its modern or even its European quarter, where during the last twelve years European houses have been built, where the price of land has increased a hundredfold, where hotels are open to travellers—this time private enterprises, in which the Government has not had to intervene—where modern shops deal in foreign products, and where already sham Orientals, dealers in *pastilles du sérail*, lay their nets for the unwary traveller who ventures into their Brummagem warehouses. 'They are all old friends,' said to me the French senator, M. Jacques Hebrard,

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who happened to be with me; 'we shall find them again under the arcades of the Rue de Rivoli. They sell at Sarajevo Oriental stuffs in gold and silver stripes, made at the Batignolles, and Persian carpets in which cotton and vegetable fibre play the preponderant *rôle*.'

It is here in this quarter of the town, also, that the Catholic colony whom the Austro-Hungarian would tempt hither comes to settle. Here rises the pretty cathedral built a few years ago in a gracious, mingled style of half Renaissance, half Gothic, and there also the Franciscans, under the new *régime*, flourish luxuriantly, throwing out their vigorous and quickly invading branches. Only the Protestant element seems absent, and indeed it is not easy to see how, in this quadruple competition, it can manage to find and cultivate a plot big enough to develop in its turn.

I have already said that it was the infiltration of the Spanish Jews who brought to Bosnia and Herzegovina the art of *damasquinage*; it is the Persian contact, felt across Eastern Roumelia even in this part of the Balkans, which has introduced into Bosnia the art of the carpet-weaver, and it is the contact of the Mussulmans, the life of the harems, which has transmitted to the harems of Bosnia and Herzegovina the pretty science of weaving those soft and flexible cotton and silken or purely silken stuffs known as *bez*, in which the Turkish women, closely veiled, drape themselves with so fine and becoming a dignity, and the suppleness of which accompanies like a veritable second skin their nonchalant movements when they venture out of their homes. These three industries, all three charming and adorning with their beauty many a Bosnian interior, were falling into decay and on the point of perishing when the era of Kallay began. There, as everywhere, the intervention of the new administrative head of the country was quickly tangible and salutary. State manufactories were constructed. An attempt was made to find the weavers of both sexes who had preserved the tradition, and who knew how to recover the vanishing art of design, to work the pure wool, to give it at once suppleness and resistance, and in particular that vegetable colouring which nothing can alter, which preserves the brilliance and solidity of the wool, in contrast with the ready decay which follows the application of mineral dyes. The same thing was done in the case of *damasquinage*, and in the model *atelier* of Sarajevo, where a whole collection of young apprentices and experienced workmen are reviving a glorious industry, a short time ago threatened with destruction, the best workmen of Toledo will find victorious rivals. As for pure silk stuffs, or tissues half wool, half silk, a woman of much zeal, devotion, and intelligence, under the direction of the Countess de Kallay, provides the women of the harem with the *matières premières*, the silk thread or woollen strands, either white or dyed, and is already succeeding in infusing new life into that inimitable and gracious weaver's art, the

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renown of which even traversed the all but inaccessible bounds of these provinces, and which, at the points where it was here developed, produced results rivalling the most delicate and coquettish products known. I have referred to the Countess de Kallay's *rôle* in thus seconding her husband, but I might have added that this entire family is devoted heart and soul to the reawakening—to the creation, one might almost say—of this country, henceforth open to the world. M. de Kallay related to me how, when he was building the three hotels of Ilidze, the watering-place near Sarajevo where we were to establish our headquarters, it was his little girl, ten or twelve years old, who, seeing his embarrassment to find a name for the hotels, said to him, 'Why, call them Austria, Hungary, and Bosnia,' and so it was. The Countess de Kallay has become an active and devoted auxiliary of her husband in their great creative work. She has supplemented the enthusiasm peculiar to her by that gentleness of hand, that grace of persuasion, which are so precious, if not even indispensable, in winning over conquered peoples to the conqueror. And in truth this is no slight compliment which I pay the Countess de Kallay, for the Administrator-General of Bosnia and Herzegovina has managed to group about him a veritable *élite* of fellow-labourers entrusted with the interpretation and the realisation of his ideas.

IV

When on Friday, the 13th of July, we arrived at the station at Sarajevo, great animation reigned there. All the chief functionaries of the central government of Bosnia and Herzegovina had come to meet the train, first, because the railway stations in some of the countries of the Danube are at certain hours the goal of the lazy even from the neighbouring towns; secondly, because the functionaries came to pay their respects to M. de Horowitz, their friend or their superior, and to meet M. Henri Moser, a former well-known traveller, who has become the official agent of Bosnia and Herzegovina, who has devoted to his new task all his knowledge of men and things, and whose selection does again great honour to the perspicacity of M. de Kallay; and finally, also, because they desired to welcome us to their capital. What most struck me in the successive introductions which took place at the station was the gaiety, the youth, and enthusiastic vivacity of all these men by whom M. de Kallay was surrounded, and who fulfilled the highest and most responsible functions. What also struck me in these countries, where the language spoken and the struggles sustained recall continually the image of Russia, is the complete absence of uniforms. All these men, municipal and departmental authorities, heads of departments or what not, went about in short light coats and straw hats, smoking a cigarette, always on the alert,

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and ever ready to break into smiles, and speaking as it happened, with an equal facility, Bosnian, German, English, or French, for the travellers that made up our party spoke generally one of these four languages. Yes, in this intentional simplicity of dress, in this easy bearing, and this natural affability which cropped up on any and every occasion, I felt that the era of conquest was long gone by, and that at last had come the era of peaceful, uncontested, and—a few days later I might have testified to it—friendly possession. Moreover, the rude Bosnian of the pre-Kallaic era has had his rough edges worn off; the military uniform no longer frightens him, appearing to him the useless symbol of a force which he has not to fear because he does not dream of facing it, and what to-day he likes and respects most is the grey jacket, the yellow slipper, the little hat of straw or felt of the fair or the dark-skinned young man who moves about with so much ease, who is everywhere at once without ever being embarrassed, who answers graciously all questions, and whose activity takes daily form and substance in some fresh progress or some new transformation. Thus at first when we made the acquaintance of Baron de Kutshera, Governor of Bosnia and Herzegovina; Baron de Berks, Prefect of Sarajevo; Baron de Molinary, Prefect of the Department; Baron de Pittner, Prefect of Police, and of a number of other leading men whose names escape me at the moment, and who ran laughing along the platform, we looked to find a little of that automatic stiffness which everywhere else is the spontaneously generated product of officialdom. With the exception of the Governor, Baron de Kutschera, who certainly is not a young man, the ages of all the great personages of the province are between thirty-six and twenty-five, and I believe that Baron de Pittner, the very remarkable and very vigilant Prefect of Police, who has powerfully contributed to the admirable security of Bosnia, has not reached his thirtieth year.

'Yes,' said to me M. de Kallay a few days later, 'of two men of equal ability I would always choose the younger, because the work that I have undertaken must be done not only with devotion, but even with pleasure and enthusiasm. Youth is enthusiastic; it devotes itself ardently, for it has as yet nothing to regret and everything to hope.'

And indeed, everywhere in this Bosnia and this Herzegovina during my stay I found again and again the active, vigilant, good-humoured 'young' of M. de Kallay. In the adorable little town of Jajce I met M. de Jacupowski, at Moslar M. Bessarowitz and M. Zambour, and everywhere I recalled the words of the Minister: 'The work I have undertaken must be done not only with devotion, but with pleasure and enthusiasm.'

We set out almost immediately for Ilidze, the charming and breezy thermal station, where very active sulphurous baths and mud baths of a remarkable efficiency have been restored and surrounded

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with attractions which make the place the Tusculum of Sarajevo. A great green umbrageous park, new and comfortable hotels surrounded by lawns, a large band-stand of the kiosque type, a vast restaurant opening out upon the grass, the official residence of M. de Kallay, flowers, ponds, and parterres, galleries linking the hotels, and some shops with a picturesque display of wares in the arcades, such are the calm, gracious, reposeful impressions of this spot. A covered way leads to the little station of the little railway which links Ilidze and Sarajevo, and during the warm summer mornings and afternoons there is a constant stream of travel back and forth between these two points, a few minutes only being required for the lively, often fashionable inhabitants to exchange the heat of the town for the cool shadows of the Ilidze Park. Shortly the electric light will fling the final halo about this astonishing series of metamorphoses, and Bosnia would be on the high road to becoming a mere *succursale* of Cannes or San Remo, if, happily, the inhabitants and the Government were not bent by common accord on preserving the ways, costumes, language, and manners of the country, however much it may change in other respects. For instance, it is an old Bosnian tradition for a man on the eve of his marriage to come to carry off his *fiancée* on horseback at the gallop. The bridegroom in his finest outfit arrives in front of the bride's house, who awaits him, also in her most splendid attire, at a spot agreed upon. She jumps lightly into the saddle, and as the horse dashes off with the flying couple the parents of the girl come up, fire several shots in pretence of pursuit, and the lover then drops his gracious burden at the house of a relative, where she passes the night, and where she is sought on the morrow to celebrate the marriage. This strange pretence of the legendary rape shocked the legal instinct of old Austrian bureaucracy, and the custom was abolished. But this act very nearly brought about serious disorders. M. de Kallay revived the custom, and won forthwith innumerable sympathies. This is an illustration of his discernment in everything. His habit of uprooting abuses in order to tolerate well-established customs is one of the chief causes of the popularity of the present Government. But its solicitude, happily, is not confined merely to such matters as these. Without incurring a debt, and simply with the budget of the country, which amounts to-day to 21,000,000 francs, 500 kilometres of railways and 5,000 kilometres of ordinary roads and highways have been constructed, 400 public schools have been established, churches and temples have been built, Government buildings have been put up, as well as eight hotels in the principal centres at Ilidze, at Jajce, at Banyaluka, at Mostar, at Jablonitza, and everywhere cheapness wedded to quality and well-being are, as a result of State surveillance, a constant seduction for the traveller. On the day of the races at Ilidze I walked in the park in order to try to converse with the [illegible] who had assembled there amid the cool shadows of the trees

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waiting the opening of the gate. Two little girls from ten to twelve years old had joined the group, with which I had begun with some difficulty a conversation, for I found the exact expression only after some searching. In the most natural way in the world the two children intervened in the conversation, and, now in one language, now in another, expressed themselves in any one of three or four with much precision, and when I showed my surprise they told me that they had learned these languages at school, and only there. I had never seen, indeed, in any country a more striking completeness in administration, and I began to be almost amazed at not having come across the slightest hostile criticism or blemish. But luck was on my side. In one of the open shops of the arcades I met an Austrian officer in whom I recognised both a critic and an opponent. 'Ah,' said he ironically, 'you have come here from such a distance to see this wonderful country. Well, really, it wasn't worth the trouble! What have you seen? Railways. Roads. Public buildings. There is nothing very original in all that, and with a budget of 21,000,000 of francs it is easy to do that sort of thing; but what good has it done to the peasant? Things are dearer than ever, and the taxes go on increasing. And then, where else did you ever see a Government which gives board and lodgings? All that makes us blush up to our ears. To-day the Bosnian scarcely ever touches his fez or his turban to salute us. In our time he knew too well the *kourbash*, and bowed down to his very toes.'

Delighted at having thus discovered this opposition, I rushed back and told my friends what I had heard. 'Of course,' they said, 'it's a soldier who cannot console himself for the change of *régime* from military to civil, and whose ideal of a civilised country is the centre of Africa, where the animal is worth only the trouble of killing him. But it is odd and rather sad that it is one of us who plays the *rôle* of critic, when the natives themselves have only praises for us.'

But this chance meeting proved to me once again that always and everywhere the function of an opposition is to remind reformers that nothing has been done so long as anything still remains to do.

V

Sunday, the 15th of July, was the first day of the Ilidze races. We were present. I have no intention of describing these races: I am in no sense writing here a tourist's journal. But I may say that the races were extraordinarily interesting, taking place as they did here at Sarajevo, in Bosnia, and being, as they were, still one more proof of what has been so rapidly done in transformation of the old Bosnian soil.

On the morrow there was a great banquet. Mehemet Bey Capetanowitch, a Mussulman, who was one of those who offered the most

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heroic resistance to the Austrians, and who is now Mayor of Sarajevo, presided. When the toasts began, he raised his glass in all sincerity to his guests and 'to the prosperity of the rulers,' for, to preserve the fiction of autonomy, no toasts are drunk in honour of him who is no longer sovereign, nor even in honour of him who is not yet. It is with infinite precautions that the process of substituting one empire for another goes on. Thus by an ingenious subterfuge the green standard of the Prophet has been adopted in place of the flag of the Sultan. People fear the Koran less than the Crescent.

Bosnia, like every country which aspires to become a goal of travel, has its mountain. It is called Mount Trebevic, and is 1,700 metres above the level of the sea. Some 100 metres below the summit is a pavilion constructed by the Alpine Club, and at the summit, from the top of a sort of stone table, the traveller has a most extended view of Bosnia; indeed, the view embraces almost the entire country, with its constant circles of mountains, its lakes and rivers, its green hills and arid rocks. The splendour of this view, after a three hours' scramble up the slope on the backs of the sure-footed little Bosnian horses, and the sight, I might add, of the cloth laid in that high air, were equally rewarding. One has there no repugnance for the kids' meat roasted between two stones, and which an old Albanian carves with infallible sabre, with which, I imagine, he has in his day and generation cut up meat of quite another flavour.

Two days later we were at Jacje. The railway leading thither is not yet completed, and the part beyond Travnik has not yet been opened to the public, but we were allowed along this trunk of the line. We were then obliged to follow the winding course of the Plevna before, across a ravishing valley, we reached Jacje. This exquisite corner is lodged in the angle formed by the confluence of the Plevna and the Verbas to the left of the high road, which reached the town by a superb new bridge. The meeting of these waters, rushing down their rock-strewn rapids, and joining there with a tumble of white foam, is an extremely impressive spectacle. And only a few steps from here is one of the most precipitous, satisfactory mountain cascades one is likely to come upon anywhere. The country is indeed a land of bright waters. Farther on, as one follows along the Verbas, are the Lakes of Jezero, formed by the Plevna and the Verbas. I find it impossible to describe the scene here as it appeared at our arrival. On one side is a background of hills of the sweetest, softest green; on the other a broad highway, running in and out among the hills, and now and then opening up into broad valleys, runs from Jacje to the end of the lakes. The road was full of people. Near the middle of the larger lake had been constructed a landing-place, where a veritable flotilla of little pirogues, some of them [illegible] by twos, or even by threes, awaited us. And the

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pirogues were bright with awnings, flowers, and flags, while seats passing across the boats thus linked together were protected against the sun by native tapestries. All about in the isolated boats were musicians, *tziganes*, filling the air with strange, tremulous harmonies, and at the extremity of each boat stood a Bosnian boatman, guiding the craft with picturesque, regular cadences of movement. The sun fell hot upon the scene. The azure waters reminded one of the divine tones of Capri, and the bright flowers, streamers, and awnings were reflected in the still depths against a background of softly floating clouds, forming a mimic heaven.

> O'er mountains inverted the blue waters curled,
> And rocked them on skies of a far nether world.

For one rare hour it was a vision of fairydom. The busy world of practical men had vanished. And when we disembarked at Jezero upon the steps of the tourists' house at the very edge of the lake, when we beheld the buildings covered with people, the flags flying, the white Turkish women gazing curiously across the mysterious *musrabijeh* of the harems, and all this varied population waved their streamers, uttering the cry 'Zivio, Zivio!' while the strident trumpet sounded, in spite of us came crowding to our memory a suggestive jumble of artistic names and scenes—Tarsus, Shakespeare, Cleopatra—and we seemed to be assisting at some antique spectacle of the ardent crowd saluting from the shore with their cries the Egyptian queen lying nonchalantly on the royal purple of her bark. Sarah Bernhardt must really go one day to Jezero, and M. Jakupowski, the amiable and ingenious head of the district, must once again play the *rôle* of stage-manager and revive for the modern Cleopatra this incomparable picture, in which she alone is worthy to be the centre, and to the brilliance of which she alone can give the final touch of perfection.

On the following day, beneath old oaks on the summit of the Karaula, close to a fresh and limpid spring which drops thence into the valley, the highest point of this extraordinary route from Mostar to Travnik, dating from the period of Turkish domination and preserved by the Austrians, who have scarcely succeeded in rendering it practicable, running as it does now over those cliffs among the clouds, now into those abysses which make up the character of this inexhaustibly diversified country, we breakfasted, owing to the indefatigable efforts of M. Pojeman, and fixed almost our last impression of Bosnia proper. For we were now to pass into Herzegovina, to visit its capital Mostar—Mostar the burning, whose warm wine invades the heart like a joyous, ardent ray of sunlight; Mostar, where the minarets rise from the rocky walls to hills which hem in the town, and whose sombre bridge is the boldest, most powerful, and characteristic work that Balkan art has as yet bequeathed to the ages

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to come. While my friends lingered on here waiting for the Austrian Lloyd boat which was to take us from Metkovitch to Trieste, I returned on my steps to spend the 23rd of July at Jablanitza. But it was not to escape the 100° in the shade which reigned at Mostar that I returned to this pleasant, shaded vale; it was to visit once again that marvel of mingled art and nature, the gorges of the Narenta, which, between Jablanitza and Mostar cover more than thirty kilomètres, with which it is impossible to compare either the Gothard, or the Via Mala, or any other famous pass, and where between the turbulent waters of the Narenta and the precipitous cliffs along the path, unceasing astonishment and a whole series of vivid and changing emotions both charm and awe the traveller. The work done here to cut a way through this once impassable obstacle between the two provinces of Bosnia and Herzegovina, which it now binds together in quick and close communion, is stupendous, and it has been completely victorious. What route was ever more full of surprises? What a changing kaleidoscope of striking or luminous pictures is revealed as the locomotive dashes along these dark ravines, in and out of tunnels, while above the burning July sun illuminates the jutting cliffs that surround each little vale! Yes, this Bosnia, yesterday unknown, but now awake and opened up to the curiosity of the world, contains within her borders by a caprice of nature all that can charm the imagination of the liveliest and most sensitive traveller. It has Ilidze, it has Jacje, it has the prehistoric place called Boutmir, now coming into prominence through the investigations of the archæologists, it has Banyaluka, it has Mount Trebevic, it has the Narenta gorges, the Lakes of Jezero, the sources of the Bosna and the Bouna, it has the Carsija, the great bazaar of Sarajevo, with its incessant activity, its shops which both sell and manufacture the products of the Bosnian market; it has its hotels, more comfortable than any I stopped at later on at Trieste or Venice or Munich or Nuremberg or Mayence or Cologne—it is, in a word, the fresh and seductive *résumé* of whatever can please those who are quitting for a time their homes to find elsewhere refreshment for mind and body; and yet I look upon what it has and is only as the first portion of the task undertaken by its rulers.

At all events, Mehemed Ali was a false prophet. Hitherto, it is true, Austria has not drawn any revenue from the occupied provinces. But the four Bosnian regiments, which serve for three years in the active army and for nine years in the reserve, which are garrisoned in Vienna, Buda-Pest, Banyaluka, Bihac, Mostar, Sarajevo, or Suzla, and are commanded by Austro-Hungarian or Bosnian officers, are solid troops, well set-up, obedient, enduring, and with a military air. But Austria has created in Bosnia a veritable nursery of high functionaries, and the budget of the two provinces has sufficed to accomplish all the transformations, and will so suffice for a long time still to

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conduct them on their way to the goal of their ideal—namely, that of becoming the model Balkan State. This is the reason why Bosnia-Herzegovina are of such general interest; this is why they impose themselves upon the attention of all.

VI

At Metkovitch, on the Narenta, we embarked on the *Trieste*, one of the large Lloyd steamers which ply regularly up and down the Dalmatian coast. Within an hour we were out of the stream, entering the channel of Narenta, which leads down to the placid Adriatic, a sea which remained for fifty-six hours without a ripple. We had skirted this strange, almost mysterious coast of Dalmatia; we had passed the islands Lissa and Lesina, rendered glorious by Tegetoff; we had visited Spalato, almost entirely built in that astonishing palace of Diocletian; Sebenico, where on the Venetian piazzetta falls the rounded silhouette of the shadow of the Byzantine dome, and at whose doors is the constant roaring of the Kertna Falls, the Dalmatian Niagara; we had admired the incomparable daring of the Zariot sailors, and were talking with somewhat noisy enthusiasm of the arenas of Pola, of the old Roman palace as fine as the Maison Carrée of Nimes; and there, grouped together under an awning on the deck, in that superb morning air, we were recalling the men and things that we had seen, and especially the picturesque and grandiose and incomparably strange world of Dalmatia, with its islands sown so capriciously along its coast, some as baskets of flowers, some haunts of brigands, some dangerous reefs, some harbours of refuge, when one of the passengers who had boarded the steamer at Zara joined us, and in a loud voice, in the purest Italian, spoke as follows: 'Yes, granted, Dalmatia is a unique land in its picturesque beauty and its power to arouse curiosity. Its islands have given to Austria the only ray of glory that it has been able to fix now for a half-century upon its Imperial crown, and its sailors, the best, the cleverest, the toughest in the world, suffice to carry its colours on every ocean, and yet it has done nothing, and it is doing nothing for us. But for Marmont, whom Napoleon the First made Duke of Ragusa, we should not have had even the single road which permits us to travel from one end of the country to the other without risking the sea-trip. Austria has always been a stepmother to us, and we might almost regret the victory of Tegetoff over the Italians.'

'No, no,' I said to him—he was a rich Zariot—'you are mistaken. She has done a good deal for you, but you have not as yet quite understood how much. She occupies Bosnia and Herzegovina. Shortly Sebenico, which joins Spalato by a railway, will thereby become linked to the railway across Bosnia, and your country, with Plivno as central point, will have those occupied provinces as *hinter-*

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land, thus becoming an integral part of Croatia, Slavonia, Hungary, and Austria. Dalmatia will then be the narrow rocky ribbon of country bordering the most fertile, diversified, and the most active of the provinces. Your railway will go to Zara and Fiume, and you will have on the one hand the sea for girdle and the iron way for the life-giving artery. When this day arrives, and Dalmatia, become an integral part of Bosnia and Herzegovina, will be as the sea-elevation, the façade on the Adriatic of the Austro-Hungarian Balkans, no one knows what brilliant and fruitful future will dawn for you. Bosnia and Herzegovina will then serve as models for the little Balkan States, still plunged in the arid period of an ill-defined constitution; Montenegro and Servia will cease to cherish illusions, and Servia, which is casting all around her covetous glances, will then gaze towards Bosnia only to seek to imitate its enterprise and activity. Yes; once Dalmatia is thus soldered to the occupied provinces, once the Danubian Austria-Hungary is supplemented by the Dalmatian coasts and its green islands, which are at once a labyrinth and a rampart, the empire will be sufficient unto itself; and the Balkan peninsula, following in the footsteps of Bosnia and Herzegovina, fortified and revivified by works of civilisation, will serve in turn as a rampart against invasion, and its independence and tranquil future will be for ever secured. That is the way,' I ended, turning towards the high Dalmatian coast—'that is the way that Austria, by occupying the provinces, has worked for the future of your country. I have faith in a future for you worthy of your country, a future for Dalmatia which will satisfy the most ambitious of her sons.'

The Zariot, his eyes on fire, had heard me in silence. 'Yes,' said he; 'what you have been saying is perhaps only the enthusiastic vision of a foreigner who has got glimpses of a destiny which will, after all, never be ours. But perhaps, also, looking at us as you do from a distance, you behold the facts as they are more truly than we whose judgment passion distorts. Our resources are too slender to dream of independence, and our character too lofty for us to resign ourselves to a continuation of that decadence which has been our sad lot in the past. We have always been coveted by others, always overrun by foreigners, never strong enough to throw off the yoke which weighs us down. But the picture you have just traced—the prospect of becoming as the façade of Austria-Hungary on the Adriatic, of supporting ourselves on the fertile and awakening provinces of Bosnia-Herzegovina, to stretch out our hands to the Austro-Hungarian Empire as a whole, and to separate from the Balkan peninsula a province protected by the forces of Austria-Hungary—such a prospect, such a dream, such a vision, would fire our hearts, if I could reveal it to my countrymen; and if, as I am told, you are one of those who can develop for others the ideas which strike you, I hope that you will relate our conversation, and say that you have

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aroused the enthusiasm of a Dalmatian by revealing to him Bosnia and Herzegovina as the *hinterland* of his fatherland, and the empire of Austria-Hungary as even now ready to open up a road across the Dalmatian country in order to develop those provinces to their fullest, and to show that, after all, at the Berlin Congress, Austria was clairvoyant and far-seeing, and altogether worthy of the confidence of Europe.'

BLOWITZ.

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THE PERILOUS GROWTH OF INDIAN STATE EXPENDITURE

THE financial situation of India is likely to be the subject of discussion for some time to come. Till of late it has been little considered except by the officials at Calcutta and in Whitehall whose business it is. But the bold measure of closing the Indian mints to the free coinage of silver, and of introducing a gold standard without a gold currency, first roused more general attention. Curiosity was stimulated by an experiment which received the seal of the Lord Chancellor's adhesion; was accepted, under whatever reserve, by orthodox currency doctors; and yet in the eyes of many was in opposition to canons of what hitherto has been regarded as sound doctrine. The project which was put in force by Lord Lansdowne had been sent by the India Office for the consideration of Lord Dufferin's Government in 1886. Events have so far given some reason for thinking that the grounds on which the adoption of the measure was then negatived were not less sound than those on which, seven years later, the Commission of 1893 agreed to its adoption. Briefly, the reasons for which the adoption of the measure was negatived in 1886 were that it seemed to be, in effect, open to the objections which apply to schemes for an inconvertible currency; that it would probably bring about further depression in the value of silver relatively to gold; that a gold standard would presumably prove injurious to the trade of India; and that an appreciated, because restricted, silver currency in India would before long make itself seriously felt in rents and land revenue, and be prejudicial to the general Indian taxpayer. 'We are necessarily opposed,' wrote the Government of India in 1886, summing up its objections, 'to the adoption of artificial methods of maintaining the gold value of the rupee, the consequences of which, to many foreign interests, would be rather favourable than otherwise, and to ourselves might prove extremely prejudicial. As we believe that our true remedy lies in obtaining concerted action with England, we would take no measure of which one result, among many, might be to hinder a clear perception of the economical consequences of the present relations of gold and silver.' However, the time has not yet come to pronounce finally. The

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scheme is still on its trial, and its out-and-out advocates deny that it can in any way be said to have failed. It can scarcely claim, on the other hand, to have scored, as yet, a markedly visible success. The immediate results on the silver exchange of closing the mints have, thus far, not been to harden it; the less obvious results, in their influence on prices, and in their bearing on the burden of taxation, still remain to be seen.

As the months passed, and as hope has darkened into discouragement, attention has begun to divert itself to a less questionable direction than currency-doctoring. Excessive expenditure has been more than hinted at; army expenditure, civil charges, have been each in turn cited. 'Returns of the Net Income and Expenditure of British India, under certain specified heads, for the ten years from 1883–4 to 1892–3,' have been printed and published by order of Parliament. So has a 'Return of the Military Expenditure of the Government of India in India and England for each year from 1875 to 1892–3.' Of the title and contents of this Return there is something to be said presently. The Chairman of the British Committee of the Indian National Congress has presented to the Secretary of State for India an elaborate Note upon the causes which, in the judgment of that body, have led to the present outlook. Finally, before the discussion in Parliament on the Indian Budget came off, a section of malcontents opened fire on the Secretary of State for India. Yielding with an alacrity which suggests sympathy within the citadel, Mr. Fowler has promised to move next Session for a Committee of Enquiry into Indian finance and expenditure. There, for the time being, the matter rests. Meanwhile, the Indian Finance Member has shortened sail, is curtailing expenditure, and is raising heavy benevolences from provincial governments. The Secretary of State is converting loans, is imposing some classes of import duties, and is vowing he will never consent, preparatory possibly to consenting, to reimpose import duties on Manchester goods.

When the promised Committee come together to examine Indian expenditure, they will first have to ask themselves the question, What is Indian expenditure? Is it administrative expenditure only? Is such expenditure to be regarded as the sole factor? or is it to be considered, not only by itself, not so much by itself, as in relation to exchange? Is the growth of charges to be regarded as admissible which, in themselves, without the attendant item of exchange, might possibly not be beyond the limits of the Revenues? or is the growth of administrative charges in each department of the Government to be considered in conjunction with that portion of the losses on exchange which is especially traceable to it? The Committee will probably find, before their enquiries have occupied them many hours, that by some excellent Indian officials exchange is regarded as a thing apart. *Nascitur, non fit.* Loss by exchange is not con-

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sidered by these to be an integral or inseparable part of departmental charge; except, indeed, so far as concerns that department which is called upon to find funds. It is a misfortune which may concern those who have to balance the Budget, much as war is a misfortune to the individuals who have in their persons to meet the butcher's bill. But these are matters which need not enter into the thoughts, nor limit the demands of those by whom funds are expended or results achieved. For purpose of comparison between different years, exchange, it will be argued, must be eliminated; then only can the net increase of departmental expenditure be stated. No other procedure is 'fair.' For the gross charge the department is not responsible. It has no control over it, and therefore cannot be expected to take account of it in its estimates. The argument is not without element of truth or show of good reasoning. But it fails to meet the objection that, whatever may be the component parts of the total charge, no distinction is made when it is presented for payment at the Treasury. There is no set-off in payment, no separate head for charges to be deducted from payment as not 'fair.' But this is not a popular way of looking at it. To check the increase of administrative expenditure, to maintain it at a fixed figure, still more to reduce it, because of a corresponding growth of the exchange charge, has not been, among spending departments, a favoured rule of practice. Exchange is regarded rather in the light of the lodging-house cat. All surplus that disappears, every estimate which is reduced to fragments, is due to this mischievous beast. No limits are assigned to its appetite; yet no provision is made for its voracity.

As enquiry proceeds, it will be ascertained that the increased administrative charges, and the increased charge for exchange, are mainly confined to five departments, or sections of departments. It will be then seen that in two of these departments expenditure during the last ten years has increased out of all moderate proportion to increase elsewhere. While in one of these two cases enhanced receipts have reduced to less formidable limits the growth of net expenditure, in the other there has been no such set-off. It will be found that, although in these two departments administrative expenditure must cause a corresponding charge on account of exchange, and although the rate of exchange in itself has been meanwhile rapidly falling, the growth of administrative expenditure, so far from being checked, has been sharply stimulated. Finally, it will be apparent that the growth of expenditure is to be traced as much in the expansion of administrative and exchange charges in one great department alone as in the increased charge for exchange in all departments put together.

In this paper I have endeavoured to throw such light on enquiry as may be obtained by bringing clearly before the eye, first, the

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figures of increase of net revenue during the decade of review; and, next, the charges of expenditure in the departments responsible for its growth. The latter figure has been subdivided into administrative and exchange charges, and the gradual expansion of either has been traced. The course of exchange during the expansion of such charges is indicated. I have endeavoured to explain how it came about that, in spite of falling exchange and recurring deficits, the administrations whose operations chiefly required increase in remittances to Europe were encouraged to extend their operations. The resources which have been exhausted by the Government of India, and the margin of resource still available, are briefly indicated. Something is added, finally, as to the inefficiency of control over Indian expenditure. If no better end is served by it, this paper should at least serve to throw clearly into relief the departments chiefly concerned. It should bring accurately before the eye the relative value of the administrative and currency factors in the present depression of Indian finance. Till the problem is examined piecemeal, in some such detail, and resolved into its component parts, its nature cannot be clearly apprehended; nor can any useful decision be hazarded as to the policy to be pursued with regard to it.

Though the items of receipt shown in the Return recently published seem numerous, the sources are few in number from which net revenues are drawn; revenues, that is, which remain after deduction of corresponding expenditure. The classification of receipts adopted in the Returns of Revenue and Expenditure recently presented to Parliament is under five heads, viz.: Land Revenue, Opium, Taxation, Commercial, Miscellaneous. The first three are the milch cows. They comprise the great item of Land Revenue and Taxation, the latter of these including Salt, Stamps, Excise, Customs, Assessed Taxes, Registration, and Provincial Rating. Compared with 1883–4 the figures of 1892–3 give the following result:

	1883–4	1892–3	Increase	Decrease
	Rx[1]	Rx	Rx	Rx
Land Revenue; forests: tributes from Native States	22,671,944	25,661,511	2,989,567	—
Opium . . .	9,555,790	7,993,045	—	1,562,745
Taxation . . .	18,183,557	25,587,755	7,404,198	—
Net increase in receipts . . .	—	—	—	8,831,020
			10,393,765	10,393,765

The net increase is thus Rx 8,831,020. Small items, under Post, Telegraphs, Irrigation, and Mint, bring the total increase to Rx 9,145,037; but among the sources of this difference the receipts from Mints will in future, probably, if they do not disappear, be at

[1] The term Rx is used to denote tens of rupees as distinguished from £, or pounds sterling. It expresses a conventional exchange rate of rupee 1 = 2 shillings.

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least sensibly diminished. Writing in round figures, the increase may be put at nine millions. It mus be noted that about three millions of this excess are due to taxation, imposed since 1883–4, as marginally noted in round figures; and that the increase under other receipts does not exceed six millions. From these, again, must be deducted about a million on account of Upper Burmah, which is more than balanced by expenditure in that Province; leaving the increase in receipts, for purposes of net comparison between the two years, at five millions.

	Rx
Income-tax	1,000,000
Petroleum-tax . . .	100,000
Salt-tax	1,500,000
Payment of village accountants (North-West Provinces)	200,000
Duties on rum and beer .	100,000
Total . .	2,900,000

We may now turn to the heads of expenditure during the period covered by the Returns. Increase of net expenditure is shown to have occurred under the heads of 'Collection of Revenue;' 'Military Services;' 'Civil Departments;' the sub-head 'Miscellaneous Civil Charges' classed under 'Civil Services;' and 'Railways' under 'Commercial Services.'

In the following statement is exhibited the administrative expenditure under each of these heads in 1883–4 and 1892–3, with the corresponding charge of exchange. Increase of administrative charges, of exchange, and the total increase are shown separately:

	Departments					Total Administrative and Exchange
	Collection of Revenue	Civil Departments	Miscellaneous Civil Charges	Military Services	Railways	
	Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx
Administrative charges—						
1883–4 . . .	6,864,484	9,822,309	3,259,502	16,993,584	—[2]	36,939,879
1892–3 . . .	7,636,630	12,278,313	3,658,495	21,150,605	—[2]	44,724,043
Increase . . .	772,146	2,456,004	398,993	4,157,021	—[2]	7,784,164
Exchange—						
1883–4 . . .	—	111,496	394,166	1,137,286	304,912	1,947,860
1892–3 . . .	—	373,723	1,202,924	3,013,771	1,847,052	6,437,470
Increase . . .	—	262,227	808,758	1,876,485	1,542,140	4,489,610
Total administrative and exchange—						
1883–4 . . .	6,864,484	9,933,805	3,653,668	18,130,870	304,912	38,887,739
1892–3 . . .	7,636,630	12,652,036	4,861,419	24,164,376	1,847,052	51,161,513
Total increase—						
1883–4–1892–3 . .	772,146	2,718,231	1,207,751	6,033,506	1,542,140	12,273,774

The account for the years 1883–4 and 1892–3 stands as follows:

Expenditure	Rx	*Receipts*	Rx
Excess of expenditure 1892–3 over 1883–4 .		Surplus 1883-4 . .	1,879,477
		Excess of receipts 1892–3 over receipts of 1883–4 .	9,145,037
			11,024,514
	11,857,926	Deficit, 1892–3 . . .	833,412

[2] The receipts in this department were equal to all administrative charges, and to a portion of the exchange charge. The net deficit only is shown in the following figures.

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Reductions of expenditure in other departments have reduced the excess caused by the increase in the expenditure of the five departments specified. The total excess expenditure of 1892–3 thus falls from Rx 12,273,774 to Rx 11,857,926. The net result of 1892–3 is worse than that of 1883–4 by Rx 1,879,477 + 833,412, or Rx 2,712,889.

Before arriving at a final estimate of the comparative increase in the several departments above indicated, some corrections must be made in the results shown in the column of Total Increase, in order that items may be eliminated which, though they occur in the Budget of 1892, find no place in 1883–4. These are:

	Increase Rx	Decrease Rx
Upper Burmah net Civil Charges (after deduction made of receipts and of charges to a corresponding amount)	—	500,000
Upper Burmah Military Charges . . .	—	502,500
Military Railways (say)	650,000	—
Civil Railways (say)	—	650,000

The published Returns make no separate mention of purely military railways. From 1886–7 to the close of 1893 the capital charge for the construction of these railways amounted in round figures to Rx 13,750,000. What the charge for interest and exchange on this capital cost may amount to I cannot say; but it cannot be below Rx 650,000. It must be transferred from the general head of Railways to the head of Military Expenditure.

Arranged respectively under the three great heads of Civil, Military, and Railways, the final figures of increased expenditure will then stand as follows:

	Rx
Civil (Rx 4,698,128 – 500,000)	= 4,198,128
Military (Rx 6,033,506 + 650,000 – 502,500) . .	= 6,181,006
Railways (Rx 1,542,140 – 650,000)	= 892,140
	Rx 11,271,274

Superficial scrutiny of these figures will show that, of this total net increase of Rx 11,271,274, the proportion of 55 per cent. is due to increased military expenditure; 37 per cent. is due to increased civil expenditure; 8 per cent. to increased railway expenditure, other than military. In the next place, it is evident that of an increased net charge for exchange of Rx 4,489,610, in the departments indicated, the Military Department, including Military Railways under that head, is accountable for about 44 per cent., the balance being mainly chargeable to Miscellaneous Civil Charges and Railways. The share of the Military Department is over 56 per cent. in the total increase of purely administrative charges, which amounts to about Rx 7,300,000, after readjustments on account of the several items of increase and decrease above specified. The increase in the administrative charges

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of the Military Department is nearly equal to the total net increased charge for exchange in all the departments indicated. It is also within 850,000*l.* of the net increase of five millions in revenue. Finally, we find, by the figures in the Returns of Income and Expenditure, that, in comparing 1892–3 with 1883–4, the growth of military and railway administrative expenditure has been accompanied by an increased gross charge for exchange amounting to Rx 4,217,436, out of a total increased gross charge on the whole Budget of Rx 6,926,949 on that account. The growth of the burden of exchange on Indian resources is thus seen to be due in part only to the effect of the fall in silver on the scale of remittances in 1883–4. It is due in greater part to the extraordinary activity which, simultaneously with fall in exchange, has characterised the operations of the Military and Railway Departments during the greater part of the decade under review, and has necessitated remittances on a much larger scale than in the year 1883–4. No opinion is at present offered on this activity, which is noted only in its relation to the growth of expenditure.

Comment and some explanation are now needed on each of the three great heads of expenditure shown in the tabulated statements.

The increase in civil expenditure, after the adjustments made in a recent paragraph, amounts to Rx 4,198,128. It must be remembered, on the other hand, that the increase of receipts, which is due in a sensible measure to the agency of the departments concerned, amounts to Rx 8,831,020, or more than double the charges. Administrative increase of expenditure under 'Collection of Revenue' brings no corresponding increase in exchange; nor, to any serious extent, does increase in the administrative expenditure of 'Civil Departments.' It should further be observed that the items of expenditure under Miscellaneous Civil Charges consist almost wholly of the increased administrative and exchange cost on account of furlough and pension allowances. These allowances are the subjects of codes and rules; and, practically, are beyond the administrative control of the Government of India. The total charge in 1883–4 and 1892–3 respectively under the head of Miscellaneous Civil Charges being Rx 3,653,668 and Rx 4,861,419, the difference amounts to Rx 1,207,751. Of this difference pensionary and furlough charges account for Rx 1,101,393 (Rx 4,294,287 – 3,192,894). If this sum is deducted from the total increase of administrative expenditure—viz. Rx 4,198,128—there remains a net increase of Rx 3,096,735, or, say, in round figures, of Rx 3,100,000. Of this, again, one million is due to expenditure in Upper Burmah, a source of comparative expenditure which did not exist in 1883–4. A further item to be deducted is Rx 303,501, being increase in 1892–3 over the figures of Rx 538,606 in 1883–4 on account of political charges. For this item the Government of India is directly responsible. There remains only Rx 1,796,499 to be

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divided amongst the nine governments[3] and administrations by which the expenditure of civil departments is controlled. This gives for the ten years a total increase of, say, Rx 1,800,000, or an average annual increase of about Rx 20,000 to the expenditure of each civil government or administration. This is certainly not an excessive figure, when it is remembered that the entire civil administration of all India is in the hands of provincial governments. Civil Buildings, Police, Gaols, Education, Medical, Law, Excise, are all chargeable to these governments. The progressive growth of all has been arranged for during ten years from an increased charge of Rx 1,800,000. The only other source of provincial expenditure, viz. provincial buildings and roads, shows decrease as compared with 1883–4.

The Railway and Military Departments may be next dealt with. The causes of the great activity in these administrations must be first explained. It is not easy otherwise to understand why, as the exchange rate annually fell, the administrative operations of these departments, which are, so to speak, the great Exchange departments, has increased. The following comparative figures show how the progressive fall in exchange was accompanied nevertheless by a steady progressive rise in their administrative expenditure:

Years	Rate of Exchange	Military Administrative Expenditure	Railway Administrative Expenditure (Gross Charges)
	Rx	Rx	Rx
1883–4 . . .	19·53	16,993,584	7,272,640
1884–5 . . .	19·30	16,107,336	7,564,109
1885–6 . . .	18 25	18,916,977	7,918,891
1886–7 . . .	17·44	18,361,841	8,459,360
1887–8 . . .	16·89	19,422,398	8,792,779
1888–9 . . .	16·37	19,256,520	9,065,049
1889–90 . . .	16·56	19,666,118	9,076,673
1890–1 . . .	18·09	20,069,315	9,288,443
1891–2 . . .	16·73	21.212,823	9,585,000
1892–3 . . .	14·98	21,150,605	9,536,029

The history of the railway administration since 1883–4 has, briefly, been as follows. In 1885–6, the year in which exchange after a period of temporary steadiness again began to fall, effect was first given to an extensive scheme for the construction by the State and by companies of various lines of railway, which were intended to protect the country against famine, by facilitating the supply of food and the movement of labour in years of scarcity. In India they are therefore termed 'Protective Railways.' This scheme was the outcome of recommendations made by the Indian Famine Commission of 1878–9. It was laid before a Committee of the House of Commons in 1884, which approved it; recommending, at the same time, that the annual loan power of the Government of India should

[3] Bombay, Madras, Bengal, North-West Provinces and Oudh, Punjab, Central ovinces, Assam, Burmah, Beluchistan.

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be raised to 3,500,000*l.* from 2,500,000*l.*, which was the figure that had been fixed by a Parliamentary Committee in 1879. As a part of this scheme, the sum of 25,000,000*l.* more or less was to be borrowed. Of this sum the State was to expend in direct construction by its own agency about 12,000,000*l.*, the balance being expended in construction by guaranteed or subsidised Companies. The work was to be finished in six years. The Committee accompanied their assent to the proposals of the Indian Government with the proviso that no fresh taxation was to be caused by this railway scheme. Scarcely had it been taken in hand, with some modifications immaterial to this paper, when the incident of Penjdeh occurred. Among other results flowing from that incident was the resolve greatly to increase the effective strength of the British forces in India. It was estimated that an annual increased cost of 1,500,000*l.* would be required to meet the charge on that account which was introduced from 1886–7. Next, to the protective scheme of railways was added a large scheme of military railways. Almost at the same moment came the annexation of Upper Burmah; then a great scheme of harbour and frontier special defence works for all India. Five new and excessively costly schemes were simultaneously pressed upon the finances; and that at a moment when the exchange on remittances on the then existing scale of expenditure had fallen twopence, viz. from 19·30 in 1884–5 to 18·25 in 1885–6, and to 17·44 in 1886–7.

The Finance Department, which had already protested, as will be presently explained, against the projected increase in the strength of the army, now found it necessary to oppose the completion of the Protective railway scheme within the contemplated term of six years, unless compensation to an equivalent amount was provided in some other quarter. Prolonged controversy ensued. After protracted discussion, the protest of the Financial Department was, I believe, allowed by the Secretary of State for India in some measure to prevail. Railway construction was pushed on at a somewhat slower rate than had originally been proposed, and to this extent some fraction of the intolerable burden placed on the finances was temporarily removed. The following figures show the amount spent annually

Years	Total Capital Outlay on Railways; State, guaranteed, subsidised	Portion debitable to direct Capital Outlay on State Railways
	Rx	Rx
1884–5	7,348,877	4,736,110
1885–6	9,490,002	5,933,883
1886–7	9,785,493	5,529,740
1887–8	9,621,972	2,332,721
1888–9	8,619,224	1,201,419
1889–90	5,950,390	2,814,192
1890–1	5,256,726	2,876,971
1891–2	4,669,800	2,770,336
1892–3	4,208,500	3,436,700

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on capital construction, whether by guaranteed and subsidised companies or through direct State agency, from 1884–5 to 1892–3. The effect of the Financial Department's action seems to have become first evident in 1887–8.

Railways have worked at a loss solely owing to active prosecution in construction, in the presence of an almost continuously falling exchange. In spite of the considerable capital sunk in military railways (which is, for the most part, financially unproductive), and in spite of constantly progressing cost of construction, due to exchange, the receipts in 1892 were Rx 11,132,235 against charges, exclusive of exchange, amounting to Rx 9,536,029. The addition of Rx 3,443,258 on account of exchange has turned the surplus of Rx 1,596,206 into a loss of Rx 1,847,052 (inclusive of military railways). But for the slacking off in construction from 1887–8 the deficit of 1892–3 on the railway account and, presumably, on the Budget, as a whole, would have been considerably heavier. On the other hand, the large annual remittances required on railway account have contributed to make exchange more unfavourable to India; and to that extent, whatever it may be, railways are responsible for a general addition, all round, to exchange charges.

In 1889, when the programme of 1884 was drawing to a close, a fresh scheme of railway construction, to cover four years, was sanctioned by the Secretary of State. It amounted to Rx 16,050,000, including Rx 1,400,000 on account of military lines, Rx 2,000,000 Burmah railways, Rx 2,800,000 for capital construction on lines already opened, and Rx 1,850,000 reserve. This programme is presumably also drawing to a close. If State railway construction, or construction by guaranteed or subsidised companies, were temporarily suspended, the Indian revenues would be fed from net Railway receipts in increasing volume. At present Railways add to the deficit.

Turning now to the course of military expenditure, the following figures show its expansion under the several heads of Burmah and Minor Military Expeditions, Exchange, and Administrative Charges. The figures for the first entry only, viz. 'Burmah and Minor Military Expeditions,' are taken from the 'Return showing the Military Expenditure of the Government of India,' mobilisation and camps of exercise being excluded from the head of 'Burmah and Minor Military Expeditions' as belonging obviously to Administration. The figures in that Return do not agree with the figures under the head of 'Military Services' in the accompanying Parliamentary 'Return of Net Income and Expenditure.' There have been omitted from the former Return all military works and special defence works, inclusive of their items of exchange. It has been noted in the course of this paper that the charge for interest and exchange in connection with military railways is exhibited in neither Return. Their amount not

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being authoritatively stated in any published Return that I can find, they have not been included in the following annual figures, of which columns 2, 3, and 5 are taken from the Parliamentary 'Return of Net Income and Expenditure,' column 4 (with transfer of Mobilisation and Camps of Exercise to column 3) from the Parliamentary 'Return of Military Expenditure':

Years	Rate of Exchange	Military Administrative Expenditure	Burmah and Minor Expeditions	Exchange on Military Account	Total Military Expenditure
		Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx
1883–4 . .	19·53	16,945,710	47,874	1,137,286	18,130,870
1884–5 . .	19·30	15,948,417	158,919	950,529	17,057,865
1885–6 . .	18·25	16,095,813	2,821,124	1,144,692	20,061,669
1886–7 . .	17·44	16,844,041	1,517,800	1,377,078	19,738,919
1887–8 . .	16·89	17,931,557	1,490,841	1,582,385	21,004,783
1888–9 . .	16·37	18,250,542	1,005,978	1,838,215	21,094,735
1889–90 . .	16·56	18,809,330	856,788	1,851,414	21,517,532
1890–1 . .	18·09	19,319,455	749,860	1,503,586	21,572,901
1891–2 . .	16·73	19,931,787	1,281,036	2,056,946	23,269,769
1892–3 . .	14·98	20,390,805	759,800	3,013,771	24,164,376

The following are the figures of the Budget Estimate of 1893–4:

Years	Rate of Exchange	Military Administrative Expenditure	Burmah and Minor Expeditions	Exchange on Military Account	Total Military Expenditure
		Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx
1893–4 . .	14·75	20,495,100	505,000	2,935,800	23,935,900

To make this comparison complete the annual charge for interest and exchange on military railways should be added since 1886–7. I have not these figures; but we have seen that in 1892–3 the charge on this account was probably not less than Rx 650,000. This sum may be distributed between the Administrative and Exchange columns of 1893–4, bringing the former to within a little of Rx 21,000,000, or an increase in administrative expenditure alone of about four millions in eleven years, during which exchange fell about 4¾*d*. As exchange fell, administrative expenditure increased in more rapid ratio, instead of being restricted.

It will be objected that, as with civil charges, a considerable amount of this expenditure is automatic, and beyond control, such as expenditure on pensions and so on. This is true, and is an additional reason, to the financial mind, for keeping within closer limits such expenditure as is not automatic, and is within control. The Furlough and Pensionary charges, as shown below,[4] have grown

[4] *Non-effective Charges in India:*

1. Military pensions to Europeans, &c.
2. Military pensions to natives.
3. Widows' pensions and compassionate allowances.
4. Departmental pensions.

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from Rx 2,548,605 in 1883-4 to Rx 3,254,780 in 1892-3, an increase to administrative charges of Rx 706,175.

Possibly there are other similar charges. The more there are of them, the more burdensome it becomes to add to them. They help in a small degree to explain away the increase in military charges. They illustrate the difficulty of setting bounds to military expenditure; but they furnish also, on that account, positive proof of the extreme caution necessary in adding to it. These particular charges, for example, are themselves in part enhanced, owing to the great increase made in 1886 to the effective strength of the army.

The Government of India for the time being has satisfied itself of the necessity of this continuous increase of its military expenditure, no matter what might be the state of its finances. The balance of public opinion is presumably at present on its side. The question is one of a class which, depending on the designs of other Powers, on means of transport and commissariat in barbarous and waste countries, and on many other unknown data, can admit of no very certain solution. On the one hand is urged the threat of aggression from the North-West; on the other, the absolute impossibility of balancing the Indian Budget. Military and financial men approach the question from their own points of view. The measures adopted have had the support, each in his time and degree, of two Viceroys, with one of whom I had the honour of sitting in Council. Lord Dufferin's vast experience, abilities and judgment make it a grave matter to differ from him. The policy, probably, is popular in England, which does not pay the bill. National sentiment is flattered by the existence of a formidable British army in the East, and is disposed to look favourably on accession to its effectiveness by an increase to its numbers. The success of little Indian wars and expeditions is agreeable also to a large section of the British public. In India increase to the military forces is certainly popular among Anglo-Indians. Their opinion is chiefly that of soldiers, who form the largest element in the local society. The policy promises excitement, active service, more openings, a greater field of employment to all, civil and military alike. The objection to it is, and has always been, that the Indian finances cannot afford such increase to Indian military expenditure as is represented in the Returns from which the figures in this paper are taken. That objection was at once formulated when the new policy was proposed. In 1885–6, when the decision to increase the Indian army by 10,000 British and 20,000 native troops was about to be arrived at by the Government of India, Mr. Ilbert and I, being at that time the Legal and Financial Members of the Viceroy's Council, in a Minute

Effective Charges in England:

5. Furlough allowances.

Non-effective Charges in England:

6. Pay and pensions of non-effective and retired Indian officers.
7. Miscellaneous pensions.

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dated the 17th of August, 1885, recorded our reasons for strenuously opposing such a decision. They were laid, according to rule, before the Secretary of State for India; and, except that they were subsequently published in accordance with an order of Parliament, nothing more that I know of was heard of them. Now nine years have passed, and events have steadily moved in the direction indicated in that Minute of dissent.

Our grounds of remonstrance were that the increase proposed, in view of the position of affairs, at the hour then existing, was premature and therefore inadvisable; that it was beyond the financial resources of the Indian Government, and would necessitate taxation to a dangerous extent; and that it would probably lead to an aggressive and restless spirit in the councils of the State, thus involving the Government of India in further expenditure, possibly in serious complications. As to the first point, every one will have his own opinion; 'Forewarned is forearmed,' '*Si vis pacem, para bellum*,' and a host of other maxims will be mouthed by some; by others, 'Cut your coat according to your cloth,' '*Festina lente*,' and so on. Those who hope for military success and distinction, for fresh territories further afield, will be on the one side; opposed to them will be ranged all who have to find funds for the necessary operations. But one need not be a military man to satisfy oneself of the difficulties of transport and commissariat which at present would oppose the advance from Central Asia to the Indus of a force sufficiently large to be entrusted with such a very serious enterprise as an invasion of British India. In time these difficulties will possibly disappear; it will be the business of Russia to see that with the lapse of years they are sensibly lessened. But in the eyes of many they still are, since 1885–6 they have been, and for many years they must remain an effective obstacle to military aggression from that quarter. It was never, I believe, contended that the addition of 10,000 British and 20,000 native troops was necessary to our security within India itself; or that it brought our force in that country to a strength sufficient to enable it to resist attack from without. The argument employed was that, if additional British troops were hereafter needed to that or to any larger amount, they would possibly not be forthcoming from England when required. Hence, 10,000 men must be kept as an insurance against such risk. If England is as unready as the argument supposes, and will not bear the cost of the annual premium on this insurance, the proposal might be accepted, but for one objection. It is a big objection, and the last nine years have shown the strength of it. It is, simply, that without constant increase of taxation Indian resources will not admit of this excessive financial burden; and that domestic disloyalty and discontent, arising from a constant increase of taxation, are at least as for-

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midable a danger to our rule in India as possibility of foreign invasion.

The figures in this paper have been taken from India Office returns. They are, it must be assumed, unimpeachable. They show what has been the financial result of the decision taken in 1885–6. What they do not show is the margin of resource still available to the Indian financier. When that is examined, the apprehensions expressed on this score in 1885–6 are shown to have been founded on grounds only too solid. An Income-tax has been reimposed. The Excise duty on salt has been raised to within 8 annas, or, say, 1,500,000*l.*, of the highest figure possible if salt is not to be placed beyond the reach of the mass of the people. Import duties have been, in part, re-enacted; the rest of these duties are likely to follow. Provincial governments have this year been called on to yield up their balances; a measure which, beyond argument, arrests their progress *sine die*, and disorders the condition of civil administration throughout India. If silver, as is probable, should become appreciated in India owing to the closing of the Mints, the land revenue will have to be reduced. So far from the material increase hoped for from the periodical revisions of land revenue now in progress, decrease must in such a case be anticipated. What fresh sources of revenue present themselves? Is the Permanent Settlement to be repudiated? Is the income-tax to be extended to agricultural incomes, which are so heavily weighed upon by land revenue and local rating? Is the rate of income-tax to be raised? At this moment the opium revenue is threatened from England. In any case it is doomed, in the long run, by Chinese competition. Few know how slender, at best, are the Indian sources of revenue, apart from land revenue and railways. Only those few are aware what a terribly thin line of financial reserve is yet remaining to us. Long before Russia has arrived at Indian territorial limits, Great Britain, if things go as at present, will have reached the limit of Indian resources. That, in the fewest possible words, is the argument of the Financial Department against the growth of military expenditure.

The objection that increase to the army would lead to a policy of aggression remains. It cannot be better illustrated than by presenting the bill for military expeditions since 1885–6. From 1875–6 to 1883–4 the Indian Government undertook no military operations except during the five years over which extend the Afghan war charges. Here is a statement, taken from the Parliamentary Return of Military Expenditure of subsequent expeditions. The first fruit of the increase to the British forces was the annexation of British Burmah, on the north-east frontier; the latest has been the Húnza campaign, on the extreme north-west, which modestly conceals itself within the folds of the cloak of 'minor operations.' It will be objected that this part of my argument is based on the fallacy of *post hoc ergo propter hoc.* No one, of course, can affirm that all of these expeditions were the direct

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result of increasing the Indian army. The Manipur expedition, for instance, certainly was not. But, on the other hand, if men had not been available, it is very unlikely that all of these many raids would have been undertaken. That one reason suffices. The active policy which has led to them, and which has been in favour for the last five years, would have found no material to work with.

Years	Upper Burmah	Lushai and Chin Hills	Hazára	Sikkim	Miranzái	Manipur	Minor operations	Total
	Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx	Rx
1885–6 . .	631,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	631,000
1886–7 . .	1,517,800	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,517,800
1887–8 . .	1,475,300	15,541	—	—	—	—	—	1,490,841
1888–9 . .	631,600	49,131	121,237	204,010	—	—	—	1,005,978
1889–90 . .	435,800	350,689	3,934	66,365	—	—	—	856,788
1890–1 . .	350,300	265,394	52,521	—	32,917	449	48,279	749,860
1891–2 . .	529,200	96,160	132,240	—	161,719	315,358	46,359	1,281,036
1892–3 . .	502,500	78,400	1,160	—	1,900	7,600	168,300	759,800
Total . .	6,073,500	855,315	311,032	270,375	196,536	323,407	262,938	8,293,103

Looking at this total of 8¼ millions, I may perhaps be forgiven for quoting this passage from the Minute of the 17th of August, 1885 :— 'A standing army which is larger than is necessary for home requirements will be a tempting and almost an irresistible weapon of offence beyond the border.'

Unless exchange materially rises without the rupee appreciating in India, either the growth of military and political expenditure must at least be put an end to, or fresh and fresh taxation in India must be resorted to, or the English taxpayer must contribute permanently towards the defence of India. The only remaining alternative is bankruptcy. Some of the items of military expenditure are said to be about to disappear. Special Defences, for example, are represented to have been completed. If no fresh claims are brought forward, well and good. *Uno avulso, non deficit alter*, is, I think, the experience of a Financial Member of the Viceroy's Council. Are military expeditions and operations, 'minor' or 'major,' as the case may be, to be discontinued? Will no fresh military railways, no new weapons of precision, no increase to English non-effective charges, no fresh expenditure on account of mobilisation, for example, be insisted on? As to fresh taxation, though Lord Lawrence has seemingly gone out of fashion, I shelter my views on the danger of taxing India behind the opinion of the Viceroy, who, indisputably, had more profound knowledge of Indian men and matters than any Viceroy who preceded, or who has succeeded him. If we enter on a course of successive measures of fresh taxation, Russia, without moving a man or a gun, need only to bide her time. If slow and sure is her game, surely and slowly we shall be playing her hand for her. Moreover, India is a poor country, all said and done. You cannot take the breeks off a Highlander, or cover an Imperial Indian deficit with the rags of a Hindu ryot. As to the English taxpayer contributing permanently

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to the defence of India, is the English statesman born who would propose it, or the Indian statesman who would accept it?

Since 1885 onwards, so far as I am aware, Indian financiers have never budged from their position on this question of the increased military armaments. They have always uncompromisingly declared them to be hurried on at a cost beyond the resources of India. What has been done has been done in spite of them, and in the teeth of their remonstrances. Like the prophets of Judah, their forebodings have disturbed the general harmony. Lamentation and woe have been the burden of their message. Gayer altars, decked by other hands, have attracted popular devotion. But these melancholy prophets are still heard in the high places, if haply some may listen to them. Here, for instance, is Sir David Barbour. At the last meeting of the International Bimetallic Conference, in the spring of the present year, Sir David made a long speech. He had just arrived from India, where since the close of 1888 he had had charge of the finances. The occasion was one on which he might have been expected to attribute all the difficulties of the Indian Treasury to its currency and to the exchange. What did he say? After referring to other difficulties of Indian finance, he used the following words:—

On the other hand, the system for the control of Indian expenditure is defective. The control of the revenues of India is vested in the Secretary of State for India in Council, but a large portion of his authority is, necessarily, delegated to the Government of India. The Government of India is comprised of seven members, of whom only one is chosen for his supposed knowledge of Indian or other finance. The other members of the Government are, for the most part, the heads of great spending departments. They hold office for five years only, and they, not unnaturally, wish to show a satisfactory record of work done during their period of office. The making of a satisfactory record in each department every five years involves, unfortunately, a liberal expenditure of the public money. A Government such as I have described might, of course, administer the resources of the country with the utmost economy, but the chances are against such a result. The tendency is towards excessive expenditure, by which I mean expenditure in excess of what is prudent and safe, and not necessarily wasteful expenditure in the first instance, though excessive expenditure always ends by becoming wasteful expenditure when financial embarrassment necessitates large reductions. The revenues of India have, at times, been managed with great economy, but the credit of such management belongs entirely to the members of that Government for the time being. The *system* is not favourable to economy.

The Secretary of State for India in Council is, in many respects, a valuable check on Indian expenditure, and the only real and permanent check, other than the inability of the Government of India to raise more revenue. No control over expenditure, however, which must be exercised from England can compensate for the want of sufficient initial check in India over Indian expenditure.

The official organisation for the control of Indian expenditure is, as I have stated, imperfect, and neither in India nor in England is there any intelligent and well-informed body of public opinion which can effectually check unduly liberal expenditure. India is a continent rather than a single country. In addition to the Government of India, there are no less than eight local governments enjoying a certain amount of independence, and each with a separate financial system

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There are also scattered and extensive tracts of country which are administered by the Government of India. The Financial Member of the Council of the Governor-General has not unfrequently been blamed because his Budget Statements were not readily intelligible to the English reader. The defence rests on the complexity of the subject, and the want of familiarity of the English, and I might add the Indian, critic with the details of Indian administration. If the revenue and expenditure of all the kingdoms of Europe were lumped together, shown in one account and explained in one Budget Statement, and a native of China devoted a few hours of his leisure to a study of that Statement, he would, no doubt, complain of the want of lucidity, and would hardly be tempted to return to the subject the following year. At any rate, be the cause what it may, the number of men, official and non-official, English and Indian, who are possessed at any one time of sufficient information to give a sound opinion on the general condition of Indian finance, might easily be counted on the fingers of one hand.

The facts which I have brought to your notice may be briefly recapitulated—an Eastern country governed in accordance with expensive Western ideas, an immense and poor population, a narrow margin of possible additional taxation, claims for additional expenditure greatly in excess of possible additional revenue, a constant tendency for expenditure to outgrow revenue, a system of government in India favourable to increase of, and unfavourable to reduction of, expenditure, no financial control by intelligent and well-informed public opinion either in India or in England, an insufficient check on expenditure in India, a remote and imperfect control exercised from England, a revenue specially liable to fluctuations from year to year, large and growing foreign payments.

The root of our financial difficulties in India is the insufficient check exercised under the constitution of its Government by the Financial Department. The Finance Member is but one of six or seven Members of Council, of whom every one, except the Viceroy and himself, is irresponsible for financial equilibrium. Not only this, however. The Finance Member alone excepted, every Member of the Council is directly interested in spending. So much has to be done in India, and there are so few but the State to undertake the agency, that the need everywhere of money and of expenditure is academically incontrovertible. Two Members of Council are military men; therefore the military vote in Council is double that of any other department. There is no control on expenditure from outside the Government; no fear of being turned out over an unpopular or extravagant policy. It must be added that decentralisation, while throwing most wisely upon provincial governments the care of civil administration, has, unquestionably, at the same time removed it from the immediate charge of the Viceroy. Hence it happens that the daily thoughts of the most influential member of the Government are comparatively little concerned with provincial administration. The best of men who found himself in that position would be more than a man if he did not pull the blanket a little in his own direction. I am not thinking of this or that Viceroy, but of the nature of things; and of the balance of a man's mind when weighing conflicting interests, with some of which he has come more peculiarly to be identified. If a man has many irons in the fire, he will attend

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first to those which are for his own using. The Military and Foreign Departments are the Viceroy's irons. We see the result, possibly, in the disproportionate increase to the military and political expenditure.

The body which calls itself the Indian National Congress has not hitherto shown itself, in my judgment, very practical in its suggestions. But it is difficult to differ with a great deal of what it has to say in this matter of expenditure. If this paper correctly interprets the meaning of the figures which are embodied in it, it shows that there are good grounds for the assertion in the recent 'Note,' presented to Parliament by Sir William Wedderburn, that it is more the growth of expenditure than the fall in exchange which has led to the present difficulties. The charges on account of exchange have become mainly formidable because the administrative expenditure, which has caused in chief measure the growth of those charges, has been itself continuously increasing. In the Financial Statement of 1886–7 I indicated my apprehension that this was likely to be the case. A Financial Member of Council is not at liberty to express in his annual Financial Statement his personal point of view on the collective policy of the Government of which he is a member. Within such limits as were permissible, it was pointed out in the Statement referred to, with as much emphasis as the occasion allowed, that the increased expenditure then proposed and the exchange between them would, in time, if unchecked, bring the finances into confusion.

If the coming Parliamentary enquiry is limited to analysis of items, it is probably foredoomed to fruitlessness. What has to be examined is the machinery, not the product. I do not for a moment believe that the time has come when Indian expenditure can be controlled in an Indian parliament. We are in the mud of the Ganges, not in the republic of Plato, nor in the monarchy of St. James's. But some method is required by which the Finance Department may be given more effective control in framing the Budget. Like Trochu, I have my plan, but this is not the place nor the hour in which to air it. What has first to be brought home to the public mind is that the great spending departments should not have a preponderating voice in matters of expenditure, because they are not those which have to see that the account is balanced. The men, moreover, who consume the sums yielded by taxation are not men on whom fresh taxation falls. Active men are always at the head of affairs, anxious to do their best by their charge; anxious, too, to distinguish their administration. They are guided by the highest of motives; very likely the consciousness that this is so makes them the more clamorous. It is not, however, a question of motives, but of means. So far from facilitating the raising of supply by the Government of India, I believe that the wiser policy would be to obstruct it. Impose import duties to-day and some other source of revenue will be demanded to-morrow. *L'appétit vient en mangeant.* In eleven years, as we have seen,

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nearly five millions have been added to administrative military expenditure, let alone exchange on military account. Now, in the name of justice to the Indian taxpayer, an import duty on Manchester goods, to meet some of the cost of this increased expenditure, is asked for by responsible statesmen in the Upper House. Justice to the Indian taxpayer would be more impartially defended by some other advocacy; *non tali auxilio, nec defensoribus istis.* Retrenchment, moderation, return to old maxims of Indian administration, is justice to the Indian taxpayer; but possibly this will not become evident so long as fresh funds can be raised from him.

AUCKLAND COLVIN.

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To the Editor of the NINETEENTH CENTURY.

Hawarden Castle, Chester:
September 19, 1894.

SIR,—I should be glad if you will kindly allow me to supply an omission in my recent paper on the position of Heresy and Schism in the modern Christian Church.

I have there laid stress on the great evidential as well as moral value which I attach to the concurrence of an overwhelming majority of Christians in the acceptance of certain doctrines, which they regard as vital and central. But I had no intention of thereby conveying any precipitate or harsh assumption with regard to the section unable to accept them. I am not about to enter on this large subject, but I own with pleasure that results (as we think them) of true doctrine are often exhibited on a scale far exceeding that of its profession.

I have the honour to remain, sir,
Your most faithful servant,
W. E. GLADSTONE.

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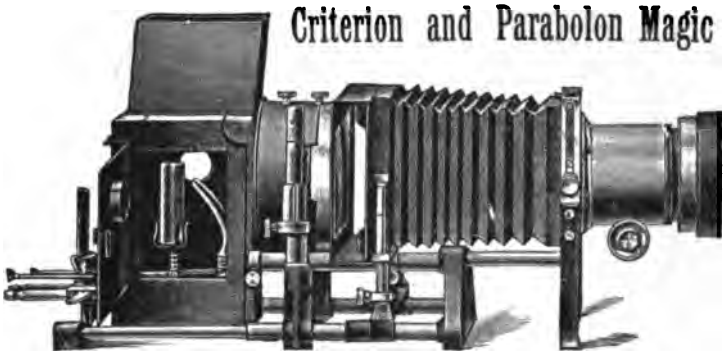

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

No. CCXIII—November 1894

WHAT HAS BECOME OF HOME RULE?

To every Irish Nationalist the position in which the Irish National Question stands to-day must be profoundly painful and disappointing. To realise that position with any exactness it is necessary to recall that in which the question stood only a few short years ago. In 1886 Home Rule became the foremost issue in the politics of the United Kingdom. A British ministry staked its existence on a particular proposal for satisfying the demand of Ireland for self-government, and, although that proposal was defeated and the Government in consequence fell, Home Rule still remained the main political issue of the day, and the party which advocated it went from one triumph to another in Great Britain till it seemed as if, at last, the saying of Sir Charles Gavan Duffy were to be illustrated by actual demonstration—viz. that it was only necessary to strike the conscience of one first-class English statesman to bring about the restoration of Ireland's right to manage its own affairs. How different is the state of things now! Although the present House of Commons was elected and although the present Government (which is practically Mr. Gladstone's Government) was appointed chiefly to deal with Home Rule, Home Rule has absolutely dropped out of the legislative programme of Ministers. When this fact was asserted twelve months ago, it was vehemently denied by the Irish partisans of the Government, and much comfort was taken at the time out of a declaration made by Mr. Gladstone at Edinburgh which seemed to promise a different result to the labours and sacrifices of so many years. 'The next session of Parliament,' said

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the late Prime Minister, speaking in October 1893, 'will not pass without your seeing this subject (Home Rule) reappear above the waves amidst which it has for the moment seemed to founder.' But at the very time Mr. Gladstone spoke the shipwreck was complete, and ever since then we have had evidence piled on evidence of the momentous fact.

Not to go back so far as the close of the year 1890—though, indeed, an account of the genesis of the present situation would not be complete without taking into consideration certain events of that period—the gradual, but sure, elimination of the national question of Ireland from the British Liberal programme of living political issues may be traced even by the most indifferent observer, step by step, from the day on which the House of Lords rejected the Home Rule Bill till the date of the recent Birkenhead election, when the subject may be said to have been formally buried. The first ominous circumstance that foreboded danger, if not disaster, was the absolute calm with which the Government and the Liberal Party received the news of the action of the House of Lords. Not even a breath of agitation disturbed the placid stream of Liberal politics; not a Minister spoke a word of remonstrance or indignation; not a Liberal member called a meeting in his constituency specially to assail the Lords or bring them to account; not a Liberal Association passed a resolution of protest, although what appeared to be the first object of the Ministry and the party had been defeated, and that, too, in a defiant manner, by a body deriving no authority from the people. No instance can be pointed to in British political history of a first-class Government measure, which it had cost the House of Commons almost a whole session to pass, being killed at a single stroke, and the circumstance exciting so little commotion. Then came, in steady succession, the adoption of the policy of 'filling the cup of popular indignation with the House of Lords' by passing to the other items of the Newcastle Programme—a policy which, as will be seen, has resulted in taking away all cause for British indignation with that body; the sudden retirement of Mr. Gladstone, the principal champion of Home Rule in Great Britain, with his work undone and his pledges unredeemed; the accession of Lord Rosebery to the post of Prime Minister and his open declaration that all further attempts to solve the Home Rule problem must be postponed till the 'predominant partner' in the firm of the United Kingdom had been converted to the Home Rule idea; the failure to deal with Home Rule in any way during the session of 1894; and, finally, the candidature of Mr. Lever in the Liberal interest for Birkenhead, which was accorded official Liberal support, although it was ushered in by the following declaration of Mr. Lever himself:—

They would have a great many red herrings drawn across the trail by the Conservatives, and the first would be Home Rule. Home Rule had been the fore-

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most plank in the Liberal platform, and they carried it, and it was not their fault that the Irish were not enjoying its advantages. What, therefore, had Home Rule to do with this election? (A voice, 'Nothing.') There were many other questions, however, which had to do with it. Since entering that hall he had received an anonymous letter which said that the only point in which the writer differed from him was Home Rule. He wished to ask that gentleman, if he was with him earnestly and heartily, and wished to see other Liberal measures carried through, to vote for him (Mr. Lever), as Home Rule could not be touched by this Parliament.

Home Rule 'a red herring across the trail'! A pretty state, assuredly, for the great question on which Mr. Gladstone went out of office in 1886 to sink to in 1894, although Mr. Gladstone's party is now once more in office and Mr. Gladstone himself is still alive and in the full enjoyment, happily, of all his intellectual faculties! When the question of Home Rule has come to be, in Liberal opinion, a mere device of the Unionist enemy to prevent the Liberal Party from pursuing its proper aims, the situation for Irish Nationalists, who have been hoping and struggling for a settlement of the Irish question on constitutional lines and by constitutional means, has, indeed, become so painful as almost to excite despair.

Such is the present position of the Home Rule question, and it is bad enough from the Irish point of view. But it promises to grow worse. If certain proposals which are now made are adopted by the Government and the Liberal Party, Home Rule will soon cease even to occupy the somewhat undignified position, or to discharge the humble function, of a red herring across the trail of Liberal policy. It is suggested, for instance, not only by supporters of the Government, but by members of the Government itself, that the next immediate object of Liberal endeavour ought to be, and must be, either the 'ending or mending of the House of Lords,' or at least that either of those operations ought to be carried out before Home Rule is again discussed with a view to a legislative settlement. Such a course of action, it may unhesitatingly be said, would simply mean nothing more or less than an abandonment of the Irish question by the Liberal Party.

A plausible case may, of course, be made for proceeding with a campaign against the House of Lords. In the first place, from the Irish Nationalist point of view, if not also from the British Liberal point of view, there is nothing in the whole history of that institution which deserves to be praised or is calculated to evoke gratitude. Of Ireland, at least, it has been a consistent enemy. It has time after time delayed or mutilated beneficial legislation for Ireland when it could not defeat it, and is thus in no small degree responsible for all the political and social evils with which Ireland has been afflicted. In the second place, it is undoubtedly a monstrous anomaly that, in these days of household suffrage, a wholly unrepresentative and irresponsible body of a few hundred persons, deriving their authority

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from the accident of birth, should be able, even temporarily, to override the decisions of the representatives of the people. A still more plausible case may be made for proceeding with a campaign against the House of Lords at the present moment; for it is true that up to a year ago that institution was the single obstacle between Ireland and at least some measure of Home Rule, and next session it may be regarded as certain that it will veto any important measure of land reform for Ireland, should such a measure be sent to it for its acceptance. At first sight, therefore, it would seem good policy, at least from the Irish point of view, to drop all other objects for a time, and aim, instead, at the 'ending or mending' of the House of Lords. But it is only on a very partial view of the facts that such a course could seem advisable to any practical politician or could be regarded by such a politician as other than absolutely abandoning one great movement in the success of which Ireland has a vital interest for one greater still in the success of which Ireland, possibly, may be found in the end to have no interest at all.

It is positively amusing to read the facile prophecies of early destruction that are hurled at the House of Lords. One would imagine that it was one of the easiest things in the world to pull down altogether, or fundamentally modify, an institution which is almost as old as the English Monarchy itself, which has survived the vicissitudes of centuries, which occupies so large a place in English history, and which still, beyond all question, enjoys, deservedly or not, the confidence of millions of the English people. To think such a feat capable of accomplishment within, say, the lifetime of the present generation, is evidence of either childishness or imbecility. As well propose to abolish the Monarchy; and, indeed, it is doubtful whether, on the whole, England would not prefer the House of Lords to the Throne, if it had to choose between the two. Two proposals have been made in regard to the House of Lords. One is to abolish the institution altogether; the other is to abolish its veto. How long does any man in his senses think that it would take to carry the former proposal into effect? Does any one really believe that, without another Revolution, the House of Lords could be abolished within the next fifty years? and does any one really believe in the possibility of another Revolution within the same period directed against a fundamental part of a constitution under which England has grown to be a first-class Power and English liberty has been irrevocably established? But it may be said that it would not be so gigantic or lengthened an operation to take away its veto. Perhaps not; but one thing is certain, that even this reform could not be effected without convulsing England from end to end, without such a popular agitation as that country has not witnessed since the days of the Corn Laws, and without repeated and successful appeals to the country. In the meantime, it may be asked, what would

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have become of the Irish movement for Home Rule? It would have been dead and buried long before the House of Lords' veto was abolished; the population of Ireland would have been reduced by another million, a fresh cause for cutting down still further the Irish representation at Westminster being thereby furnished; and thus the last state of that country would be worse than the first. It is possible to understand why British Liberals should imagine that it would be desirable to embark, without further ado, on an anti-House of Lords campaign; it is impossible to conceive why any Irish Nationalist should do so.

But we may go further and assert, with the most absolute confidence, that, even if an agitation against the House of Lords were at any time advisable from the Irish point of view, the present time would be positively the least opportune for such a movement which could be selected. The reason is obvious. Neither the English, nor the Scotch, nor the Welsh people have just now any case whatever for an uprising against the House of Lords. The fact is notorious and well within the recollection of every one that the veto of the House of Lords has been exercised since the accession of the present Government to office only in the case of Irish Bills. Every British Bill of any importance brought forward in that time by the Government has been accepted by the House of Lords and passed into law. The Home Rule Bill and the Evicted Tenants Bill have been rejected outright; but England, Scotland, and Wales have got their Parish Council Bills, London has got its Equalisation of Rates Bill, Great Britain as a whole its 'democratic' Budget, and it would also have got its Employers' Liability Bill if the Government would agree to omit one subsection which, however important from their point of view, was one on which working-men themselves and even Liberal representatives in Parliament were divided in opinion. It would be nothing short of sheer nonsense to go to the people of Great Britain on such a case as this against the House of Lords. Neither the English, nor the Scotch, nor the Welsh could be either persuaded or cajoled into a fit of indignation against either the institution or its veto when neither the one nor the other had been an obstacle to any part of the United Kingdom but Ireland obtaining what it desired. What thus seems clear *a priori* has been proved to demonstration by the event. An agitation against the House of Lords was commenced soon after the rising of Parliament by a meeting in Hyde Park, and it has been a complete failure. It has almost been laughed out of existence, and, although such revolutionary members of the present administration as Mr. Shaw Lefevre and Mr. Herbert Gladstone still talk of 'going for the House of Lords,' it is to be observed that they were conspicuous by their absence from the Hyde Park meeting, and it is pretty certain that, if they do continue to indulge in such talk, it will be mostly at

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harmless tea-parties and similar gatherings, at which a discussion of the subject will assume a mere academic character.

To substitute, therefore, an agitation against the House of Lords for an agitation for Home Rule in Great Britain would be to postpone the triumph of the latter for an indefinite period. From the Irish point of view it would be simply fatuous. But it is also needless. To secure the triumph of the Home Rule movement it is not necessary either to end or to mend the House of Lords. What power has the House of Lords to resist the will of the majority of the people of the United Kingdom in that matter or any other, provided only that the expression of the people's will in Parliament is the result of a clear mandate from the constituencies? It has none; and, what is more, the House of Lords has never permanently or even for a long time persisted in the exercise of such a power in the case supposed. It has at various times delayed measures which were undoubtedly desired by a great majority of the people; it has compelled appeals to the electorate again and again; and in that way it has not infrequently done much public harm and roused against itself much popular exasperation. But in the end it has invariably succumbed to the force of public opinion, even in the case of Ireland, till it has now come to be the weakest Second Chamber in the world. It will be the same in the future as it has been in the past. If the next election should result in a clear verdict in favour of Home Rule, obtained on a clear issue, the House of Lords must and will succumb again. As much has been expressly said by Lord Salisbury himself, and, even if he had not said it, the statement would be true. But there is another consideration which must not be omitted. The House of Lords is not strong enough to resist the popular will clearly expressed. Are those who desire so eagerly to end or mend the House of Lords quite sure that the Second Chamber which would be set up in its stead would be equally powerless? It is certain that it would be far more powerful. If it were constituted on the representative principle, the French Senate and the Senate of the United States show what would be the result. The new House of Lords, or whatever it might be called, might well become almost the equal of the House of Commons, and might, perhaps, be at the same time more anti-Irish. But, if all this should be the case, in what a ridiculous position those would stand—those Irishmen especially—who preferred an agitation against the House of Lords as it is at present constituted to a continuance of the movement for Home Rule!

Now, all this being so—Home Rule being dropped out of the legislative programme of the Government, and the proposal being made to substitute for it as the principal aim of Liberal policy an achievement which is calculated to occupy much more time and to arouse ten times more passion in England—the Independent Party

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in Ireland see no course open to them, as Irish Nationalists before everything else, but to take the shortest way to put a summary end to a situation so full of peril to the Irish cause. That way seems to lie through an early dissolution and a direct appeal to the constituencies on the issue of Home Rule unencumbered, as far as possible, with other issues, so that the House of Lords may not again have any excuse for saying that the country voted not on Home Rule, but on other questions, and on that ground again refuse to pass a Home Rule Bill.

Such a course of action may seem inexpedient, ungracious, and even unjust to certain Liberal supporters of Home Rule in Great Britain. They will, no doubt, say that they have fully redeemed the pledges they have given to the Irish people on the question of Home Rule; that it is their turn now to seek to derive some advantage from the Anglo-Irish alliance; that they, too, have urgent grievances to redress, and important reforms to obtain; that it would be unsafe to go to the country upon the single issue of Home Rule, and that the Government may be beaten if a general election should take place early next year. Let us examine each of those pleas in turn.

Have the Liberal Party, as a matter of fact, fulfilled their pledge to Ireland? What was their pledge? Was it not that they would make the triumph of the Home Rule policy their great aim till it was secured? How often did not their late leader say that the only object of his remaining in public life at his advanced age was to undo the crime and disgrace of the Union by restoring self-government to Ireland, and did they not as often applaud that declaration? But, if so, they are bound to do more than throw down a Home Rule Bill on the table of the House of Commons and pass it through that branch of the Legislature. It is not a fulfilment of their pledge, after that Bill has been rejected, to drop it like the Employers' Liability Bill, without a word even of remonstrance; to treat it as a mere item, or the first item, in a Newcastle programme, and go on to deal with the next; to show that they do not regard it as urgent, either in the interest of Ireland or in that of England, by saying, through the mouth of their new leader, that it is no use to submit it again to Parliament till 'the predominant partner' has been converted to its principle; to put another and a greater British question in its place, the solution of which will take years and years to accomplish. All this is but keeping the word of promise to the ear and breaking it to the hope. It was not thus that any great fight with the forces of reaction was ever won in Parliament. It was not thus that Catholic Emancipation was carried, or the first Reform Bill put on the statute book, or the Corn Laws repealed, or the Paper Duties and Purchase in the Army abolished. The authors and supporters of those great measures stuck to them after they had been rejected by the House of Lords or the House of Commons;

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and they allowed nothing else to interfere with them while the contest raged over them; they focussed and kept the attention of the whole nation upon them till they were severally carried. Suppose that after the first attempt to pass the first Reform Bill Earl Grey had quietly dropped it, proceeded to deal with another part of the Whig programme of the day, and said either that the House of Lords must be ended or mended, or that England must be converted to its principle before it was again introduced, what would his supporters have said, and what then would be the chance of an early triumph? It is unnecessary to answer the question. The first plea fails.

What about the second? Is it true that it is now the turn of the Liberals of Great Britain to get something for themselves out of the Anglo-Irish alliance? Even if it were, it may be suggested to them that they ought to postpone their own demands to those of Ireland. There is no comparison between the urgency of the Liberal cause and that of the Irish cause. Many and great reforms are needed in England, Scotland, and Wales. As to most of them, the Irish people heartily desire to see them accomplished. To Irish Catholics especially, the Church Establishment in Wales, for instance, seems a monstrous anomaly and a grave injustice. But who will pretend for one moment that, even if none of those reforms were effected for the next ten years, it would make a vital difference to the English, Scotch, or Welsh people, or that they would be materially worse off at the end of that time, or that they would not progress all the same in prosperity, even as they are doing now? On the other hand, the concession of Home Rule is vital not only to the peace and contentment, but to the very existence of Ireland as a nation. Under the Union the very lifeblood of Ireland is draining away; its great natural resources lie undeveloped, while a considerable portion of its population depends for existence on employment of the most precarious description, or is perpetually on the verge of starvation; in every grade of its society there is a constant chafing, which tortures and wears the soul, against the foreign tyranny which the Union means. All this century the Irish nation has been struggling in one way or another against this monstrous tyranny, born in corruption and blood and marked in every successive generation by the tears and sacrifices of brave men who made unavailing efforts to end it. At last, in this generation, a great Irish leader, gathering for the first time into one great force the varied and scattered sections into which Irish Nationalists were divided, shook it to its base and induced the Liberal leader and the Liberal party to pledge themselves to its destruction as to the accomplishment of a holy work. And this Irish cause is that with which English, Scotch, and Welsh reforms are now, forsooth, put in competition by the very same party—now, after the hopes of the Irish people have been

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raised to the highest pitch, and when, if an honest and courageous policy be pursued on the Irish question, there is still a distinct possibility of breaking soon the evil spell of centuries. To be candid, the plea that it is 'England's turn now' is the very gospel of selfishness, and shows of itself that those who urge it have not yet grasped the real significance of the Irish question. But if the plea be still insisted upon, let us point out that it is *not* 'England's turn.' Up to the present, as has been already pointed out, every division of the United Kingdom but Ireland has benefited by the legislation of the present Parliament. Ireland alone has gained nothing. It is distinctly *her* turn now.

But it is said that the Liberal party may be beaten if they go to the country next year, or upon the single issue of Home Rule. This, of course, is a matter of opinion, but the present writer for his own part entertains no doubt whatever as to which would be the best plan to adopt in the interests of the Liberal party and Home Rule. If one thing is clear from the history of general elections in England, it is that the longer a Ministry remains in office the less chance it has of obtaining a renewal of its lease of power. It is a curious but notorious fact that there is a prevailing tendency in the English mind, after one party has been in power for some time, to give the other side a turn at the wheel of the ship of State. That fact has been illustrated over and over again, especially in recent times. Moreover, the longer a Ministry remains in office the more certain it is, if it be at all active in carrying out its legislative programme, to augment the number of its envenomed foes. It suffers from its very virtues. Nor is it less clear that it would be better for the Liberal party to go to the country upon the single issue of Home Rule than upon Home Rule complicated with such questions as Local Option, for instance, the mere suggestion of which, as part of the Government programme, has already made every public house in Great Britain a Unionist agency. Every measure of that kind which affects the material interests of vast masses of people tends, in the first instance, to array in one solid combination against its authors forces that otherwise would at least be divided. Besides, even if the Liberals won on a composite programme, the result would in all probability be no advantage to Ireland. The House of Lords might again say, as it said after the last General Election, that the country did not vote so much upon Home Rule as upon other questions, and might again reject a Home Rule Bill on that pretence.

The possibility, however, remains that, under the conditions suggested, the Government and the Liberal party might be beaten. That contingency must be faced, and what is to be said about it is that, from the Irish point of view, it would be far better that the Liberals should be beaten under such conditions than that they should win under the other conditions, and that the present state of

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things should be, as it certainly would be, reproduced. What is the present state of things? Home Rule has not been secured; on the contrary, it has been put off into 'the infinite azure of the future,' and, meanwhile, the Dublin Castle-Downing Street system of Government is in full swing in Ireland, just as it was in the days of Mr. Balfour. The administrators of the law are, for the most part, the same; the spirit in which the law is administered is also the same. The only difference is that, whereas a considerable amount of public money was spent or authorised to be spent in Mr. Balfour's time on public objects, there is nothing spent in that way now, and that whereas, in Mr. Balfour's time, the whole National party was arrayed against the Government, now a great portion of that party tolerates in that Government acts and omissions which formerly it would have denounced, while corruption and demoralisation are working their way silently, but surely, by reason of the bribes held out, in the shape of petty honours and offices of emolument, to various persons who, under a Unionist *régime*, would be ashamed or afraid to touch them. Than that such a condition of affairs should prevail after another general election—with Home Rule still postponed and a political gangrene, as it were, eating at the heart of Ireland—better any day a new Coercion *régime*. Such a *régime* would at least secure, while Home Rule was denied, that the whole strength of the National party in Ireland would be on the side of Ireland and against the foreign domination which now prevails there, and that fact would be a guarantee that the fight for Irish national liberty would be kept up and eventual success achieved. Mr. Balfour's policy caused much cruel suffering to hundreds of individuals—to every man of spirit, in fact, in certain districts in Ireland, who could not tamely endure being trodden upon in the exercise of his civil rights; but it had one supreme merit. It gave fresh life and vigour to the national movement which Mr. Parnell had created and led; it converted many Englishmen to a belief in the justice and expediency of Home Rule, by demonstrating the fact that an insolent and brutal tyranny will never achieve the conquest of Ireland; and it kept Home Rule beyond all question in the very forefront of the politics of the Empire. Better, let it be repeated again and again, a recurrence of that state of things, if needs be, than that a Liberal majority should be returned to hang up Home Rule once more and at the same time to paralyse, at least for some years, the national movement against foreign rule by poisoning some of the very springs from which such a movement must always derive a great part of its strength and vitality.

One specious argument against an immediate dissolution has been addressed specially to the farmers of Ireland, who constitute the bulk of the Parliamentary electorate. It is that, if the next session is not allowed to run its natural course, Mr. Morley will be prevented from

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passing a great and far-reaching measure of land law reform into law. The predictions made on this head during the last few weeks by the friends of the Administration in Ireland must surely make Mr. Morley and his colleagues in the Cabinet smile. The Chief Secretary, it appears, is to bring in a Bill providing for the fixing of rents at the prairie value standard and for restoring the evicted tenants to their homes, and the House of Lords, of course, is to pass such a Bill! The contempt which the authors of such predictions must feel for the intellects of those to whom they address them is almost sublime. Human credulity, indeed, would find its most marvellous illustration in the belief of any Irish farmer in the accuracy of such forecasts. Mr. Morley, indeed, has agreed to a report on the working of the Irish Land Acts, the recommendations in which, if they were carried into law, would greatly improve the position of Irish agriculturists; but of those recommendations one thing may be asserted with absolute certainty—namely, that even in the improbable event of the more important amongst them being embodied in a Bill by the Minister for Ireland, they will never be accepted by the majority in the House of Lords from the hands of the present Government or the present House of Commons. It is conveniently forgotten by those who hold out this happy prospect to the Irish farmers that the action of the House of Lords has already been clearly foreshadowed by the action of the minority on the Land Acts Committee. That minority withdrew from the Committee at the close of its investigation rather than take part in the deliberations on the Report, on the pretence that the limits of inquiry had been unduly restricted; and then they presented a report of their own, in which they practically express dissent by anticipation from every one of the main recommendations made by the majority. No one who is not wilfully blind can doubt that in taking both those steps they expressed accurately the views of the landlord party and of the House of Lords. To pretend anything else to the farmers of Ireland, for mere party purposes, is simply cruel. 'The Coming Great Land Bill' is more of an *ignis fatuus* than even the Evicted Tenants' Restoration Bill, and the Independent party at least will refuse to seek, by its aid, to lure the Irish people off the track of practical politics to waste their time in indulging vain expectations of a general good and in helping some more so-called Nationalists to comfortable salaries out of the Consolidated Fund. The only alternative to this will-o'-the-wisp policy which any section of the Irish supporters of the Government can offer is that proposed by Mr. Healy, who, in a recent speech, says that, pending the concession of Home Rule, Ireland can obtain, and therefore should seek for, minor reforms of one sort or another in addition to a Land Bill, and seems to be in favour, if one may judge from a remarkable speech of Mr. Davitt, of putting Nationalists into all the administrative offices of the country. Of this alternative it

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may be sufficient to say that, in so far as it is not open to the imputation of being as visionary as that of the other section of the Irish supporters of the Government, it is simply a naked abandonment of the Nationalist position.

The Independent party, to sum up the case, have come to the conclusion, for the reasons given, not only that an end should be put to the present situation as speedily as possible, but that it is necessary, with a view to restoring Home Rule to the first place amongst the urgent political questions of the day in these islands, that the same means should be adopted as those by which it was forced into that position in 1886. What those means are is suggested very clearly indeed by Mr. Gladstone in his famous speech in Liverpool on the 28th of June in that year. The speech referred to was the last of the famous election addresses delivered between the rejection of his first Home Rule Bill and the General Election. In the course of it he made what he called 'a threefold appeal to Englishmen, and not to Liberals alone.' He appealed to their prudence, their courage, and their sense of honour. On what did he found his appeal to their prudence? On the fact that the way of all British reforms in Parliament was blocked by the Irish question, and on the certainty, as he conceived it, that it would continue to be so blocked. Here is a short extract from a passage in that speech which might well indeed bear to be quoted in full:—

> Many and many a man of you has at heart some question closely associated with his interests in life, and many and many a man of you has perhaps still more nearly at heart many a question associated with the welfare of the community. Are you satisfied with the capacity which your Parliament has lately shown for dealing with these questions? You think as well as I do that for legislation generally your Parliament is in a state of paralysis. It has worked hard. Many a man has sacrificed his life to his public labours; but the difficulties are such that they cannot be overcome. And what is the cause of these difficulties? The cause of them has been Ireland. . . . I see here a man of great ability, Mr. T. P. O'Connor, who has been an important member of the body of Nationalists. I suppose no delicacy need prevent me from stating before him what is, I take it, quite indisputable, that this body of Nationalists have considered that the interest of their country in the condition in which she stood was primary, and that it was for them to urge it under all circumstances and at all times, irrespective of the effect it might have in blocking the business and paralysing the action of Parliament. I cannot be surprised at it. I do not complain of it. I refer to it as a fact. But you have had a specimen of it for the last six years. I know pretty well what it is. Is it likely to be better—mind, I am now only on the argument of prudence—is it likely to be better in the next six years? Gentlemen, I can tell you what the difference will be; and I say that what has been done by Irishmen in the last six years is but a trifling miniature and specimen of what will result in the next six years, unless you take thought and counsel, not from the mere will of these gentlemen, but from the necessities of the position.

Alas! owing to the course of action of the Irish supporters of the Government, all ground for making such an appeal as this to Englishmen has now disappeared, and, if the policy of going on

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with the Newcastle programme be adopted, such an appeal can never be made to them again. For my part I believe in the efficacy of such an appeal, and I would gladly restore the ground for making it by again rendering it impossible for Parliament to transact any other business till it has settled the Irish question. Mr. Gladstone clearly approved of that policy in 1886. He expressly said that he was not surprised at it, and that he could not complain of it; and if he is still a genuine Home Ruler, as one must believe him to be, he must be both surprised and disgusted to find its promulgation by the Independent party made a ground of complaint against them now by professing Irish Nationalists in regard to whom he predicted—assuredly in the hope that they would fulfil his prediction—that they would continue to 'block the way' till the 'primary' question of Home Rule was satisfactorily settled.

J. E. REDMOND.

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ENGLAND AND THE COMING THUNDERSTORM

A GERMAN VIEW

IMMEDIATELY following upon the late enthusiastic reception of the German Emperor, we found the entire English press laying warm emphasis on the fact that England's relations with Germany are not only of the normally peaceful kind, but of even a close and intimate nature. If we look back on recent years, when Anglo-German complications and misunderstandings found only too frequent repetition, it seems hardly necessary to point out that this unanimous expression of feeling, coming as it does during Lord Rosebery's administration, betokens no mere outward compliment, but has a far deeper sense and more widely reaching significance. Lord Salisbury's Cabinet enjoyed the high esteem and firm confidence of every pacific country in Europe, especially of Germany, and it is to the credit of this remarkable statesman that the majority of his countrymen recalled to mind the duties which England, as a Great Power and integral factor of the European States-community, must fulfil, would she henceforth maintain the high place due to her among European Powers, and recover the position she has let slip. Only from the time that Lord Salisbury brought this recognition to light and put an end to the foolish stories concerning the Anglo-hatred of the German Emperor and the enmity of his country towards Great Britain, has it been found possible to bring the relations between the two countries to their present intimate condition. We rejoice that this result—a cause of great mutual satisfaction—is, to all appearance, continuing under Lord Rosebery's Government. The latter indeed has had but a comparatively brief existence, and has not yet undergone its real baptism of fire; but a fair and impartial judgment must acknowledge that the Cabinet has shown no little ability in dealing with touchy international questions. If Lord Rosebery retains and continues, above all towards Germany, Great Britain's natural friend and ally, the confidence-inspiring policy of Lord Salisbury in its essential lines, he will be performing a truly valuable service, both for the welfare of his own country and for the furtherance of European repose.

The lack of proper stability in the English executive—due, alas!

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to a parliamentary system of government and its continual oscillation from one side to the other—was the chief cause for the lessening of confidence among European States in England's foreign policy. In our opinion, therefore, it should be the chief aim and the first duty of English ministers to preserve continuity in dealing with foreign affairs, and they might well find means to do that without making mechanical use of a mould inherited from their predecessors. Responsible ministers must place genuine statesmanship before mere partisanship; for the empire and the nation stand on too high a level to be used as a tool for party aims.

It is fateful that in England, as everywhere else, parliamentary government has for long been on the decline, and that, owing to a feeling of insufficiency and decaying strength, it will neither brook any vigorous force outside its own sphere nor any strong single-purposed acts of government on a level with it or over its head. In quiet times that may pass, but, in the present highly critical situation, it is a circumstance fraught with the utmost peril to a State, should its ministry lack sufficient means of executing that policy which it has recognised as expedient and necessary in the common interests of the States-community.

The English Parliament in its triple capacity of legislator, ruler, and superintendent of the entire State machinery, is undoubtedly overburdened. It would be a true blessing could Parliament, out of consideration for the serious position in which the present age finds us, and for the welfare of England, concede to the Crown and the Ministry certain wide discretionary powers, valid for a certain period, which would insure a vigorous administration of foreign affairs. By a patriotic and provident resolution such as this Great Britain's power and prestige would receive new life, for the crippling and senile policy of irresolution, trimming and for ever compromising, would thus be put an end to without encroaching on the free institutions of the country. Every English statesman of to-day knows only too well that, any morning, news may come of some great public event deeply affecting the first interests of the British Empire. With this in view, it must surely appear essential that England should permanently entrust the helm of her government to men who recognise that the true means of honourably securing the ramifying interests of their kingdom lies in the stability of a strong and well-defined foreign policy, removed as far as possible from the working of an ephemeral parliamentary majority, and from the everlasting goad of a stiff-necked Opposition.

The threatening outlook of the times has moreover had lately a very considerable effect in altering the view and opinion of the English Parliament and people. The 'kaleidoscopic collective wisdom of Parliament,' so often ironic[illegible] [illegible]hat section of the European Continent disposed t[illegible] [illegible]al monarchy, has,

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both by its prompt concession of twenty-three millions (an enormous sum even for England), to be used exclusively for naval purposes, and by its growing conviction of a need for army reform, as well as by its increasing inclination towards a closer approach to the Triple Alliance, given clear proof that it is at last awake to the great pulse-beat of the advancing times.

The lightning signs that a terrible international thunderstorm is about to break over the roof of the British Empire have been flashing so vividly from every side, from South Africa, Madagascar, and the Soudan, from India, Siam, and Afghanistan, from the Mediterranean and the Black Sea, that all its reflecting inhabitants are becoming sensible of a pressing warning to secure at any cost their dwelling by means of reliable and lasting conductors. And with right good need, for England is the very Power which is most sharply threatened by the recent naval displacements, if we may so term them, and by the vast changes in the European constellation, and which moreover is being the most directly hindered in the fulfilment of her international duties. Whether one is pessimistically to believe in the existence of a Franco-Russian treaty for offensive purposes where possible, or whether one is optimistically to reject such an idea, it yet remains incontestable that with Toulon and Kronstadt a new epoch has been entered upon. The further and eventual convulsions that the latter may bring forth would, in truth, be more likely to touch *maritime* England than the members of the Triple Alliance; for it is to the Franco-Russian squadron that all the honour and glory of having inaugurated this new era must be conceded, and events in the Mediterranean are illustrating the special aim of this 'East-Westerly' alliance.

Macaulay once remarked that, in the public affairs of England, everything is so concrete, so empirical, and so incomprehensible, that it were foolish to measure them by the standard of an entirely different intuition. Germany can perfectly appreciate this sentiment; but, nevertheless, it must not keep her from trying, as far as possible, to form an objective judgment on such English matters as react upon her and upon Europe. And the Germans are of opinion that England's undefined foreign policy, mingled as it is with commercial and colonial interests, too tightly curbed by Parliament—the policy of *laisser-aller*, with all its dilatory expedients—cannot hope to compete with Panslavistic diplomacy, at once cunning and unrestrained, to all appearance open, yet generally conducted with covered cards.

The present critical state of the Czar's health opens a wide field for conjecture. We will not attempt to deal with the result of any sudden change in the government of Russia. We know that the true nature of the Czar, whose character and temperament incline him towards peace, harbours no offensive designs; but it is as well known that the semi-official wire-pullers—namely, the powerful circles of in-

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fluential Russians—allow us by no means the same surety. Alexander the Second was, too, a friend of peace; and yet the strength of Panslavism drove him reluctantly to fight the Turks. While Russia has for years been steadily collecting her forces and making preparations for a mighty stroke, the Panslavists have succeeded in yoking the French nation, incited by its thirst for vengeance, to the chariot of Russian craving for expansion. The funds that Russia needs for her aims have been repeatedly and readily lent her by France. Coal-stations and naval posts for a permanent Russian fleet in the Mediterranean, in order to carry out the old plans of conquest at the Golden Horn and of checkmating Britain in Egypt and Asia, have followed as the second step. Russia, through the good offices of France, is already obtaining a great part of her heart's desires without striking a blow. The giant Empire of the East has been for long striving to burst through her landlocked boundaries, and, by means of inland sea and ocean, to bring life to her rigid continent—to find a path to the sovereignty she covets *terra marique*. Her machinations in the Mediterranean, the passage of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus (only arrived at after gradual infringement of the treaty) by means of so-called voluntary trade-cruisers laden with soldiers, and fitted out with munitions of war; the construction, or rather completion, of the naval stations, Libau, Wladiwostok, and Biserta, entailing moreover the greatest sacrifices; the new proposal for the acquirement of the harbour of Schestakow in Corea, together with the feverish haste shown in pushing on the Transcaspian railway; the restless activity in the docks of Odessa, Nikalajew and Sebastopol—all this points to Russia's deliberate pursuance of ambitious naval aims, and to her well-premeditated schemes for increase of power. As public feeling in England and Europe is conscious, in most of Russia's aims and in the means she employs to carry them out, of a strong element of danger to international repose, there is good reason to fear that this displacement of force and menacing of the balance of power, with its probable results, will touch England in particular, all the more so as France is lending herself to the game. Germany is also indirectly threatened, and, indeed, all Great Powers who are interested in averting violent changes on the map of Europe; for, should France and Russia come out victorious from a future war, France would gain the Rhine boundary and much more besides, both in Europe and outside it; but Russia, on the same day that she vanquished Europe, would gain the world's dominion. In a future war it may be with good reason expected that the navy will take the chief part. The expenditure on the German fleet, which is but of medium strength, will be directed chiefly towards the defence of German coasts and colonies. Italy's marine forces will likewise be engaged in the protection of her lengthy seaboard. Austria's fleet is of great excellence, but of no size. It was, therefore, indeed high time for England to see to her

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general reforms and maritime preparation in such measure as is worthy of a nation which has never yet at a critical moment hesitated in sacrificing all to maintain her power and uphold her honour.

There is no doubt that England, as first Colonial Power in Asia, is directly affected by the Chino-Japanese war, and that her commercial, naval, and military interests may be dangerously threatened, should the present complications take a more serious turn. But so long as no European State makes unfair attempts to enlarge its dominions, so long as naval forces from the West prove adequate to the protection of European subjects and their rights, there can be no just reason for intervention. It were better had England delayed the attempts she lately made towards this end, and which have already fallen through, until there existed stronger grounds and more favourable circumstances for such a proceeding. For Germany, too, there are grave interests at stake; but, having regard to our own case in 1870, we cannot but feel bound to hold aloof from interference with other nations to-day in the same position. In a struggle between China, the enemy of reform and civilisation, and Japan, the friend of culture and progress, the sympathies of Europe must from the first be enlisted on the side of the latter people. For England to combat this natural feeling would be a mistake as injurious to her reputation as it were repugnant to her true inclinations.

France hovers between revenge, expansion, and revolution. A large portion of her population has begun to understand that Russian friendship and 'the *Theory* of revenge,' which shows itself in Russian idolatry, has already cost far too serious sacrifices; they are beginning to calculate, with dismay, how great are the burdens that 'the *Practice* of revenge' will impose upon them, and they no longer venture with confidence to hope that for love of 'la belle France' Cossack squadrons and Russian columns will wrest her Alsace and Lorraine, under the murderous fire of German batteries. Another section of the French have chimerical ideas of the simultaneous overthrow of England and Germany, and fancy already that they see France stepping into England's colonial inheritance, and the Federation of the Rhine renewed. A third party is for ever 'gazing out on the Vosges Mountains as though hypnotised,' and dreaming in feverish paroxysms that the whole affair of 1870 was only an enormous blunder in the world's history, a blunder which may now be corrected with a scarlet pen. In ever-increasing numbers will they now awake from their infatuation, and recognise, to their grief, that this blind thirst for revenge has been acting but as the mainsail for the Russian bark of self-aggrandisement, and that, after this shameful betrayal of Western civilisation is complete, a voice will be heard in Russia: 'The Moor has done his work; the Moor may go.' *Quem dii perdere volunt prius dementant*—a fitting enough saying if applied to

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France, for France is to-day politically blind. National blindness is always the sign of some great coming catastrophe. It would seem now ingrained in the French nature to precipitate such catastrophes. The *Progrès Militaire*, in August 1894, wrote most significantly: 'Every mind has now become instinctively convinced that the next war which, sooner or later, will inevitably break out between the Powers of Western Europe will commence with a sudden invasion, without previous declaration of hostilities.' For whom is it, we ask, that this surprise is being prepared? The statement that appears now and then in English press-organs, 'France will for ever remain the open foe, Russia the secret foe, of Germany,' is in Germany only echoed by some few advanced Radical papers; the majority of the nation is of quite a different opinion. Since England began to neglect her strength and means of defence, to forget the claims of altruism, in short to politically isolate herself from every other Great Power of like disposition and like interests, the former regard paid to her as a powerful factor of the first rank in European politics commenced to wane. A close alliance of England with Russia, her natural antagonist in Asia and on the Bosphorus, were clearly impossible. Alliance with France is quite as much out of the question, for England's colonial policy, as well as her position in the Mediterranean, in Egypt, and in South-East Africa, has turned France into a bitter opponent. The Peace Alliance was founded by three of the great military Powers which enforce universal conscription on mutual definite obligations and on signed agreements. Into its privileges England could only enter, even if permitted by her parliamentary form of government, by binding herself to like obligations; and, as having at the present moment too little to offer from a military point of view, she would scarcely be in a position to play with energy the part of *par inter pares*. Moreover, her interests are too widely spread over the whole world to allow of her being able to rely on the Triple Alliance for their protection. The various objects of international strife, already presenting too many points of friction, would undergo a dangerous augmentation were England to enter into this partnership, and European peace, the true end of the alliance, would receive no fresh or strengthened guarantee, but, on the contrary, might suffer a partial diminution of stability. All this, when summed up, tends considerably to increase the number of those individuals in France who, while shrinking from a war with Germany, point to England as the true antagonist and the more convenient foe, a view which Russia, under a cunning mask, loses no opportunity of fostering. That these designs of France against the greatest naval Power in the world are but a giant fantasy is self-evident, but for England and for the general peace they contain the self-same dangers as the French Chauvinism of revenge for Germany. England has, therefore, not shut her eyes nor remained indifferent to these

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menacing aspirations, and she has truly recognised that the recovery of Alsace and Lorraine is far less the great object of France than the full reconstruction of French ascendency, together with her ambitious aims, naval, colonial and commercial. For France it is not enough to be *a* great nation on a level with others; the French wish to become once more *the* great nation over all others. Germany, with all her wish for peace, is bristling with sharp swords; she remains ever watchful, with concentrated forces, ready at any moment for a deadly resistance. This fact, no less than the sad experiences with Germany a quarter of a century ago, makes it seem to the French somewhat unwise to put the *furor Teutonicus* to the test, and to attempt the above-mentioned 'sudden invasion' where it has least chance of success. The French, then, appear to have let dawn upon them the pithy maxim that Lycurgus impressed upon his Spartans: 'Let them beware of making war too often on one and the same nation.'

A peculiar hope occasionally finds expression in English and German papers—namely, that the crater of social revolution and civil war might break out in France, and thus divert her forces from foreign hostilities. Such a hope is in a double respect deceitful and mistaken. Were a revolution to spread over France to-morrow, its fire would simultaneously ignite in other States the combustible material that is only too thickly heaped up. The general emerged from the bloody wave of civil strife, who victoriously suppressed the revolution, would immediately, as 'Saviour of his country,' 'Dictator,' or 'Protector,' collect under his successful blade the late hostile elements, and, after the old tradition, divert their attention by a foreign war. In such a case he would perhaps venture upon the foolhardy *coup*, so long talked of in France, and, either alone or else covered by Russia, convey great masses of attacking forces by means of swift cruisers to the point that appeared to him the most defenceless, either across the Channel, or to Egypt and the Bosphorus, in order to reap successes where their attainment would seem easier than on the Rhine.

The ship-canal that has been designed in the South of France to join the Mediterranean with the Atlantic, lays open to the French intoxicating hopes, not only in the commercial but also in the military plain. For him who closely observes the French pamphlet literature and daily press, it is very clear to what deeds the self-confidence of the national spirit aspires. An unusually friendly tone has quite lately been adopted towards France from an official quarter in Germany. This, however, by no means deserves the reproach of being unfair behaviour towards Austria and Italy, or of being unpalatable to England. It may hardly be hoped that the generous pardon accorded by the Emperor to the French spies, or the heartily sympathetic telegram of William the Second on the occasion of Carnot's death, or his visit to the Empress Eugénie, or even the conciliatory

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tone of the German press, will introduce lasting changes in the disposition of France towards Germany; on the contrary, up to the present time the effect has been the exact opposite. Hopes are now being entertained that the national anniversary of Sedan will be no longer celebrated; there is much silly talk about the return or the neutralisation of Alsace and Lorraine. While the German sentimental spirit is, through its concessions, giving ground for the fine, though romantic, notion of a complete reconciliation with France, endeavours are being strenuously made to shake the Triple Alliance by means of political agitation, and, to-day in Austria, to-morrow in Italy, to awake mistrust against the German policy—endeavours which are all the more dangerous in that the ductile majority of the Italian nation derives its knowledge from papers almost all of which carry with them the flavour of their French sources. A '*cave*' for the reconciliatory optimism of Germany is therefore not out of place. On the other hand, we can confidently assert that our preparations are so complete as to remove all fear of France; we are furthermore sincerely disposed towards peace, and have the right to exhibit this sentiment to the very nation which has so often and on such trivial grounds accused us of the contrary. Germany is magnanimously coming to meet her vanquished opponent half-way, and is building her golden bridges for peaceful and open relations. But never will Germany bring herself to any transaction with France that might in the least prove hurtful to her own assured position and national honour, or to the interests of her allies, England included.

The siren-song with which M. Deloncle, leader of the French colonial enthusiasts, recently tried to charm us, casting all the while significant glances towards Egypt and the interior of Africa, found the German ear stopped with the very wax of Ulysses, and French proffers of friendship can draw forth no response in any design directed against England. It is a fact hardly requiring assurance that our Imperial Government is pursuing a peaceful, honourable, definite, and steadfast foreign policy—a policy that can be brought off its track by no vain folly of party leaders, by no misrepresentations of ambitious demagogues, that can be affected no more by cries for revenge than by seductive propositions of a share in the fruits of French aggression—a policy which remains unshaken by election tempest, by changes in the Ministry, by the false regard paid to the one-sided interests of a certain class, a policy which therefore will ever hold firm to its friendly relations with England. The plea which justifies the system of German politics, and its convincing logic, has gradually procured for it in England applause and ever-increasing acknowledgment. In Germany it is not a close intimacy with England that could be distasteful; it is rather an alliance which would leave Germany alone unbenefited.

In the great military drama at the beginning of our century

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which Waterloo brought to a close, England, for the last time, added real laurels to her standards, and that also, strictly speaking, was the last time that England entered on the international arena to uphold the principle of hereditary monarchy and the European States constitution. The policy of strict neutrality and non-intervention, which England has followed ever since the days of Canning, a policy of do-nothing, and of insular reserve in dealing with Europe, is fortunately beginning to meet with a changed attitude in English public opinion. Europe sees that England is not about to shirk the duty which her signature to the Treaty of Berlin entails, and the Powers that wish for peace may now count more securely upon Great Britain's insisting on the conditions which that treaty solemnised.

The phrase now become so dear across the Channel, 'Future policy belongs to the future,' is only half true, for in the present lies the germ of the future. The English nation, with its common sense and soundly practical nature, has recognised the danger of this fallacy. Good government may be interpreted as the looking out in advance as far as possible, and providing for the future, that no loss may come upon the State. A fatal phrase were it, too, for the island kingdom: 'It matters not to England were Europe torn in pieces, so long as Albion is undisturbed.' Local separation in nowise removes either the material or spiritual bond of interest between peoples; on the contrary, distance with its barriers has vanished before the modern means of intercourse that land and sea afford, and the isolation of one nation and one country from the rest is as impossible as it is unnatural. Since the time that England has again commenced to pursue a decided European policy, Anglo-German relations have taken a warm and intimate form. England has, under the pressure of late occurrences, recognised that the Franco-Russian union may form the prologue to a very serious drama, and, even though the Downing Street authorities are not in a position to sign a treaty of alliance before the outbreak of hostile entanglements—nay, even if we grant that alliances are often but of secondary worth, and that the effect and importance of signed treaties may frequently be overrated—yet will the henceforth unambiguous attitude of the English Government towards the great European questions be of profit no less to England than to the peace of Europe.

The enlargement of the English fleet, and the clear wish for reform and military reorganisation, have given to England's intentions a real and substantial basis that is worth more than all her orators' declamations. It can, however, be readily understood that the instability which England has so often shown in her foreign policy has somewhat prejudiced other States, and unfitted them for a fair and accurate judgment as to the advantages that so great a naval Power as England can hold out as friend and silent ally. But, having in view the late change of attitude in England, we do not for

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a moment believe that either her capacity for alliance or her power of enforcement is so questionable as they were once asserted to be in the *Preussische Jahrbücher*. Great Britain may be phlegmatic perhaps, but in decisive moments and on the approach of any great crisis in the world's history which tended to sway her fate also, she has ever given practical proof of a sound instinct for her joint interests, and she will not fail to do so now. In spite of all the checks we have encountered from England in the colonial sphere, in spite of all the complications and misunderstandings above alluded to, through our German politics has ever run the thread of recognition that England must not be hindered or confined in the full exercise of her power, and that the sincere friendship towards the German nation of a people allied to it by ties of blood is an aim that will well reward its attainment, even at the price of efforts and sacrifices.

Since the time that a complete metamorphosis took place in the army organisation of every Continental State that enforced the levy *en masse*, England, retaining the obsolete system of enlistment, has been seriously distanced, and those dangers are beginning to accumulate which Edmund Burke and Thomas Buckle warned their nation would follow on the disappearance of the old warlike spirit. They are indeed appropriate words that Chancellor Caprivi once uttered with regard to universal conscription: 'The more that European nations adopt universal conscription, the more will they appreciate the seriousness of war; and we may now, more than in times past, feel convinced that not merely *governments* are anxious to avoid war, but that the *nations* themselves are more cautious than formerly in playing with this dangerous fire.' But not every nation is so lastingly and from nature inclined towards peace as are the Germans and the English. And the very fact that England is the only State which does not base the defence of its soil on the duty of universal army service may cause expansive and restless foreign elements to discover in England the most suitable object for attack. At the present time, universal conscription, which comes as a matter of course to Continental Europe, would be repugnant to the innermost soul of the English nation; but *dira necessitas* will oblige in England, too, the adoption of measures to meet the requirements of the age, measures which will be more in harmony with Continental forms. The doughty spirit of bold forefathers has revived in England at the right moment, and in this matter also it will make its energy felt. We Germans give our English cousins credit for the same vigour as our own, and, for us, England remains a factor that must not be overlooked in the balance of European strength. Therefore we would refrain from bringing a single drop of water to the mill-wheel of those aggressive nations who would only too readily grind to powder the first naval Power in order to repeat the experiment on the Germanic Continental Empire. We do not undervalue the vast advantages which a close

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and sincere friendship with Germany must produce for Great Britain, advantages which she herself, surrounded by difficulties and dangers, knows best to appreciate. Without the faithful help of a Continental blade the English fleet, even if increased to the strength that our times demand, would never be able to discharge a task ever becoming more and more complicated. The averting of the dangers which threaten England from within and without Europe is due, in great measure, to the awe with which adventurers regard that sharp sword; and the good sense of every Englishman tells him that Germany and the Triple Alliance, with its principle of abiding in the *status quo*, cannot but exercise an influence salutary and beneficial to Great Britain. Germany is, of course, unable to saddle herself with the enmities which England may incur in Europe, nor can she fight England's battles; for, with her military arrangements, she can only carry on wars to which she is driven by direct injury to German interests—namely, such wars for defensive purposes as are named in the terms of the Triple Alliance.

It is by no means primarily for our special German interests, but in order to secure peace and a strong guarantee for increase of culture, that we desire the maintenance of near and intimate relations with England; the Peace Alliance cannot have enough members or silent supporters. With mere good intentions, oratorical and paper productions, friendly wishes and memoranda, history would, indeed, be poorly stocked. In order to perform great acts we must have great men, firm and apt to command, men with backbone, who lighten with the torch of truth the night of doubt and irresolution, and who prefer to consult their own conscience rather than the promptings of their party or the varying voice of public opinion. The Germans adhere to the historical and philosophical opinion of Carlyle, according to which the development and the fates of nations are attributable in the first place to the coming into prominence of heroic individuals. The most recent period in German history, with its great representative men, William the First, Bismarck, Moltke, Roon, and many others, causes us to sympathise with the judgment of Goethe, who once said: 'Everything great and wise in the world was at first in the minority; that is to say, in the soul, the heart, and the desire of pre-eminent persons; they were obliged to render those wise plans first of all popular and practicable.' Our times, that pay homage to the materialism of pure figures, that narrowly seek to derive every great result from the omnipotence of majorities and the masses, in viewing the present Anglo-German relations certainly undervalue the mighty influence wielded by the spiritual force of great and noble characters, men who, by the strength of their outstanding personality, have placed the intercourse between their nations on a new footing. The German Emperor, from the day of his coronation up to his memorable speech at Königsberg last September, has never wearied in giving the

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peace of Europe new pledges both in word and deed, and his activity has been as incessant as it has proved fruitful. In every speech he has given evidence of a peaceful nature, which, especially in England, has met with the warmest approbation. A few months after his accession, William the Second said at Stettin, where a laurel wreath was presented to him: 'These are my first laurels; I rejoice that they are laurels of peace'; and in Düsseldorf we heard him utter these words, even as ineffaceable: 'I would that European peace lay in my hand; I would then take care that it was never disturbed: yet in any case I will leave no expedient untried to preserve its entirety.' In truth, if the governments and peoples of Europe exert themselves to-day more than ever to fortify peace, internal and external, and to keep back Chauvinistic currents that tend towards war, we have, in a great measure, to thank the Imperial prince of the House of Zollern. In later ages, after clear history has been constructed from the restless politics that each day brings forth, posterity will recognise more fully what a service the noble Emperor has rendered for England and Germany, nay, for Europe and humanity. He has swept away the myths from 'the interests of England and Germany that oppose one another at every turn.' He has allayed the former unnatural quarrels between the two nations. He has, with his far-seeing eye and healthy vigour, proved himself the strongest support to the political truth, that the primary interests of the greatest naval Power harmonise with those of the greatest Power in Central Europe, rooted, as those interests are, in the maintenance of peace; and that both Powers together, if linked by the bonds of close and faithful friendship, can form a solid weight sufficient to overbalance all turbulent and bellicose elements in the scales on which the fates of the future will be decided.

FELIX BOH.

DRESDEN: *October* 1894.

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CHRISTIAN SOCIALISM

SOME months ago[1] an address of a very unusual kind was sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury by a certain number of the clergy of his Province. It concerned a matter no less important than the attitude of the Christian Church generally, and of the Anglican clergy in particular, towards social legislation, professing at least to be in the interests of the classes living by manual labour. The tone of the address was admonitory. It was a voice of warning, and, by implication, of remonstrance. It implied that the Anglican clergy are, or have been, generally cold or adverse to the cause of beneficent political reforms; and it intimated a fear that Christianity itself may, in consequence, suffer prejudice and hindrance among the masses of the people. 'It is difficult enough,' said the curious document, 'for the clergy to convince the working masses that the name of Christ has any meaning or message to them in their needs and in their hopes. It is all but hopeless if their contact with Christ's organic and responsible Church involves incessant friction and collision.' How far such language is at all justified by the character and working of the English clergy, it is not for me to say. It is certainly at wide variance with my own personal observation and belief. But, at all events, to such an address no answer was or could be given by the Primate of all England. It deals offhand, and in a tone of accusation, with a subject of enormous complexity and extent—a subject above all others lending itself to loose thinking and declamatory language. The Archbishop, however, was understood to allude to this address when, some weeks later, and in the course of an after-dinner speech, he referred good-humouredly to the advice tendered to the fathers of the English Church by a number of reverend gentlemen of whom he found, on inquiry, that the great majority had been admitted to ordination very recently indeed. Such a significant fact well deserved this passing notice. But it is none the less true that the boys of to-day will be the men of the coming generation; and even if the weight they carry now be no greater than that of straws, the drift they indicate may well demand attention. Still more may this attention be due if the youths in question

[1] It was dated the 12th of April, 1894, from 36 Larcom Street, Walworth.

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are really themselves earnest workers in their calling among the poor, and if some of them at least are obviously gifted with ability as well as zeal. For, much as we may all dislike political sermons even when we agree with the preacher—odious to all educated laymen as the least flavour of the platform is when detected in the utterances of the pulpit—we dare not, and we cannot, say that religion has nothing to do with politics. It is only a degraded conception of both—too often, indeed, justified by what we see around us—that can account for such a doctrine. We think of party and of party leaders as the type of politics. We think of wrangling ecclesiastics as the type of religion. But if even for a moment we allow ourselves to think that the religious beliefs of men have little or no influence on their secular condition, we are as ignorant of the past as we must be unobservant of the present. We all know, or have the means of knowing, what the secular condition of the world was when Christ came. What it would have been now if He had never come it is impossible to conceive. It has been well said by a modern philosopher that the whole system of human society rests on a few fundamental conceptions and a few accepted beliefs. And this is exactly what Christianity supplied to a world which had come to believe in nothing. Without condescending to take the least notice of anything that could be connected with the politics of its own early days—without breathing one word which can be construed as taking any side in the great secular contests of men, whether then or since, it did, nevertheless, bring in and establish a few fundamental conceptions and beliefs which have transformed the world. Beyond this it deliberately abstained from going.

There is nothing in the New Testament more striking—more divine—than its majestic reticence. It made no attack upon anything in the nature of a political institution. It has been even made a reproach against Christianity that it bestows no special praise on the virtue of patriotism. Why should it? The glory of great sacrifices in great causes is of its very essence. But the cause of a man's own country may not be a cause which is either great or good. It may be, on the contrary, very bad. The virtue of patriotism depends entirely on the nature of the 'patria.' In the abstract it is merely the love which all men, by nature, attach to any brotherhood or society to which we ourselves belong. It is one of the implanted instincts of our race; and like all other instincts it discharges an important function. But its value in the scale of virtue entirely depends on many special conditions. It is the bond which has held together alike the rudest tribes and the most savage clans, as well as the greatest nations that have blessed the world. It has been alike the animating spirit of the noblest actions, and of the most hideous crimes against humanity. If our Lord had inculcated the passion of nationality on the seed of Abraham merely because 'as

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concerning the flesh' He came from it, He might have lighted up a disastrous war. His was a message to all nations. It took no notice of race or country, save that in the first instance He was 'sent to the lost sheep of the House of Israel.' As became those who were founding an everlasting Kingdom, and a Dominion which was to endure throughout all generations, He and His Apostles uttered no voices which have the local colour of place and time. Although many of the evils under which heathendom was then suffering were undoubtedly and closely connected with bad systems and principles of government, Christianity was silent upon them all. Save, in so far as its own higher sphere, it implanted some new truth pregnant with new consequences, it left them all to be judged by the more enlightened reason and the gradually awakened conscience of mankind.

There is no method of reform so powerful as this. If alongside of any false and corrupt belief, or any vicious and cruel custom, however strong and however deeply rooted these may be, we can succeed in planting successfully some one incompatible idea, then, without the noise of controversy or the clash of battle, those beliefs and customs will wane and die. It was thus that Christianity, without a single word of direct attack, killed off one of the greatest and most universal curses of the pagan world—the ever-deepening curse of slavery. The antagonistic and incompatible truth which had this effect was among the profoundest in the Christian system, namely, the inalienable dignity, value, and responsibility of the individual human soul. But this truth was left to work out its own results without any attempt to anticipate that work in its thousand applications. On one great subject, indeed, which not only does concern politics, but goes to the very roots of human society, Christianity did at once speak out definitely, expressly, and with a noble claim to absolute authority. That subject was the relation of the sexes. Upon this its language was imperative, and its doctrines were as new as they were all-important. New, indeed, they were not, in one sense at least, because they were expressly announced as founded on natural laws which had been 'from the beginning.' It is true that in dealing with the relation of the sexes Christianity kept itself strictly within the sphere of individual conduct and of personal obligation. But none the less on that account did it lay down, in founding The Family, the one indispensable condition of all social and political success. The Christian doctrine of marriage—little as we may remember it—is the foundation-stone of the power and prosperity of all the Christian nations. But immense, and indeed immeasurable, as the merely secular and political benefits are which have flowed from the Christian law of marriage, not one of them is even mentioned in the New Testament. Its teaching invariably kept to the true relation between morals and utility. Duty, or

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obedience to Divine laws, comes first. Blessings and benefits, by way of natural and necessary consequence, follow after.

If these two great secular services to mankind had stood alone—the death of slavery and the institution of the family—the profound connection between religion and politics would have been established by a splendid and pregnant illustration. But other doctrines of Christian ethics have had, and are destined yet more to have, an unexhausted and an inexhaustible influence. It is true, alas! that the influence of religion has been far from unalloyed. The hideous devastation of religious wars, and the still more hideous crimes of religious persecution, have often indeed been disastrous to the world. But they have been a shame to Christians, not to Christianity. They have proved how the interpretation and application of Christian ethics to the practical affairs of men has been ignorant and distorted. It cannot be said with truth that the clergy have been very often the leaders, or have supplied directly the motive power, in either social or political reforms. In general they go with the prevailing sentiment of the community, and of the time to which they may belong. Their tendency is to add to these the consecrations of religion, however little they may deserve it. The clergy of each Christian nation blesses its own battalions, when they are fighting against each other, and invokes the God of justice in support of opposite contentions. And when any of them rebel against such sentiments, and take up new political doctrines, the same temptation naturally besets them, the temptation to dogmatise rather than to reason. If the youthful clergymen who lately admonished their older brethren were moved to do so by feeling the danger of identifying the teaching of Christian beliefs with any of the bad traditions of an imperfect past, they were not less wise than they were young. But they must take the admonition to themselves. If, under the influence of thoughtless sentiment and emotion, they are ever tempted to invoke the sanctions of Christianity on new political conceptions which are at variance with natural facts and with laws as divine as any of those which were proclaimed on Sinai or from the shores of Galilee, then the danger from which they warn others is imminent in themselves. On the whole, it is safer for the clergy in general to keep to the great example and practice of the Apostolic age. It is safer for them, and for the treasure which they hold in earthen vessels, to move in their teaching within the domain of those far-reaching ethical and spiritual truths which were the only theme of our Lord and of His Apostles. It is an immense domain, because the question to what extent the evils of the world, whether social or political, are directly due to a universal falling short of the Christian standard of doctrine and of precept, is a question of inexhaustible variety and extent. It is certain that if the most elementary precepts and principles of Christian morals were universally obeyed and applied by all individual

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men, this obedience would of itself remedy more than half the evils of the world. This is not the place to enumerate them. Any man can do so for himself, and when he has done it, if he will only follow out in thought all the consequences which a universal observance of them would involve, he will soon see how the whole condition of men, and the fundamental problems of all political as well as social government, would be lightened of their heaviest burdens.

This is much, and yet it is not enough, to say of the powerful weapon which it is the function of the Christian Ministry to wield in the cause of all reforms. Nor can it be denied to that school of thought to which the title of Christian Socialism has been from time to time attached, that it has one great fact to plead in defence of the particular direction in which it points the way. Christian ethics do lay great stress on our attitude of mind towards the poor. Both the Old and the New Testaments literally teem with passages which enforce and glorify the duty, not only of encouraging a compassionate spirit towards them, but of making that spirit our guide in a life of activity and work. But there is one thing which Christianity has never done. It has enforced by precept, by benediction, by parable, and, above all, by one great Type of Character and of Conduct, the perpetual duty of 'doing good.' But in guiding the conscience and stimulating the will it has never tried to suppress or to supersede the reason. To do good is one thing; to decide and know what it is good to do is quite another thing. Indiscriminate almsgiving, for example, has often been the easy, but the crude and rude, interpretation of the injunctions of Christian charity. Yet surely among the most precious of things which we have to give is the great gift of thought. 'Blessed is he that considereth the poor'[2] are the pregnant words of the Psalmist. But the word 'consider' is a powerful and, indeed, an all-embracing word. The devotion of every faculty of our minds to the detection of the causes which lead to poverty and distress would be no more than this one Beatitude demands. I know of no text from the Old Testament or the New which limits our freedom in this vast and various inquiry. The clergy have certainly no monopoly in conducting it, and they may even have some special professional tendencies which conduce to error. Dealing as they do directly with the human will, and assuming, as they have a right to do, the freedom of its action, they are professionally indisposed to appreciate the many conditions which limit and control it. The idea of its being subject to natural laws, just as much as matter, is an idea foreign to their conceptions. That estimate of all natural laws which ranks them as divine is not generally familiar to theologians. And this, for the most part, is the cause of the antipathy which we see so commonly exhibited by the new school to the science of political economy. I say for the most part, because some revolt against that

[2] Psalm xli. 1.

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science may be as legitimate and well directed as a like revolt against the physical sciences when the teachers of them either transcend, as they continually do, the province of their inquiry, or, as often also happens, mistake and misinterpret the laws which it is their duty to understand. I have myself taken some part in that revolt which is now prevailing against the old 'orthodox' economists on account of their erroneous and imperfect teaching on many points—a revolt which is unfortunately passing in many minds into a passionate and dangerous rebellion against the very idea of any natural laws being relevant at all in the region of legislation.

But this is a rebellion which is as essentially irrational as it is sure to be destructive. It is an absolute and universal truth that our wills are not competent to attain any desired results in any sphere of action except by using some appropriate means. Throughout the whole of physical nature we can see that nothing is done except by knowing how to do it. It is only by way of natural and necessary consequence that anything can be accomplished. And this is quite as true throughout the whole sphere of human conduct as throughout the whole sphere of what we loosely call external nature. Measures taken to secure some one end have perpetually been found to result in consequences entirely different—because natural laws have not been taken into account. In all our endeavours to avoid such failures Christianity leaves us absolutely free to guide our conduct by observation, reasoning, and experience. The ministers of the Christian Church are as much at liberty as other men to use their own reason in the pursuit of knowledge. And they may well be stimulated to do so by the fact that, in the spiritual language of the Prophets and Psalmists of Israel, Knowledge is continually referred to as embracing all that concerns our ultimate relations with the One Supreme Will. They have no excuse, therefore, if they deride or neglect science—that is to say, careful and systematic reasoning in social and political conduct—merely because some, or even many, errors have been committed by those who have investigated the natural laws by which all wise and successful legislation must be governed. I can recollect at least one instance in which a Christian minister, who was pre-eminent among the teachers of the Christian faith, was also as earnest a student and as eloquent a teacher of economic science. And it is a curious and memorable fact that, wielding as he did the powers of a splendid intellect, he was led to conclusions on one far-reaching economic and political question which are thoroughly antagonistic to the tendencies of the newer schools of Christian Socialism. That minister was the celebrated Dr. Chalmers, and that question was the best system of dealing with the poor. With all the intensity and devotion of a very intense and devoted mind he obeyed the call of the Psalmist in 'considering' the poor. And the result of his consideration was this: that the relief of, and

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the care for, unavoidable poverty was the special duty and function of the Christian Church in its fullest and highest organisation of combined laity and clergy. He held that any State provision for the poor out of public funds, levied by compulsory taxation, must always do infinitely more harm than good. He was not content with holding this view in theory. He undertook to show how it could be worked out in practice in one of the parishes of the great city of Glasgow, with a population of more than 10,000 souls. He undertook to show that the freewill offerings of his own parochial congregation could be made adequate to the discharge of this great duty. He desired to show that the Christian Church, if it only knew how to direct and marshal its spiritual forces in facing and dealing with the causes of secular suffering and distress, could be, and would be, the greatest and the best of all agencies in the world. And he did show it. In the experiment he undertook he succeeded triumphantly. His opponents did not and could not deny his wonderful success. They only pleaded that no other man could do what Dr. Chalmers did. His immense popularity—his genius—his extraordinary energy—his commanding influence over those who worked under him—all these elements in the case were dwelt upon by those who could not grasp the principles and the natural laws on which he relied, which he obeyed, and which, by that obedience, he yoked to his service in his work of wisdom and beneficence. I am not now arguing whether he was right or wrong on the question of the evil of all compulsory poor rates—or whether, being assuredly right in principle, his counsel was anything more than a counsel of perfection not easily applicable to our existing conditions of society, particularly under the present miserable divisions of the Christian Church. But whatever may be our conclusion on these questions, the doctrines of Dr. Chalmers on the treatment of pauperism are a signal illustration of the freedom left to us by Christianity to govern our conduct by scientific reasoning even in matters most closely connected with some of the most definite precepts of its ethical teaching. Dr. Chalmers's views rested on some unquestionable facts of human character, having all the characteristics of natural laws. It must be true, everywhere and always, that the payment of compulsory rates involves no exercise of charity. It must be equally true that the receipt of them can never call forth any return of gratitude. It must be true, everywhere and always, that when men find their wants supplied out of the industry of others, they tend to become demoralised, and thus that pauperism will grow upon that which feeds it. These and other natural laws of the same kind were those on which Dr. Chalmers relied, and no one can now read his writings on the subject without being struck by them, and especially without seeing in them an admirable example of the perfect reconciliation between the spheres of the theologian and of the political economist. Christian Socialism in his hands was not divorced from

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the spirit and the methods of strictly scientific reasoning. The heart and the head worked in harmony together—as they must do if men are to effect any permanent reforms in the condition of society.

In this case it will be observed that one consideration of a purely religious character enters, at least as an element, into the argument on the problem of how best to deal with pauperism. If it be true that the payment of compulsory rates is not giving to the poor in any true religious sense—if it be true that the receipt of a living, out of the rates so paid, sets up no response of any virtuous motive in the poor—then we know that the precepts of Christianity on the duty of giving are not applicable to the question, or if applicable at all must govern our judgment according to the results which are reached by ordinary reasoning and observation. If it be true that a habit of dependence on the receipt of money from rates is not only dissociated from any virtue of gratitude, but is positively harmful in promoting indolence, then in such a system we are doing evil and not good; and Christian truth is not merely indifferent but hostile. This principle of reasoning applies through the whole range of human conduct in politics, as well as in everything else. A careful and conscientious use of our reason in the ascertainment of natural laws, and especially the laws which prevail in the human heart, and mind, and will, is, therefore, one of the highest religious duties—and the richest in its rewards. It cannot be too much insisted on that Truth—truth in all its forms—is that on which Christianity sets the highest value. One of the most sublime of all its promises is that recorded by St. John:—'When He, the Spirit of Truth, is come, He will guide you into all truth.'[3] We do not diminish the sweep of this promise when we admit that it applies primarily to spiritual truth; for this is the kind of truth which is most relevant to all that concerns the conduct and conditions of men. And so the most powerful intellect among the writers of the New Testament, in giving a rapid but splendid list of the practical duties incumbent on those who followed the doctrines of Christ, begins his enumeration with the great name of Truth, and the idea of truth runs throughout his list: Truth for its own sake comes first—pure intellectual truth—truth in all things, 'Whatsoever things are true;' truth in our personal conduct towards other men, which is honesty—'Whatsoever things are honest;' truth in dealing with the equitable rights of other men, which is justice—'Whatsoever things are just;' truth in the high sphere of moral thought, which is purity—'Whatsoever things are pure;' truth even in our estimate of all kinds of beauty and of loveliness—'Whatsoever things are lovely;' truth in everything which attracts the natural and universal approbation of mankind—'Whatsoever things are of good report—think on these things.'[4]

There is no application of Christian doctrine to the conduct of

[3] John xvi. 13. [4] Philippians iv. 8.

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life which would effect a greater revolution than the thorough acceptance and practice of this comprehensive precept. It is needed above all things in politics—never so much as now. There are thousands of men who take an active part in political contention who have no sense at all of what loyalty to intellectual truth demands. They would not perhaps on any account tell a falsehood on a matter of fact. But in matters of conduct and policy—if they see that it suits some party purpose—they will use numberless arguments which they know to be fallacious without the smallest scruple. It would be well if we could all remember that this is not only lying, but lying in its most mischievous form. A lie in some matter of fact is soon detected; but a lie in reasoning may last, and does continually last, for generations, and may pervert and poison the action of men for an indefinite period of time. This, however, is not what we have to deal with among the younger clergy who have rebelled against political economy, as they understand it. There is no doubt about their sincerity or their truthfulness. Our work with them is to indicate, if possible, some of the facts and laws, whether called secular or religious, which they are in danger of neglecting or denying, and which have a direct bearing on one or other of the political problems of all time.

There is one obvious cause for the apparently wide space which in ordinary life separates politics from religion as represented by Christianity. And, strange to say, this cause lies in that very characteristic of Christianity which indirectly has produced its most powerful effects upon secular affairs. Politics, as the very name imports, are concerned only with the conduct of men when herded together in aggregate societies. Christianity addresses itself wholly to the conduct of the individual man in the exercise of his personal mind, his personal conscience, and his personal will. But as the unit of all society is the man and the family, whatever teaching, whatever truths and natural laws, are accepted as ruling individual conduct and responsibility, must rule these directly or indirectly in all their relations to life. Christianity therefore can well afford to be silent—as it is silent—on a thousand regulations of public policy, if it has free course to assert its dominion over a few fundamental axioms of individual character and conduct. For example, there is not a word in the New Testament directly denouncing slavery. But none the less the New Testament has withered it away. It is the supreme rank which it assigns to the individual soul that has done this. And will it not do more? If its fundamental conceptions are hostile to compulsory servitude, and to the laws which made chattels of the individual man, and of the family, are they not hostile to every other law which may involve the same principle? Do they not condemn universally that which constitutes tyranny in all its forms—any and every undue restraint on individual freedom? How much restraint may be legi-

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timate, and the point at which it becomes undue, must generally remain a matter of argument—of reasoning founded carefully and thoughtfully on observation and experience. But there can be no doubt of the deep-rooted antagonism between the Divine laws as to the personality of men, and some, at least, of the conceptions now vaguely, but dangerously, prevalent among those who aspire to reform society. The conception, for example, that what are called all the 'instruments of production' ought to be taken out of the sphere of individual freedom, is a conception which directly involves the principle of a universal slavery. The very greatest of the instruments of production—in fact, the one only instrument of all production—is the brain and the hand of individual men. In them all initiative resides. With them all work begins; by them all processes are conducted, and all results attained. These, therefore, must be enslaved, ruled, subordinated, and directed in their energies, by some external authority, if the great instruments of production are to be taken out of the hands of individual men. Or if, in order to escape from this inevitable conclusion, it be asserted that nothing except material things and agencies are intended to be included in the words 'instruments of production,' then we need only point to the fact that all material things and agencies are, in themselves, valueless and barren except when possessed and worked by mind and will. It is on the power and domination over some one or more of them exercised by some living human personality, that the very possibility of every useful production absolutely depends. And, since the world began, this dominion over them has been secured only by the superior energy and vigour of some individual minds leading groups of other men in the great work of appropriating the external gifts of nature. Property in them—that is to say, the exclusive power of use over them within some particular territory—has therefore been the one necessary condition of life in all tribes and nations.

Again, original disparity of mental power, deep-seated and profound—ineradicable disparity between the units, and between all the groups—has been another universal fact and law of nature. This is a fact which writers of the new school either neglect, or deny, or inadequately appreciate. One of them in recent years has said, and pleaded, that men's original gifts of mind are, after all, not more different than the features of their faces. What are we to think of the knowledge and intelligence of any writer who, assuming to teach others on the forces operating on the structure of human society, can think and speak of a special bit of brain as of no more account than a special bit of flesh, the particular shape of nose or a peculiar line of mouth? The very idea of such a comparison is irrational. The two things are incommensurable. A special bit of brain may make all the difference between an idiot and a man of genius. It not only may, but it does, habitually make all the difference between the leaders

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and benefactors of society, and the dullest of those who always largely share in consequences to which they contribute nothing. This variety and disparity of mental gifts is one of the fundamental facts of human nature. It is one of the facts which is not only recognised, but insisted upon, by Christian teaching as lying at the root of individual duty. The great 'Parable of the Talents'[5] is founded on it. For the purposes of illustration, the scale of inequality among men in respect to natural gifts is there taken as between one and five. But not even this illustration can adequately represent the facts of nature. The born aptitude of particular men for special kinds of work, and the utter incapacity for the same, not only of other individuals, but even of many particular races, present a scale of differentiation which has no narrower range than that between zero and the most splendid powers. The teaching of Christianity is that the cultivation to the very utmost of all these personal gifts is the first duty of every man towards Him who is the Giver of them. They are represented as a trust—as capital for the purpose of being put out to usury—and for the returns of which the holder of them will be called to his account. This is teaching which goes to the very root of the whole matter. It is founded on the recognition of one supreme fact in nature, and on one supreme law of moral obligation as necessarily connected with it. It condemns as irrational and immoral every human law or custom which aims at the repression of that individual liberty which is the absolute condition of individual responsibility. On the other hand, the proposition that individual freedom must have some limitations, when men associate together, is a necessary and obvious truth. Men living in society must be under some restraints from contact with their fellows. These restraints and limitations fall to be determined and defined in the natural exercise of those social instincts which have been given to man, as certainly as they have been given to those lower animals that live in organised communities. On all details in respect to such limitations Christianity is absolutely silent. No more in this than in other matters does it supersede the action of reason and of conscience. But on the general principle underlying all such reasoning and conduct, Christianity is not silent, but voiceful in a high degree. It lays down the fundamental law that we are to do to others as we would have others do to us. And this rule it declares to be the sum and substance of all the Law and the Prophets. No human legislation can reach so high as the complete enforcement of this one golden rule. It transcends and outruns all the possibilities of social or political power. But none the less does it lay down a doctrine which defines and determines the sphere within which alone we have any moral right to interfere with the inalienable rights of freedom in other men. We are to prohibit no man from doing anything which we feel and know we should desire

[5] Matthew xxv. 14–30.

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to be free to do ourselves. We must put no restraints on others except such as we are conscious we ought to submit to in our own conduct towards them. This is a far-reaching doctrine. True to its great function of ruling men, not by bit and bridle, but by instilling conceptions which are all-powerful, because they are absolutely true, Christianity touches society through its constituent and individual elements alone. Not one word does it directly say on the corresponding duties of the aggregate towards its units. A few direct words it does say on the duties of the units towards the aggregate, and in these few words it teaches perhaps the most fundamental of all truths in the sphere of politics—viz. the duty of lawful obedience and respect for all constituted authorities: 'The powers that be are ordained of God.'[6]

This, like all the other ethical utterances of Christianity, is far-reaching in its consequences. But its own limitations in one direction are as important as its sweep in others. It raises no question as to how existing powers came to be. All established and *de facto* governments are placed on the same footing as regards their *de jure* claim on the recognition and respect of individual men. The particular government under which Our Lord lived and spoke was the government of a conquering and an alien race. Yet the story of the tribute money[7] shows what a high rank He assigned to the doctrine of compliance with constituted authority, even in a case where His words implied that He did not consider the impost to be just. But, on the other hand, it is to be observed that the doctrine of Christianity decides no question as to the freedom of men to endeavour to change the conditions which constitute existing powers. It supersedes no judgment of ours on the legitimacy of their origin on the one hand, or on the legitimacy of those reasons and motives on the other hand, which may lead us to subvert them. Thus the doctrine of passive obedience to unjust and lawless powers receives no sanction from it. In this way the duty of obedience to all existing governments is accorded precisely that rational degree of authority, which the soundest political reasoning does necessarily assign to it if society is to be saved from perpetual insecurity. Presumably obedience and loyalty are due to all of them, and all rebellions are acts which *prima facie* incur a heavy responsibility. This is one of the thousand cases in which we have the highest interests of society guarded and defended by injunctions in the sphere of individual duty. It is a case in which a principle, no less fundamental than that of law-abidingness, is represented as resting on Divine authority. Only in one case—typical, however—is there any sanction given to individual disobedience to established authority, and that is the case of religious obligation. The Apostles emphatically refused to be bound to refrain

[6] Romans xiii. 1. [7] Matthew xvii. 24-27.

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from preaching and teaching the spiritual message which they had been divinely commissioned to deliver. The principle on which this liberty rests is clear, whilst here again the application of it in detail is left to the reason and conscience of men. There is one supreme Lawgiver, and His laws, when clearly seen and known, are to be obeyed in the teeth of all human prohibitive legislation.

How far this principle may carry us in particular cases, remains, as it must ever remain, undefined. In its primary and typical application it referred only to personal freedom in religious belief. The clergy of the Christian Church have nothing to boast of in the interpretations they have too often put on this teaching. It was not they who found out its bearing on the great Christian duty of toleration. And yet even this duty is but little susceptible of formal and logical definition. Men may plead religious conviction, and have often actually done so, on behalf of doctrines which are destructive to society. How far the propagation of these is to be tolerated or permitted must depend on a thousand circumstances peculiar to the case in hand. Every existing government has assumed and exercised the right of punishing the teaching of treason against itself, whether or not pretending to be in pursuance of religious conviction; and it is difficult to conceive how any society could enjoy security if this assumption were absolutely denied. It is a striking fact that Christianity in touching on this subject asserts the general doctrine only, and assumes that, with whatever shortcomings, or errors or defects of title, all human governments do at least aim at being 'a terror to evildoers, and a praise to them that do well.' Having before them principally the magnificent structure of Roman Law, it was perhaps easier for the Apostles to make this assumption without question, than it would have been under other dominions. The passage in which this doctrine is handed down in its most absolute and abstract form is in a letter addressed to the Church then existing in the city of Rome itself, and is indeed a splendid tribute to that embodiment of social authority which was enshrined in the jurisprudence of the Latin Empire.[8] But the solemn declaration that 'There is no power but of God; and the powers that be are ordained of God,' is a declaration which places on the firmest of all foundations the presumptive authority of every established political organisation.

But if this be the teaching of Christianity in respect to the authority of human laws and governments, what must be our conclusion on the authority it assigns to those laws of nature which we must accept as indeed Divine—when these, by careful observation and analysis, can be clearly ascertained? It is true, indeed, that the conception of natural law is not prominent in the writings of the New Testament, because these are mainly concerned with that new and direct revelation of the Divine will which it was their business to

[8] Romans xiii. 1-7.

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communicate, and because also the thoughtless distinction between what men now call 'The natural and the supernatural' was a distinction which found no place in their philosophy. But the writings of the Old Testament are full of the idea that God's law meant all Truth—truth in every sphere alike of thought and conduct. Nothing short of this great conception can explain the continual references to that law as the one most bountiful and, indeed, all sufficient source of human wisdom and inspiration. 'Through Thy law Thou hast made me wiser than mine enemies.' This is the explanation given of all success; and the aspiration after further light on the Divine law expresses still more powerfully the confidence we must cherish in its boundless stores of wisdom and knowledge; 'Open Thou mine eyes, that I may understand the wondrous things contained in Thy law.'[9] This magnificent prayer is emptied of more than half its meaning if the word 'Law' is understood as referring only, or chiefly, to ceremonial services on the one hand, or to the physical laws which govern external nature on the other. It would be lowered in its signification even if it were understood as referring only to moral precepts in respect to conduct. It must include the whole government of the world—the whole system of nature in which we live, and of which we form the noblest part. It is in this sense alone that the desire and effort to understand the Divine Law is the highest desire and pursuit of the human spirit. It is the one desire and effort in which alone we can hope to make any progress in the science of government, as in every other branch of knowledge. If only men could be persuaded that politics do constitute a science in the strictest sense of the word, that natural laws do exist which must be known and respected just as much in the government of society as in the science of mechanics, or of engineering, or of any other art—if the prevalent rebellion against political economy were nothing more than a revolt against some particular teaching of those laws as erroneous, or inadequate, or neglectful of essential elements, there would be nothing to be said against it—nothing to be done, except to enter on the discussion with perfectly open mind. I have myself taken some part in that revolt, so far, at least, as regards many well-known doctrines of the older school.[10] But this is a very different thing from denying that there are any natural laws at all by which the political action of society, in its dealings with individual men, must be governed, and by which the action of individual men, on the other hand, towards society must not less be governed, if well-ordered and prosperous communities are ever to be built up and maintained. By natural laws we mean those combinations of facts and causes which so work together as necessarily to bring about certain results, whether intended and foreseen or not, by those who have been concerned in bringing them into operation. It is nothing but pride and ignorance that

[9] Psalm cxix. 18. [10] *The Unseen Foundations of Society* (John Murray, Lon

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leads men to rebel against the conception that there are such laws in the sphere of human action, when that action operates upon ourselves, just as certainly as when it operates upon the physical world which is indeed outside us, but is also around us, and within us.

The temptation to think that we can effect our aims by the direct action of our own wills, without any bondage to the use of the only appropriate means, is a very strong temptation. It may be said with truth, I think, that this temptation is not confined to uneducated men, but is one which besets two classes, both of which have the highest training and education in their special callings. These are the clergy and the politicians. Jurists, too, have often yielded to it. All of these classes are habitually concerned in dealing with the action of the human will, and in directing it in the paths of obedience to positive enactment. They are all predisposed to magnify their own office, and to resent the idea of any subordination. As regards the clergy a long and pronounced antagonism has unfortunately prevailed between many of the teachers of physical science and the fundamental ideas of all religion. This has been quite as much the fault of the scientists as of the clergy. It is not too much to say that the teaching of many scientific men has been nothing short of irrational, on the meaning and function of natural laws, in their relation to will, whether human or divine. They have actually persuaded themselves, and have done their best to persuade the world, that the truth and certainty with which natural laws can be worked as tools, is a characteristic that sets them in absolute command over the mind which recognises them, and over the will which handles them and thus puts them to their appropriate use. Blind, and even stupid, as this teaching is, it has become widely accepted by the thoughtless, and hence an inseparable association has arisen between the idea of natural laws and the denial of even the possibility of purpose and design as the supreme agency in the world. I have elsewhere shown at length how baseless this association is:[11] but it is not by any means confined to the uneducated, being, indeed, still loudly proclaimed and boasted of by many men with intellects very highly trained. Their doctrines have most naturally acted by revulsion upon the religious mind, and consequently that branch of science which purports to deal with the natural laws which govern human society, has suffered in proportion. Politicians have been tempted in the same direction by their familiarity with the conception of human laws and institutions as at least apparently founded on the direct action of the human will in the form of legislative enactments. They forget that in a large measure all successful political institutions have been founded on natural laws which have been unconsciously and instinctively obeyed. Political reformers have been angry with the very notion that their action ought to be under any control from what they denounce as 'abstractions' which

[11] *The Reign of Law* and *The Unity of Nature* (John Murray, London).

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ought to be allowed no place in political reasoning or action. A conspicuous example of this temper is to be found in the denunciation which we now hear so often uttered against the natural law that what is called 'labour' is 'a commodity,' subject to all the economic conditions that attach to the value of other articles of exchange. Yet nothing can be more certain than that this relation is ineradicably seated in the very nature of things. It is quite true that a man is not identical with a sack of potatoes or a bushel of wheat. He has a will which they have not. But as regards the hireable or purchaseable value of any gift or talent he may possess, that value is absolutely determined by the same ultimate conditions. It is true that he has a will; but it is not true that by the exercise of that will he can determine the price which other men will give for the use of the mental or bodily gifts which he may wish to dispose of. That price or value depends on the wishes and the wills of those other men over whom he neither has, nor ought to attempt to have, any control whatever. And then, when we pursue the subject further, and try to make out what those other wills depend upon, we find that they also are, and must be, determined by still other wills again, and other wishes, rank behind rank, through all the depths of reciprocal influences which exist in human society—through all the links, in short, of circumstance and of natural consequence which find the last point of attachment in that constitution of individual man whose foundation stones are structural, permanent, and divine. No man can follow out this kind of inquiry in the case of any one result without being impressed with the conviction that human society is indeed in the nature of an organism in which all the several active parts have a definite function to discharge, and that the healthful condition of the whole depends on the healthful working of the separate and constituent structures. It is perhaps the vague consciousness of this fact in nature, combined with a sense of the helplessness of the individual will to escape from the network of natural causes which control it, that makes some men fly to the doctrines of anarchism. For the most part these men, so far as their biographies have come to light, have been bad men, of reckless and immoral life, who find the whole influences of nature and of its authority in all its forms ranged in hostile array—'working together'—against their reckless desires and assertions of self-indulgence.

There is no need of combating such opinions here. No section of the Christian Church has been under any temptation to lend to them any countenance, so far, at least, as intention is concerned. But there is a great deal in the commoner forms of what is called Socialism which is thoroughly anarchic in its essence. That is to say, there is a great deal which is mere blind rebellion against influences and tendencies that are undoubtedly the result of natural laws firmly established in the whole constitution and course of things.

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Even writers who are not Socialists, but who make concessions to Socialism in at least a spirit of conciliation, are tempted very gravely to compromise the most fundamental truths. I know of no idea so irrational on the side of science, and so desperately heretical on the side of religion, as, for example, the idea of Mr. Kidd that those great natural laws which assign success and pre-eminence to strength and virtue in the world, are laws which do not commend themselves to our sense of justice, and that it is the chief function of religion to help us in a submission to them which has in it no element of moral recognition or approval. This is a doctrine which seems to me little short of blasphemy against the Divine government of the world, and to be condemned by the universal experience and sentiments of mankind. The theology of the Jewish and of the Christian Churches contradicts it at every turn. Its denunciations of the evils that are in the world—sweeping as they often are—universally represent those evils as the result, not of the laws of nature, but of a corruption which has fallen upon man, and has perverted his natural and healthy instincts. The conception of Divine laws as acting by way of natural consequence, in the direction of rebuke and of recovery, is a conception ingrained in all the language of promise and of blessing which is abundant in the New Testament. No more splendid and typical expression of this conception can be found than the grand declaration of St. Paul when he says, 'We know that all things work together for good to them that love God'—that love being defined, in numberless passages both of the Law and of the Prophets, to be the love of His ordinances—of meditations upon them, and of obedience to them. The clergy of the Christian Church have as much right as other citizens to take their part in the great work of finding out what His laws and ordinances really are. But they have no special qualifications for the work of observation and of analysis in a science which is the most difficult of all, owing to the immense complexity of the causes and forces which are the subject of its investigation. But of one thing they may be sure, and that is, that laws do exist which can be traced and identified, and that, when so traced and so identified, they are to be respected as indeed Divine. Truth—for its own sake first, and for its blessed fruits and consequences afterwards—this must be the great quest of all religious men, as well as of all students of political science. 'Thy Law is the Truth'—such is the noble declaration of the Psalmist, and must be the undoubting conviction of every Christian. The idea of every legitimate human society being an organism in which each individual part discharges some special function in the economy of the whole, is an idea expressed with characteristic power and precision in St. Paul's description of it as represented by the Christian Church: 'From whom the whole body fitly joined together and compacted by that which each joint supplieth, according to the

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effectual working in measure of every part, maketh increase of the body unto the edifying of itself in love.' This undoubtedly would be the actual result in every human society if all its organic units did their appointed work with perfect faithfulness and truth. The Christian clergy, in dealing habitually with the individual heart and will, are—as it were—seated at the centre, and if they have knowledge how to direct the individual conscience for the best, they will, and must be, the greatest political reformers in the world. To a very large extent, and in some very high matters, they have actually been so in the past. And Christianity is an unexhausted store. It is infinitely greater not only than any individual Christian, but than all generations of Christians that have ever existed in the world since the coming of our Lord. In it are hid all the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. But neither wisdom nor knowledge can come without using for the acquisition of it the appointed means. The mere indulgence of sentiment, without the guiding and restraining influence of reason in its very highest paths of investigation, will do nothing for the amendment of society, and may easily do such harm that nations may be subjected to corrupting influences for many successive generations. It is not my object in this paper to go any further in specifying any of the natural laws governing human society which have, in my opinion, been clearly ascertained by economic science. I have dealt with this subject elsewhere, or at least with some parts of it, in a more systematic form. But here I abstain from anything of the kind. I so far sympathise with the young clergy who addressed the Archbishop of Canterbury, that I dread above all things any careless identification of Christianity with opinions which may be at least partially erroneous. My sole object here has been to urge upon all Christians, not only their perfect freedom, but their absolute duty, to study whatever can be discovered of those natural laws which do undoubtedly exist in the very nature of man and of society, and to have perfect faith in the doctrine that the ascertainment of truths of this kind is one of the very highest obligations imposed upon us by that religion whose glorious claim it is—not only that it is true, but—that its 'Law is the Truth.'

ARGYLL.

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THE PARLIAMENTS OF THE WORLD

THE following table has been compiled, or, more strictly speaking, recast, from some statistics in the *Johns Hopkins University Studies*, 11th series, 1893. For doing this I have received the permission of the original compiler, Mr. E. K. Alden, of Brooklyn, and of Professor H. B. Adams, of Baltimore, the editor of the *Studies*. The tables have also been carefully checked with regard to each country by myself.

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THE PARLIAMENTS OF THE WORLD

A Table of the Representative Assemblies of various countries, the mode of election or selection of their members, the number of members, the periods for which they are elected, the qualifications necessary, and the qualifications of the electorate.

UPPER HOUSE	LOWER HOUSE	ELECTORATE
GREAT BRITAIN—PARLIAMENT		
HOUSE OF LORDS 575 Members Hereditary Peers . 505 Irish Peers (elected for life) . . . 28 Scotch Peers (elected each Parliament) . 16 Archbishops and Bishops . . . 26	HOUSE OF COMMONS 670 Members Elected for seven years; must be above 21 years of age. Clergymen and peers are excluded	Household suffrage; lodging qualification of a rental of 10*l.* annually (unfurnished), or occupation of land or tenement of the value of 10*l.* (excluding paupers)
COLONIES		
CANADA—PARLIAMENT		
SENATE 80 Members Elected for life. Must have large property qualification and be 30 years of age	HOUSE OF COMMONS 215 Members Elected for five years	A property or income qualification

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Upper House	Lower House	Electorate
NEW SOUTH WALES—Parliament		
Senate 67 Members Nominated for life	House of Commons 141 Members Elected for three years	Property qualification
VICTORIA—Parliament		
Legislative Council 48 Members Elected for six years. Large property qualification	Legislative Assembly 95 Members Elected for three years. Clergymen excluded	Universal suffrage
SOUTH AUSTRALIA—Parliament		
Legislative Council 24 Members Elected for three years. Property qualification	House of Assembly 54 Members Elected for three years. Clergymen and judges excluded	General suffrage
QUEENSLAND—Parliament		
Legislative Council 40 Members Nominated for life	Legislative Assembly 72 Members Elected for five years	General suffrage; plural votes
WEST AUSTRALIA—Parliament		
Legislative Council 15 Members Nominated for life. Property qualification	Assembly 30 Members Elected for four years. Property qualification	Property qualification
TASMANIA—Parliament		
Legislative Council 18 Members Elected for six years	House of Assembly 36 Members Elected for three years	Property or income qualification
NEW ZEALAND—General Assembly		
Legislative Council 41 Members Elected for life; nominated	House of Representatives 74 Members Elected for three years	Property qualification
CAPE COLONY—Parliament		
Legislative Council 22 Members Elected for seven years. Property qualification	House of Assembly 76 Members Elected for five years	Property or income qualification
EUROPEAN STATES		
FRANCE—National Assembly		
Senate 300 Members Elected for nine years. Election indirect; 75 elected for life	Chamber of Deputies 584 Members Elected [illegible] rs; must [illegible]	Universal suffrage

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Upper House	Lower House	Electorate
GERMANY		
Bundesrath 58 Members Appointed by the federal states governments for each session	Reichstag 397 Members Elected for five years	Universal suffrage; 25 years old
PRUSSIA—Landtag		
Herrenhaus 310 Members Hereditary and Life Peers, nominated and elected by restricted bodies	Chamber of Deputies 432 Members Elected for five years; must be 30 years of age. Tax qualification	Indirect election. Those eligible for municipal electorate, three classes, arranged by direct taxpayers
ANDORRA [1]—Council		
One body only; 24 Members. Elected for four years. Heads of families.		
AUSTRIA-HUNGARY—Delegations, 120		
60 members from the Cisleithan Reichsrath, 60 from the Transleithan Reichstag; i.e. 20 from each of the Upper Houses, 40 from the Lower Houses, of Austria and of Hungary. Term one year.		
AUSTRIA (Cisleithan part of the Monarchy)—Reichsrath		
Herrenhaus 212 Members Nobles, prelates, and nominated life members	Abgeordneten-Haus (Deputies) 353 Members Elected for six years	Election, direct and indirect; must be 24 years of age. Property or individual qualification
HUNGARY (Transleithan part of the Monarchy)—Reichstag		
House of Magnates 456 Members Including hereditary, life, prelates, dignitaries, delegates	House of Representatives 453 Members Elected for five years	Must be 20 years old. Income, individual or small tax qualification
BADEN—Landtag		
Upper Chamber 30–40 princes, Hereditary, *ex officio*, nominated or elected by nobility	Second Chamber 63 Members Elected for four years	Election indirect, excluding paupers
BAVARIA—Landtag		
Chamber of Reichsräthe 71 Members Hereditary and life	Chamber of Representatives 159 Members Elected for six years; 30 years old. Tax qualification	Tax qualification; 25 years of age

[1] A valley in the Eastern Pyrenees, between France and Spain. Area 175 square miles.

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Upper House	Lower House	Electorate
BELGIUM—Chambers		
Senate 69 Members Elected for eight years; must be 40 years old. Tax qualification	Chamber of Representatives 138 Members Elected for four years, and must be 25 years old	Tax qualification
BULGARIA—Sobranje		
One body only; 350 Members. Elected for three years.		Manhood suffrage
DENMARK—Rigsdag		
Landsthing 66 Members 12 nominated for life, 54 elected; restricted for eight years	Folkething 102 Members Elected for three years; must be 25 years old	30 years old, and personal qualification (excluding household servants)
FINLAND—Parliament		
There are four estates—nobles, clergy, burghers, peasants—convoked each once in four or five years.		
GREECE—Boulé		
One Chamber; 150 Members. Elected for four years.		Manhood suffrage.
ITALY—Parliament		
Senate 335 Members Nominated for life; and princes	Chamber of Deputies 508 Members Elected for five years; must be 30 years old. Excluding priests, government officials	Small tax qualification, or class qualification
MONTENEGRO—Legislative Council		
One body; 8 Members: 4 nominated, 4 elected.		Arms-bearing population.
NORWAY—Storthing		
Elected for three years. 114 Members above 30 years of age, with qualification of electorate.		
Lagthing One-fourth of the Storthing	Odelsthing Three-fourths of the Storthing	Property, income, or class qualification; must be 25 years old (excluding household servants)
NETHERLANDS—States-General		
First Chamber 50 Members Elective: high official or nine years' property qualification	Second Chamber 100 Members Elected for four years; must be 30 years of age	Tax qualification; must be 23 years old
PORTUGAL—Cortes		
House of Peers 162 Members Hereditary; appointed for life; or indirectly elected	Chamber of Deputies 173 Members Elected for four years. Property qualification or learned profession	Small income qualification or heads of families

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Upper House	Lower House	Electorate
ROUMANIA—Assembly		
Senate 120 Members Elected for eight years. Income qualification (8 bishops included). Must be 40 years old	Chamber of Deputies 183 Members Elected for four years; must be 25 years old	Tax qualification. Indirect election
SERVIA—Skupshtina		
One Chamber; 200 Members (in part having University degrees). Elected for three years; must be 30 years old		Tax qualification. Indirect election
SAXONY—Landtag		
Upper Chamber 50 Members Hereditary, nominated, *ex officio*, or elected by restricted classes	Lower Chamber 80 Members Elected for six years	Tax or property qualification
SPAIN—Cortes		
Senate 360 Members *Ex officio*, hereditary, nominated for life, or elected by restricted bodies	Chamber of Deputies 431 Members Elected for five years	Universal suffrage if 25 years old
SWEDEN—Parliament		
First Chamber 147 Members Elected for nine years; must be 35 years old. Property or income qualification	Second Chamber 228 Members Elected for three years; must be 25 years old, with qualification of the electorate	Property or tax qualification
SWITZERLAND—Federal Assembly		
Council of States 44 Members Elected for three years	National Council 145 Members Elected for three years (clergymen excluded)	Universal suffrage
Swiss Cantons have representative Great Councils; but Uri, Unterwalden, Glarus, and Appenzell have assemblies of all the citizens (*Landgemeinden*).		
WURTEMBERG—Landstände		
Standesherren Each 30 Members Hereditary or nominated	House of Deputies 93 Members Elected for six years	63 deputies chosen by citizens; others by orders, or *ex officio*
NORTH AMERICA		
UNITED STATES—Congress		
Senate 88 Members Elected for six years; must be 30 years of age	House of Representatives 356 Members Elected for two years; must be 25 years of age	Universal suffrage
And each of the fifty States has a Legislature or General Assembly, with Senate as Upper House and House of Representatives as Lower House, in six cases called the Assembly and in three cases the House of Delegates, all universal suffrage.		

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Upper House	Lower House	Electorate
COSTA RICA—Chamber of Representatives		
One Chamber; 26 Members. Elected for four years. Those able to live respectably.		
GUATEMALA		
One Chamber ('National Assembly'); 52 Members. Elected for four years. Universal suffrage.		
HAWAII—Legislature		
House of Nobles 24 Members Elected for six years	House of Representatives 24 Members Elected for two years	Educational qualification, and property qualification for the House of Nobles
HONDURAS—Congress		
One Chamber; 37 Members. Elected for four years.		Manhood suffrage
NICARAGUA—Congress		
Senate 18 Members Elected for six years	House of Representatives 21 Members Elected for four years	Universal suffrage
SALVADOR—Congress		
One Chamber; 70 Members. Elected for one year.		General suffrage.
SOUTH AMERICA		
ARGENTINE CONFEDERATION—Congress		
Senate 30 Members Elected for nine years; income qualification; must be 30 years old	House of Deputies 88 Members Elected for four years; must be 25 years old	General suffrage
BOLIVIA—Congress		
Senate 16 Members Elected for four years	Chamber of Deputies 64 Members Elected for four years	Universal suffrage
BRAZIL—Congress		
Senate 63 Members Elected for nine years; must be 35 years old	Deputies 202 Members Elected for three years	Universal suffrage, excluding illiterates, soldiers, members of certain monastic orders
CHILI—Congress		
Senate 43 Members Elected for six years. Large property qualification	Chamber of Deputies 126 Members Elected for three years. Property qualification	Property or income qualification

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Upper House	Lower House	Electorate
COLOMBIA—Congress		
Senate 27 Members Elected for six years. Also six Members nominated by the President	House of Representatives 66 Members Elected for four years	Universal suffrage
ECUADOR—Congress		
Senate 32 Members Elected for four years	Chamber of Deputies 33 Members Elected for two years	Roman Catholic adults, literate
HAYTI—National Assembly		
Senate 30 Members Elected for five years	House of Representatives 50 Members Elected for five years	Citizens having some vocation
MEXICO—Congress		
Senate 56 Members Elected for three years. Property qualification, and 30 years old.	House of Representatives 227 Members Elected for three years. Property qualification	All respectable adults
PARAGUAY—Congress		
Senate 30 Members Elected for four years.	Chamber of Deputies 55 Members Elected for four years	Universal suffrage
PERU—Congress		
Senate 40 Members Elected for five years. Property qualification and 35 years old	House of Representatives 80 Members Elected for six years. Property qualification	Indirect election
SAN DOMINGO—Congress		
One Chamber; 22 Members.	Elected for two years.	Restricted electorate.
URUGUAY—Parliament		
Senate 19 Members Elected for six years	House of Representatives 53 Members Elected for three years	Literate
VENEZUELA		
Senate 24 Members Elected for four years	House of Representatives 52 Members Elected for four years	Universal suffrage

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Upper House	Lower House	Electorate
ASIA		
JAPAN—Parliament		
House of Peers 300 Members Nobles elected by their orders; Members elected by large taxpayers. Nominated Members. Term: seven years or life	House of Representatives 300 Members Elected for four years; must be 30 years old. Officials, priests, military and naval officers excluded	Must be 25 years old, with a tax qualification
AFRICA		
EGYPT		
A Legislative Council and a General Assembly		
ORANGE FREE STATE—Volksraed		
One Chamber; 50 Members.	Elected for four years.	Property qualification of whites.
SOUTH AFRICAN REPUBLIC		
First Volksraed 24 Members Elected for four years. Restricted for aliens	Second Volksraed 24 Members Elected for four years. Restricted for aliens	Property qualification of whites

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THE PRESS IN TURKEY

VISITORS who pay flying visits to Turkey are much pleased with its external aspect and the apparent progress of the people. Of the internal condition or government of the country, however, little is known except in a general way.

There certainly has been considerable improvement in the state of commerce, owing to the enterprise of European merchants and financiers, and the increased facilities afforded for transport. But the prosperity of one class of the community by no means indicates an ameliorated condition of the people as a nation. The main drawbacks to the real advancement of Turkey are the lack of the spread of education and the entire absence of freedom of the press. By education I do not, of course, mean the attainment of a certain amount of scholarship in the languages of the country; but I particularly refer to a knowledge of the past and contemporary history of nations.

It is universally admitted that the press has, at all times and in all countries, exercised a beneficial influence over the welfare of the people. In a measure, Great Britain owes her strength to the patriotic unity of her subjects, engendered by an amicable and free interchange of ideas and opinions through the medium of the press. The meanest of Her Majesty's subjects—if he has anything worth saying—has the means of making his voice heard. Has not the active support of a newspaper often led to the introduction of reforms and to the redressing of wrongs—whether individual or general?

In the Ottoman Empire the press is not only controlled but, it would be no exaggeration to say, edited by the Censor. It is only a short time ago that the idea of newspapers was introduced into Turkey. At the present time, however, there are a large number published both in Turkish and Arabic, the most important of which are issued in Constantinople and Beyrout. In the latter place there are about fifteen journals, all in Arabic; but they contain little more than eulogistic articles on His Imperial Majesty the Sultan and the high officials of the Government. No [illegible] expression of opinion is allowed. The main reason of this is t[illegible] the Turkish Government

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is more afraid of the voice of the people—more especially the Arabic-speaking population—than she is of the reproaches, complaints, and protests of the nations of the West. Owing to this, the Sultan's advisers endeavour, by fair means or otherwise, to stifle the cries of his subjects against oppression and wrong.

The press in Turkey is a mere name without a substance. There is no lack of able writers; but moral courage and self-sacrifice are entirely wanting, and this fact always destroys any chance of progress and success. One or two more daring spirits among the editors of the local papers strove to be patriotic at any risk, regardless of possible evil consequences; but, alas! the autocratic power which has for the last six hundred years crushed the soul of enterprise, of ambition, of honour, and of glory, crushed them likewise.

Five years ago the press in Turkey had some slight semblance of freedom. This, doubtless, was owing to the fact that in former years the number of papers published in the country was exceedingly limited, and hence did not excite any serious attention.

Eastern races, as a rule, are possessed of a quick intelligence; and the rapid advance of the West caused an echo to be heard, even in the distant regions of the Turkish Empire, and roused the dormant energy of the people. The result was that they awoke from their apathy and kismet-like resignation. Their eyes were opened, and they knew that they were naked—naked of those garments which beautify the aspect of life and raise men to that height of knowledge which, with united action, impels them on venturing to achieve the enjoyment of justice, liberty, and security which alone can make life tolerable and even desirable. By means of heavy bribes and a little aid from Foreign Powers, schools and colleges were established with an astonishing rapidity. Books were published; newspapers were founded; and the people began to breathe the air of civilisation. The rulers, however, whose opinions (based upon their ancient traditions) are that advancement and glory consist only in conquest, and who regard individual enterprise, education, and commerce as servile, feared and resented these steps of progression on the part of the ruled. It is important to note that those efforts at self-amelioration were, as a rule, made by the Christian communities; which fact all the more caused the apathetic, supine, and slothful rulers to become wide awake. Judging by the influence which the press has in Europe upon the government of the various countries, they became alarmed lest their merciless grip on the necks of the people should become loosened by the same means; and the Press-Censorship was therefore established.

The officials appointed as Censors were especially selected from amongst the fanatical classes, who, allowed a free hand, exercised their tyrannic power to an extent that immediately checked and paralysed further chances of enlightenment and improvement by the

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aid of the press. Indeed, in some cases the Censor was so exacting and overbearing that many a spirited editor-proprietor of a paper elected to end its career rather than endure the arbitrary ruling of that official.

In Constantinople there are one or two journals published in English and French. Even in the case of these, and under the very nose of the Embassies, the most rigorous severity is shown. A Turkish official is appointed for the sole purpose of calling at the newspaper office on the day of its publication and at the hour of going to press. The first proof of the complete paper is then submitted to him, when he, with his blue pencil, strikes out any sentence or paragraph that does not please him, or that may, according to his opinion, 'disturb the public mind.' Most people have heard of these Constantinople journals, but very few know that many a time they appear with their editorial notes, both in English and French, so mutilated that they are wholly unintelligible. Not long ago, one of these papers had a 'leading article' at every three or four words of which came a few stars or blank spaces. It was something after this fashion:—

> Signor Crispi appears to have achieved . . . in the . . . Parliament by his speech on . . . in Sicily and the . . . conditions in general. In view of the . . . Extreme Left . . . proclaiming . . . in Sicily . . . it was highly desirable . . . and an explicit statement . . .

and so forth. Under this so-called 'leading article' an editorial note was affixed worded thus '[the above is the skeleton that remains, after having been stripped of its flesh].' The Turkish Government is always lavish in the bestowal of concessions for the foundation of newspapers. This is done in order that the nations of the West may be led to believe that Turkey is progressing, and that education is becoming widespread among the people. On the other hand, the wily rulers are happy in their security, behind the intolerant Censor, and know that they can choke any utterance that may be detrimental to their policy of 'keeping the reins tight.' In other words, while patting one cheek they slap the other. Indeed, it would have been by far the best had they been less generous in granting concessions for the establishment of these journals, and less grudging in allowing them that freedom of speech which alone constitutes the benefits to be derived from the press. The very fact that no editor in Turkey dares complain or venture to make known the grievance under which he suffers, is sufficient proof of the servility and degraded condition of the educated classes of the country. He fights shy of any European who may put to him any question on the subject; lest, by some means or another, the information given may be traced to him, in which case he knows right well that his doom would be sealed—not only by the suppression of his paper, and by heavy pecuniary loss, but his very liberty and life would be in jeopardy.

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Most people, of course, know that in Turkey, as in Russia, there is no real freedom of the press; but few, if any, are aware of the exact manner and conditions in which a Turkish paper is produced. In Russia, after all, if there does not exist absolute freedom, if there is not perfect justice, there is at least common sense, and a fair amount of tolerance is shown to 'the soldiers of the press.'

It may be interesting, and will afford an insight into the true state of things, to give an idea of an editor's daily work and routine. When the mail arrives, he receives some of the European papers; a few of these sometimes reach him under cover, while those that may contain anything adverse to Turkey he never gets at all. He then takes, for example, the *Standard* or the *Daily News*. In glancing through them, should he come across any valuable intelligence or an instructive article, he peruses it in secret, or, as is more frequently the case, he passes it over, knowing right well that he would never be allowed to publish a translation or any comment thereon. The editor, therefore, has no alternative but to cull the least important items from the foreign newspapers, in order to fill his journal. These generally are stale news regarding China, Japan, New Zealand, or some such distant region. The rest is made up of local information, for the most part of personal intelligence, in the way of arrivals, departures, bestowal of decorations, &c. A few telegrams, generally through Havas's Agency, are received, but these are very carefully edited by the Censor before publication. Any statement regarding local crime, or of official oppression and misdemeanour, is 'strictly prohibited.' After all due precaution has been taken not to insert anything that may give offence, the paper is set in type and *two* copies are printed. These are sent by a member of the staff to the Government House. Pending his return the men at the printing office, of course, have to be idle. The Censor takes his leisure over the matter. Turkish officials do not believe that 'time is money': on the contrary, they often find it profitable to themselves to waste other people's time. Generally the messenger has to wait four or five hours, at the end of which one of the copies is returned and the other kept. Imagine the editor's horror when he finds that four or five columns are struck out. This is done by a long dash of a blue pencil right across the columns, which signifies that the matter therein printed must not be published. The poor man, at his wit's end, has to dash off sufficient matter to fill in the blank spaces and submit a fresh proof. Finally, he gets this back signed, and they are allowed to go to press. The first three copies then are despatched to the proprietor, who has to affix his signature and seal at the bottom of the last page of each, and send them at once to the Censor. This mighty personage and his staff carefully peruse these, to ascertain if anything be left in corresponding to what was struck out from the first proof. Should it ever happen that by accident the compositors forgot to remove a

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single word or line of this, the journal is immediately 'suppressed for an unlimited period.'

With all the desire of the Sultan to introduce reforms, education, and improvement into his Empire, how can the people ever hope for real progress when such tyranny reigns, and where the *soi-disant* leaders of thought are constrained to submit to such childish officialism, backed up by the Ministry at Constantinople? In what other country would such petty acts be permitted—acts that destroy the spirit of enterprise, of original thought and expression? The Arabic language, once sacred in the eyes of Muhammadans, is fast decaying. No writers dare publish anything original, excepting poems or pieces of prose teeming with servile adulation of the rulers. As can be easily imagined, these effusions hardly ever spring from the heart, and are therefore insincere and contemptible productions. The case was different at the time of the early Arab rulers, when poets and writers enjoyed perfect freedom of utterance, as every student of Arab history and literature knows. Hence, Islam must not be considered responsible for the innumerable ills that beset the chief Muhammadan Power of the present day, dragging it down to decay and destruction.

The following are a few instances which will illustrate the condition of the press in Turkey. A religious paper in Syria once inserted a paragraph regarding a Christian feast-day known as 'The Feast of the Cross,' or 'The Day of the Cross,' in which the editor made use of the expression 'the Holy Cross.' This was objected to, on the ground that a Turkish publication must not be allowed to say the '*Holy*' Cross. The same journal on another occasion, referring to Divine mercy, said, 'The Lord Jesus, to whom is due all power and glory,' &c. The sentence was only allowed to be inserted thus: 'Jesus Christ.' The editor protested, but the Censor exclaimed, 'What right have you to attribute to your Christ all power and glory?' The proprietor, however, did not submit to have the wording changed, and of course had his paper suppressed for several months. It would never have seen the light again if it had not been for the intervention of the French Government, which always exercises its influence on behalf of the Christians of Turkey, especially those of Syria, where its prestige is, in consequence, greater than that of any other European Power.

During a tour I made in the East about three years ago, I visited Syria, among other places in Turkey. There I met the editors of several native newspapers. From them and from other sources I learnt a great deal of the information contained in this article, which I took care to get verified, and to have corroborated by independent witnesses. From one editor I obtained the following amusing account. He said:—

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Once a well-known Christian gentleman died under rather sad circumstances, his demise following close upon that of his wife and two children. We reported the occurrence, and I expressed sympathy with his relatives in a few affecting words. The Censor struck these out. I called personally and saw him, protesting, and pointing out that the lines contained nothing against the Government or against a single person: there was no political allusion in them. 'No,' he replied, 'but they contain such a strong, pathetic lament that they will re-open the wounds of the mourning relatives and cause them to grieve inordinately.' This reply was so absurd that I ignored it, and respectfully requested him to show me the clause in the Press-censorship regulations which refers in any way to preventing an editor from expressing sympathy with a bereaved family. He looked at me for a few moments in a cool, scrutinising way, then said, 'Do you particularly want to know where the clause and regulations are?' I replied in the affirmative. At this he slowly raised his forefinger and pointed to his head, exclaiming, 'They are here.' Naturally, I did not say another word, for had I ventured to do so it might have struck the brains of that head (if it contained any) to suppress my paper. I had no alternative but to submit.

It seems incredible, at first sight, to believe that such ignorant behaviour, on the part of Government officials in a nominally civilised country, could be allowed to exist.

The papers, furthermore, are never allowed, under a strong penalty, to make use of the word 'Majesty' in reference to any crowned head, excepting the Sultan alone. An editor of a Turkish journal would never dare, for instance, to write 'Her Majesty the Queen of England,' or 'His Majesty the Emperor of Germany.' The only titles permitted are the Turkish *Hadrat* or *Heshmatla* for a queen and *Heshmatlo* for a king or emperor—which is a little lower grade than her or his Highness. Greater privilege is accorded to the Shah of Persia, who is dubbed by the Turkish press *Shahmatlo*, that is 'his Shahship.' As to the Khedive, the Egyptian papers give him his rightful title of 'His Highness,' but those in Turkey are only allowed to say *Fakhamatlo*, 'Excellency.' In speaking of the Sultan, however, the finest epithets that can be found in the language must be used.

On one occasion an article appeared in one of the papers in which reference was made to the Sultan as 'His Imperial Majesty the Prince of the Faithful and the Shadow of Allah upon Earth.' When the proof was submitted as usual to the Censor, he immediately sent for the editor. It should be mentioned, by the way, that as a rule in Turkey the editor is also the proprietor of the paper. The poor man hurried to the Government House in fear and trembling. On arriving he was strongly censured and informed that he did not show sufficient reverence to the Sultan. The editor was almost frightened out of his senses, for he well knew that such an alleged offence is severely punishable by heavy fines and imprisonment. It transpired that the Censor did not consider the manner in which the Sultan was alluded to as sufficiently respectful; and that worthy official gave the editor, there and then, a few hints upon the subject. Since that

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incident, whenever the name of the Sultan is mentioned, it is after the manner of the following passage, which I translate literally from a Turkish paper now before me:—

To-day our paper reaches the thirteenth year of its existence; and we celebrate this anniversary in the reign of the finest pearl of the age, and the esteemed centre of the Universe; at whose grand portals stand the camels [1] of justice and mercy, and to whom the eyes of the kings and people in the West have been drawn: the rulers there finding an example of political prowess and the classes a model of mercy and kindness; it is our Lord and Master the Sultan of the two Shores and the High King (*Khakan*) of the two Seas; the crown of ages and the pride of all countries, the greatest of all Khalifs; the Shadow of God on Earth; the successor of the Apostle of the Lord of the Universe, the victorious Conqueror (Al-Ghazi) Sultan Abdul Hamid Khan: may God protect his Kingdom and place his glory above the Sun and the Moon, and may the Lord supply all the world with the goodness which proceeds from his Holy Majesty's good intentions.

Then follows what the editor has to say regarding his paper and his readers. There is not a single issue of any native paper published in Turkey which does not contain some reference to the Sultan in some such ludicrous terms. Editors vie with each other in beating the record, by creating new and glowing epithets and similes.

It has already been stated that the term 'Majesty' is never given to European sovereigns. The Pope, moreover, is never allowed to be styled by the Turkish press as 'His Holiness,' for that title, it is alleged, belongs to the Prophet Muhammad alone. An Arab weekly paper published about three years ago a short life of the Queen, alluding to her as 'The Queen of Great Britain and Ireland, and Empress of India.' The words *Empress of India* were struck out by the Censor, who remarked that the Government of 'the Shadow of Allah on Earth' cannot acknowledge a Christian woman, or permit the papers to allude to her as Empress over a country in which there are so many millions of Muhammadans.

In one of the Syrian papers an article once appeared about 'Western Superstitions,' in which the writer stated that 'Friday was regarded by some Western people as an ill-omened day.' Somehow or other, this escaped the eagle eye of the Censor in the proof, but the paper was immediately suppressed for several months for its irreverent reference to Friday, that day being the Muhammadan *holy* day.

In spite of all obstacles, and the existence of so many drawbacks, to the spread of education, there has been, especially in Syria and among the Christian communities (mainly, if not wholly, owing to the assistance of the British, American, and other Missionary Societies), a notable improvement in the education of the rising generation, both male and female.

[1] This allusion to camels is an old Arab mode of expression—signifying plenty, insomuch as the camel can carry the greatest loads.

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I rejoice to have this opportunity of publicly expressing my conviction that all the Missionary Societies in Palestine and Syria have rendered the country and its people signal service in educational progress; although I sincerely regret to note, from incontrovertible facts, which came to my knowledge when in the country, the exceedingly poor results their efforts have produced as regards their main purpose, which aims at religious enlightenment.

It is not surprising, therefore, to learn that about three years ago a few native ladies began to contribute articles to the press in Turkey. These mainly dealt with educational and literary subjects. All went well for a few months, when, without any apparent reason, orders were issued to all the papers prohibiting them from accepting or publishing any contributions written by women. A few young ladies, more daring than others, continued sending papers of especial interest to their sex, without signing them, or under a masculine pseudonym. By some means or another the Censor became aware of this stratagem. He therefore issued orders to the effect that no article of that character (presumably such as dealt with the affairs of 'Home and Women') must ever appear, under a very heavy penalty. Finally, a young Syrian lady went to Egypt, and there founded a paper entitled *Al Fatat*, 'The Young Woman,' which she edited herself. It is interesting to note that this is the first and only journal in the East conducted and written by ladies. In Egypt, moreover, it should be remembered—*but only since the British occupation*—there has been a semblance of freedom of the press. As soon, however, as the first number was out, its circulation in Turkey was forbidden.

The more enlightened and educated classes, finding that the papers published in their own country contained no useful information or news, subscribed to the Egyptian journals; but not many of these were allowed to be delivered: they were collected at the various post offices and burnt. A few of the natives subscribed to the English, French, and other European papers. These being in foreign languages are allowed to enter, but almost every week telegraphic orders arrive from Constantinople ordering the Governors to prevent the delivery of a particular number of such and such a paper. Once, when the Foreign mail arrived at Beyrout, the newspapers were not delivered, and soon after the Governor, accompanied by the respective Consuls, visited the British and Austrian post offices. The doors were locked and they were closeted within for some hours. The Governor took every copy of the *Times*, *Standard*, and *Daily News*, and cut therefrom, with a pair of scissors, half a column, which contained a graphic account of the atrocities committed on the Armenians. This was done in pursuance of strict telegraphic orders from Constantinople. The act in itself was bad enough, but how the ambassadors should have so

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far connived at it is inexplicable; and it is somewhat doubtful whether the Foreign Offices in London and Vienna had any knowledge of the occurrence.

I cannot refrain from mentioning a few more absurdities in connection with the Turkish Press-censorship. Debarred from publishing any information of real value, the editors, as I have said before, are constrained to fill up their columns with light, uninstructive matter. Even in this they are at their wits' end to know how to meet the ever-fresh and fantastic exactions of the mighty Censor. For instance, a paragraph was published in an Arabic journal, referring to the celebrated soprano Madame Adelina Patti, wherein it was stated that she derived by her singing a yearly income of several thousand pounds. The blue pencil was hastily dashed across the lines: the reason adduced being, that such news would 'disturb the souls of the moral and loyal female subjects of the finest Pearl of the Age.' What this meant the Censor alone could tell, unless it be he feared that some of these paragons of morality and loyalty should take it into their heads to emulate the gifted artiste in amassing wealth by singing, or in any other way by which money may be procured. Another curious whim of this functionary is to elide certain letters from the proper names of individuals that may be published in the press. The name of a certain person known as I. SULTAN once appeared in a paper. The 'n' was crossed out, making the word read as I. SULTA. In justification of this act it was said that there was only *one Sultan in the world*: none other must be called by that name. Yet that particular person's father and grandfather were always known among their friends by the surname of Sultan, in the same manner as there are in England many families known by the name of King. From what has already been stated, it can be readily seen that the Censor's fertile imagination can always find a plea for exercising his unreasonable exactions. But should it ever happen that the first proof of a paper does not contain anything to which he can possibly object, he then takes up a harmless leader of some three or four columns and strikes the half out, saying it is too long, or he runs his blue pencil through a short article of half a column, because it is not long enough for the subject; should he not be able to find even any such paltry pretext, he then ruthlessly marks out any part of the paper which 'did not interest or amuse' him.

Books in like manner are subject to a strict surveillance. No work of any kind is issued in any part of Turkey without the first proof-copy being sent to the Ministry of Public Instruction in Constantinople and permission granted for its publication. Frequently, the most important matter is struck out, thus leaving the book stripped of whatever value it may have had—a mere unrecognisable skeleton. Foreign books that come into Turkey are treated with

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equal severity. In every town in the Empire there is a branch office called 'the Court of Public Instruction.' Whenever any European publication arrives it is taken immediately to this 'Court,' where it is carefully examined. Those that contain nothing objectionable are delivered; but such as do not meet with the approval of the learned Council are consigned to the flames in their presence. About four years ago a copy of an English Encyclopædia reached the Custom-house at Beyrout. Owing to its enormous size and the impossibility of wading through the whole number of volumes, the one containing the letter 'M' was turned up and the article on Muhammad carefully perused. It would have afforded considerable amusement to have been present on that occasion; for, as a rule, Turkish officials do not excel in linguistic attainments, and the Censor himself generally knows no language but his own. Imagination, therefore, plays an important part in the direction of public affairs in Turkey. The erudite members of the Council then assembled solemnly declared that that particular volume of the Encyclopædia contained matter unfit for the reading of the subjects of 'the Crown of Ages and the Pride of all Countries.' It was consequently burnt, and the remaining volumes delivered.

It may be reasonably asked: What is the Censor? Who is this man who exercises such unlimited and unquestioned power? It would be difficult to state what he is not! He is part governor, chief secretary, and officially or semi-officially a member (and generally a very active one) of every Court in the *vilayat* or province where he holds office. When the governor is absent, he rules in his stead. When his chief is dismissed or dies, he takes his place until another is appointed. He is the terror of the schools, colleges, and all educational establishments in the country. Authors, editors, and writers in general tremble at the very mention of his name. He is bribed, and he bribes others to tell tales against one another. Above all, he is a rigid Muhammadan, and goes to his mosque five times on Friday, on which day but few papers are published. Generally, if not always, he is, comparatively speaking, an illiterate but shrewd tyrant. Before attaining this high position the Censor, in some cases, acted as informer. Having played the spy against, say, some of the members of the local government or the governor (probably for being apparently friendly to the Consul of one of the Powers), he trumps up a tale, based on some paltry affair, and communicates with the higher authorities at Constantinople, enclosing with his report some substantial tribute of his homage to the 'Prince of the Faithful,' and his highest esteem to those around him. The poor accused person or persons suffer, and this loyal informer is promoted to the post of Censor to His Imperial Majesty 'the Shadow of Allah on Earth.'

I have endeavoured so far to confine myself t[illegible] nts

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of truth regarding the present condition of the press in Turkey. To give all the facts that came to my knowledge would fill a good-sized volume; but for the few that I have given in this paper I possess irrefutable proofs.

Comment is needless; the reader can judge for himself of the effect for good or for evil the newspapers in Turkey have upon the minds of the people. What attempts at reform that may be introduced into the country can be productive of any beneficial result, so long as such limitation to the spread of ordinary knowledge exists? I have been told over and over again by men of all classes and denominations—even by some of the leading Muhammadans—that they would be willing to make any sacrifice to be free of the heavy yoke that binds them to a life of slavery. They would be glad of the chance to quit the land of their birth, where their mental abilities are perforce prostituted, their liberty fettered, their lives endangered, and their rights ignored by tyrannous officials. Yet, were the people of Turkey but to enjoy a slight breath of freedom, they would not only be able to benefit themselves, but likewise materially help in raising the country from its present degraded condition. The governed and the governing classes live in a constant dread of each other. In place of confidence there is mutual hatred: the one fearing to raise a voice of complaint, and the other living in constant dread of the day when that voice may be heard.

In conclusion, it may be asked, What is the main cause of this lamentable state of affairs? and then, What is the possible remedy? As to the cause, one may briefly say that it is the result of a very imperfect and long-standing system of government which the former Sultans of Turkey instituted, and which has so taken root in the country that all Turkish officials are firmly imbued with the idea that it is the only method of ruling the various races that inhabit the Empire. This system is procrastination, terrorising, unlimited bribery, apathy, and a self-desired ignorance of the world without. It is true that the commercial classes in some of the provinces have been individually very prosperous, deriving their gains from the same system of corruption, and by defrauding the revenues of the country. But then this fact, far from being productive of real and lasting benefit to the nation, has helped to impoverish the State and retard the progress of the people.

The only remedy and the only chance of saving the tottering structure of the Ottoman Empire is for His Imperial Majesty the Sultan himself to destroy the roots of that antiquated system of government, and to strike a final blow at the official demon who sucks the blood of his subjects and undermines the ground beneath his throne.

H. Anthony Salmoné.

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BABIES AND MONKEYS

It is still a matter of scientific discussion whether man is descended from Catarhine or Platyrhine monkeys, or from the Lemuroidea; but there is little question that his ancestors were monkey-like, that they were decidedly prognathous, that they were covered with hair, that they had long tails, that they were arboreal, and that they used both the *pedes* and *manus* as hands—the former more than the latter. Man's ancestors, therefore, were very much like monkeys—they were Simial or Simioid, 'monkey-like'; and could he see them at the present day, an unzoological critic would probably call them 'monkeys' without much cavil.

The Latin word *simus* (Greek σιμός), whence our term 'Simia, monkey,' means literally, 'flat or snub-nosed.' This very feature, so striking in monkeys as to have become a name for all of them, is very remarkable in our babies. Viewed in profile, a baby's nose will appear to make a concave curve, the nostrils being obliquely truncate. The length of the nose is only equal to the breadth across the nostrils, and those are remarkably large, parted by a broad septum. During life nothing changes more than the nose. As the baby grows into a child the length of the nose increases faster than the breadth, so the snub-nosed baby grows into a more or less long-nosed, and, it may be, hook-nosed adult. The snub-nose remains a marked feature for a longer or shorter period of life—this is a matter of sex and parentage or race; but the change is gradual and imperceptible, generally more expeditious in the male than in the female, correlated with various other characters, such as intellectual attainments or weak constitution, and producing somewhat different results. The change, however, in the shape of the nose is one that continues throughout life. During maturity and senescence the bridge of the nose tends, as it did during childhood, to become more and more prominent: often it will become more and more convex, so that extreme old age may frequently develop an aquiline nose, even in some cases to produce the nut-cracker type of nose-meeting-chin so noticeable in old people.

It is only by a study of the face in profile, and of the face of the

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same individual at different ages of life, that the above changes can be properly noticed. The three-quarter photographs which we leave behind at the present day, faked up by the photographer's art, will be useless to the men of the future as records to tell what manner of people we were. With lapse of time, the widening of the family circle, and the various incidents of a work-a-day life, it is doubtful if these pictures will be regarded with any reverence or affection by our posterity from a merely sentimental point of view. But this would be changed if photographs were, as should be all photographs which aim to give a true picture of the face, taken just two ways—profile and full face. They would then be of scientific value; and even a dilletante scientific amateur of the future would esteem a family collection as something of interest for the lessons in evolution or anthropology it might teach: perchance, the theme might be the 'Inheritance of Acquired Characters.' The want of such photographs at the present day makes it extremely difficult to impress upon the layman or to prove to the scientist how much people change facially during life. Three-quarter views give but a feeble idea of the development. Nothing is more remarkable than a comparison of the same-sized profile views of the same person at six and at thirty years of age: the growth of the nose and the development of the forehead are so great that the jaws appear to have diminished in size; and this is really what the jaws have done, in proportion to the whole face.

It is a fond delusion with visitors and nurses that *the* baby is just like its father or mother. No one who has had that scientific training necessary to proper observation could make such a statement. It is a gross libel, sometimes on the baby, sometimes on the parents. Properly taken photographs show that the proportions of nearly every feature in the face of a baby and an adult are entirely different; but the greatest difference exists in the size and shape of the nose, and the size of the jaws. If, when adult, we had features like our babies, we should have a countenance of a negroid type. Except positive evidence be available, it would hardly be credible that the small-jawed, long and prominent-nosed individual, with high forehead, was in babyhood prognathous, short and snub-nosed, with a remarkably receding forehead. The difference resulting from the change during life as shown by two photographs reduced to the same size, not the same proportion, is greater than the difference between many species; yet the very fact of such metabolism and the possibility of its earlier transmission from generation to generation may be the basis of specific mutation, without calling in the aid of natural, or sexual, or physiological selection to account for that phenomenon.

The prognathism of a child is less noticeable than it should be, because such prognathism, owing to the disposition of weight, alters

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the whole carriage of the head; and the difference in the method of carrying the head obscures the prognathism to a certain extent. Prognathism is a heritage from quadrupedal ancestors, and is a necessary result of the carriage of the head enforced by a four-footed mode of progression. The attainment of the upright body-position of Man tends during the course of his life to reduce prognathism—an adult is far less prognathous than when a baby; and it has tended during phyletic development to the same end—the European, the more developed form, is less prognathous than the Negro. Reduction of prognathism leads to a better carriage of the head, because the weight is borne nearer the perpendicular, which is economy. Economy, it may be remarked, is most important to the man whose expenditure and income are too nearly on a par; and this dictum of necessity applies to civilised man, whose income in the shape of physical and nervous energy is much less, and his expenditure far greater, than that of the savage. But there are other factors at work: the civilised man requires the enlargement of the frontal capacity of his skull, and material saved in jaw-making can be utilised in skull-enlargement. Then there is the lessened use of teeth and jaws in mastication, and therefore a smaller demand upon those organs: these and other causes all work to the same end—a reduction of prognathism. If anyone will draw to the same size the facial profile of a cat, a monkey, a baby, and an adult man, he will have represented four stages in the reduction of prognathism, and he will begin to understand to what the prognathous baby points. He will learn that in a designed biped the heavy jaw is a piece of faulty construction reflecting no credit on an artificer, whereas it is a necessary accompaniment of a biped developed from a quadrumanous or quadrupedal animal, imperfectly, incompletely, and gradually adapting himself to the bipedal position.

Attention may be called to another feature pointing out the same lesson of alteration and imperfect adaptation. Below the nose runs a furrow parting the upper lip. In the faces of babies and children this furrow is very noticeable: from the evolutionist's point of view it is one of the most remarkable characters of the face. It tends to become obsolete in old age, and it is not seen among the Catarhine monkeys. Among the Platyrhines it is but feebly developed; but in Lemurs it is in a more pronounced state—there is a depressed septum to which the two side pieces are joined—the upper lip, in fact, is nearly split in two, but held together by a depressed piece of flesh. In the Marsupialia and Rodentia the lip is practically in two pieces, and each piece is capable of being moved separately. This is the 'harelip;' and its method of use may well be noticed in a hare or a rabbit when eating. The furrow, therefore, in a child's lip points to this: that our ancestors p[illegible] a single upper lip, as we do now, but two upper lips, [illegible] nostril, both capable

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of independent movement. In course of time these two lips have, owing to the non-requirement of independent movement, grown together to form the single lip which we now possess; but the line of junction is not perfect, and so the furrow results; and sometimes there is a distinct scar down the middle of the furrow. The possession of this furrowed upper lip by children is one of the strongest pieces of evidence against the descent of Man from any Catarhine, and in favour of his descent from Platyrhines, or from Lemurs through the intervention of Platyrhine-like ancestors, of which there are no exact living representatives.

Another feature of a child's face is capable of similar explanation as a vestigial relic of its ancestors' other modes of life. The pouch-like cheeks of a baby are particularly noticeable, and they may be especially remarked in the representation of cherubs adorning ecclesiastical monuments. In such connection it savours of sacrilege to suggest that these inflated baby-cheeks, so much admired by all mothers, and regarded by churchmen as particular features of a hypothetical higher sort of beings—angels—are really the attributes of a lower order, and are the vestiges of cheek-pouches, possessed for storing away food, as in *Cercopithecus*, a monkey in which this habit of storing may be observed at the Zoological Gardens, if visitors feed it.

There is no need to enter into embryological or anatomical details concerning the characters for which children are indebted to monkeys. They possess in common with their adults a rudimentary tail hidden beneath the skin; but this is not a fact that everyone can verify on the instant. Yet those who have the care of children can easily see for themselves the scar which the loss of the tail has still left on children's bodies—a scar which is curiously similar to what would obtain after amputation of a tail. Just at the base of the vertebral column—exactly where the tail would protrude through the flesh if it were functionally active—is a deep circular depression, sufficient almost for the insertion of the little finger. In young babies it is very noticeable; and nurses, while wondering what purpose it serves, abuse it as a place which is difficult to wash. In older children it gradually becomes shallower; and in those about five or seven years old it may or may not be shown. That it marks the place where a tail formerly protruded in our ancestors there can be no doubt from its shape and its position. I was curious to see if the Anthropoid apes, which share with man this loss or rather atrophy of the tail, also exhibited this tail-mark; and I was interested to notice, in an adult female gorilla in the British Museum, that the tail-mark was as large as a florin. Its persistence to the adult stage in the case of the gorilla and its earlier loss in Man is probably accounted for by the latter having attained a more perfect upright carriage of the body,

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and, therefore, a consequent increase of necessary muscles have occupied the somewhat vacant space.

Other characters, however, tell the same tale of adaptation. The proportion in length between the arms and legs of a baby when first born is very different to what obtains later in life. To use a somewhat incorrect phrase, the legs are in an undeveloped condition, and they have to grow quicker, in proportion, than the arms. The greater development of the arms in proportion to the legs in a new-born infant points to ancestors who used the arms more than the legs for sustaining the weight of their bodies, and this would mean that they lived an arboreal life. Dr. Louis Robinson, in an interesting article,[1] has fully illustrated the reason for superior arm-power in infants by his experiments on the hanging power of babies.

In the method of using its hands the baby shows to the full its descent from arboreal ancestors. When it wishes to take hold of anything, alike a glass or a flower-pot, it does not, like an adult, put the hand round it, or even put the thumb inside to use as a lever. On the contrary, it places all the fingers inside, makes no use of the thumb, and clasps the rim of the flower-pot between the fingers and the palm of the hand. This is exactly the action which would be acquired from arboreal ancestors: in going from bough to bough they would take their hands palms first, and would strike from above downwards, grasping the bough with the fingers. Such is the action of an infant picking up a cup. So little use have some monkeys made of the thumb that abortion has resulted; and in the most arboreal species of monkeys known the fingers have grown together because the whole hand was used merely as a grasping-hook. It is probably from our ancestors' excessive use of the hands in bough-grasping that our babies inherit a certain inability to move the fingers with freedom, or to extend the hand, especially if the least degree cold. The power to extend the fingers perfectly straight is oftentimes not obtained by children at six or seven years of age.

Turning to the characteristics of an infant's feet and its habits of movement therewith, much instruction may be obtained by noticing these matters. Darwin observed the infant's ability to twist the sole sideways in a straight line with the inner part of the leg, a necessary ability to a tree-climbing animal; and he cited it as evidence of monkey-ancestry. Considering how little an adult can move his or her toes the power of movement of these organs by an infant is something remarkable; and it points to some ancestral environment of very different character from that which surrounds Man at the present day. The big toe the infant can project at an angle from the next toe, and the space between the big toe and the next is really the remnant of a space similar to that seen between our thumb and forefinger, when the toe was used for grasping like a thumb, and was

[1] *Nineteenth Century*, Nov. 1891, p. 838.

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opposable. It is not, as churchmen would have us believe, a relic of sandal-wearing times, and a special provision of a Deity for the patriarchs to strap on their sandals: it is a relic of monkey-ancestry taken advantage of by the ancients as the most appropriate place for the sandal strap. The big toe further reveals its former thumb-like use in the fact that it and the thumb are the only two of the digits in which the last joint can be bent at will and independently of moving others. This can readily be exemplified in the thumb: the baby is fond of showing its power in this direction with its big toe. Further, a baby can move any of its toes independently, and it can move them one from another so as to make a v between any of them. As is grows older it loses this power and also the power of turning its ankle; but that it has such power over its muscles when young points to ancestors who used their feet more than their hands as organs for picking up small objects; and who relied on their arms and hands for supporting their bodies. Now we have reversed this process; we require our feet merely as pedestals, and as such they would be quite as serviceable to us did we possess but one toe. In time we may obtain to that monodactylous condition, for abortion of the toes is proceeding very rapidly. In a great measure we owe this to boots; and the more we try to hasten, unconsciously perhaps, this process of toe-abortion the more we shall suffer. We suffer enough as it is in this respect. Certainly the sandal-wearing ancients were not free from encouraging the toe-abortion; for the examination of any old statuary will reveal a very marked abortion of the little toe, as a consequence of the strap-pressure; and there is even a certain amount of elevation of the outside of the foot from the ground, partial atrophy. Though from a hygienic point of view sandals were preferable to boots, nothing at all, except in extreme climatic conditions, would have been preferable to sandals. Boots are a curse to civilisation. Every now and then one receives missionary circulars asking for sympathy and pity on behalf of children running about without shoes and stockings, citing it as a terrible proof of poverty. After all it is the best thing for them; many doctors are prescribing 'barefootedness' in cases of limb-weakness; and it is a good thing for all young children. There has been too much fussy meddlesomeness in these respects, particularly among savage races. Thus, Mr. J. Theodore Bent says, 'The missionaries who teach and insist on clothing amongst races accustomed to nudity by heredity are responsible for three evils: firstly, the appearance of lung diseases amongst them; secondly, the spread of vermin amongst them; and thirdly, the disappearance from amongst them of inherent and natural modesty.' It is a terrible indictment of the clothes-culture. When shall we be educated enough to know that clothing and decency are not synonymous terms, and that a fig-leaf is a greater outrage on good taste than is absolute nudity?

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It is remarkable how much unnecessary suffering is inflicted on infants and children because parents fail to recognise the ancestry from 'animals,'[2] and consequently the instincts, different from those of adults, which children have inherited. Thus Dr. Louis Robinson has pointed out that as soon as children are able to shift for themselves in bed, they go to sleep on their stomachs with their limbs curled up under them; and he has rightly traced this to quadrupedal ancestors. Experience shows that if mothers would only recognise this ancestry, and would put their children to bed less enveloped in clothes and less tightly tucked up, so that these children might easily shift into the position which inherited instinct tells them to assume, they (the mothers) would have far more comfortable nights and better-tempered, healthier children.

Even the very manner in which babies are got off to sleep—by rocking in the arms or in a cradle—is an inheritance of arboreal or monkey-like ancestors, because the rocking is an imitation of the to-and-fro swaying of the branches, and such swaying would be the natural accompaniment of sleep with arboreal dwellers. Any rhythmic motion seems to leave a very marked impression on organisms: thus, sailors after a long voyage complain of their inability to sleep upon land; because the sleep has been too long associated with the rocking of the vessel. More remarkable still, however, is the result of some experiments made by Mr. Francis Darwin and Miss D. Pertz[3] on 'the Curvature of Plants.' They used an intermittent klinostat, arranged so as to reverse the influence of gravity on a growing shoot or stalk every half-hour. When the clock was stopped they found that the rhythmic movement still continued, that the shoot or stalk actually curved in opposition to gravity for the half-hourly interval before finally obeying the impulse to grow downwards. In the case of heliotrophic curvature the effect was even more marked. 'After the clock was stopped the seedlings curved away from the light for *two* half-hourly intervals separated by one of curvature towards the light, so strongly were they imbued with the artificially induced rhythm.' What is remarkable in these cases is the effect produced after a very short space of time. It would, therefore, be reasonable to conclude that the effect of thousands of years' association—as in the case of rocking with sleep in arboreal dwellers—would still be found to influence children very long after arboreal life had been abandoned.

It is certainly singular to find that nursery ditties contain reference to matters arboreal, as if there were some lingering tradition in the

[2] 'Christians' and 'animals' is the popular classification. See too Ibsen, *An Enemy of the People*, interruption in Dr. Stockmann's speech, 'We are not animals, doctor' (Act. iv.)

[3] 'Journal of Botany,' cit. *Natural Science*, vol. ii. p. 9.

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human race of ancestors who lived in trees. Thus the English mother or nurse in rocking her infant to sleep sings:

> Lullaby baby on the tree top;
> When the wind blows the cradle shall rock;
> When the bough breaks the cradle will fall
> And down will come baby, cradle, and all.

Somewhat similar is a German nursery ditty:

> Schlafe, schlaf ein, mein Kind.
> Horch! da draussen der Wind;
> Wie das Vöglein im grünen Baum,
> Wiegt er auch dich in süssem Traum.

Nowhere is a stage of a former arboreal life, with its consequent climbing instinct, manifested more conspicuously than in the insane desire of an infant to climb up stairs. As soon as crawling is an accomplishment the climbing of stairs is attempted. Remain on the level and crawl about rooms the child will not; it must make for the nearest stairs to climb with loud crows of delight. Tumbles and consequent bruises have no effect on the child's climbing instinct, and really it regards them far less than the prohibition of its climbing feats by a too fond and foolish mother. It is better to let the child climb: even a fall down the whole flight of stairs only checks the climbing mania temporarily, in order that the infant may loudly express its disapprobation of its own clumsiness, and may vent its anger in howls. But this episode over, it will, within a quarter of an hour, bravely attack the stairs again, having quite forgotten its late disaster. An instinct held so tenaciously cannot be regarded as something fortuitous. Darwin considered that the tree-climbing propensity of boys was a relic of monkey-ancestors, but he made no observation on the stair-climbing instinct of infants. Mothers, unfortunately, do not always possess enough scientific calmness to watch an infant climb stairs with every chance of a tumble, so they are apt to cut short such experiments. But if left alone—and that is the best plan—it is remarkable how soon the child learns not to tumble; and then the mother need have no more fear.

The early efforts of a child in learning to walk indicate the habits of an animal to whom the upright position is something strange. The baby is decidedly bowlegged, but this shape of leg would be exactly that necessary for tree-climbing quadrumana. When it is first stood up, the baby puts only the outer parts of its feet to the ground, and turns its toes in. It does not allow its heels to touch the ground: when a monkey walks on a branch it does not allow the homologous part to our heel to touch the branch. When a dog sits, as we call it, to beg, it really brings the same part into contact with the ground as we do in standing: it brings its hocks (heels) flat to the ground, and supports its weight on the hocks and toes. Children are very

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fond of 'sitting on their heels' in the same manner as a dog when it begs. The difference between the begging attitude of a dog and the standing of a child is in the straightening of the knee-joints in the latter. As a dog has not the power to straighten the knee-joint, because of its quadrupedal habits, it cannot stand on its hocks as we can; as soon as it raises its body on its hind legs it elevates the hock from the ground. The power to straighten the knee-joint, and so to put the hock to the ground, is not inherent in babies at first; it is only by practice in walking that they are able to acquire it. Why, if babies' ancestors have always been animals walking on their hocks, should these processes have to be gone through?

The movements and habits of a young baby seem so strange to us because they are so different from those made by adults, and because they are so unconsciously performed. Joy is expressed by muscular movements, by wriggling of the hands and toes, or by convulsive beatings of the arms, when it is small; by 'jigging,' when it is larger. These movements are expressive of joy because to any animal of highly-developed muscular energy movement is absolutely essential, and particularly pleasing, while stillness is the reverse. It is muscular excitement, chiefly no doubt electrical, a heritage from ancestors who knew not what it was to be still, that gives that restlessness to children and causes them to find so much pleasure in mere motion and muscular exertion of any kind. Jumping for joy is very literally correct of a child's expression of pleasure. The prospect of a sweet will excite a series of leaps to indicate delight; and they further serve the purpose of relieving the tedium of waiting the half-second necessary to the donation. The pleasure of finding a bird's nest with eggs in it—a pleasure which must have been very real sometimes in the case of hungry monkeys and savage man, but is now only a survival of the instinct thus formed—this pleasure a boy expressed by a series of convulsive leaps into the air; and during the performance not only were the arms and legs moved as much as possible, but the muscles of the stomach and vocal organs had to be utilised to cause accompanying shouts. It may be remarked that in adults, when limb-movements are less active, shouts are, on account of the muscular action involved, a necessary accompaniment of joy, noticeably 'Arry on a Bank Holiday; while in some cases expletives are symptomatic of joy and not of anger. All these outward signs have had their origin in that nerve-excitation inducing muscular action which is a heritage from ancestors who, impelled by hunger, by love, or by war, led more active lives and thereby obtained a desire for motion as a second nature. Children and young lambs are very familiar examples; and so strongly will the latter pursue their gambols and racings that a broken heart is sometimes a cause of death in the middle of a sudden gallop. If children have to be still it is torture to them—positive torture in some cases—and grown-up people are unaware how

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much, or they would not thoughtfully inflict it on young children. Muscular ache, the fidgets, growing-pain in the limbs, are all the result of enforced inactivity in children. It is similar with athletes: their muscular excitement is so strong that movement is pleasure, stillness means pain, and they are noted for restlessness.

Another 'animal' relic which exists in children is an instinctive desire for stealing, especially for stealing fruit, which, however hard and unripe, seems to give the child pleasure. Stealing certainly points to the time when every animal had to depend on its own exertions for what food it got, and when the readiest method of obtaining such food was to appropriate without question whatever it might come across. The capacity for hard and unripe fruit indicates a necessity which would be incidental to monkey-like life—to times of scarcity, when anything in the shape of fruit, no matter what it might be, was gladly welcomed as food.

With the above another childish trait may advantageously be compared—namely, the habit of taking things to bed, especially such articles as the child may be attached to; but there is also a desire to take things for fear of other children obtaining them; and when a child takes off to bed such articles as a collection of clothes' brushes, or an array of old boots, it seems like taking for taking's sake. Thus, one boy was found in bed with sundry drawer-handles, unscrewed for the occasion, several pieces of old iron, two hair brushes, and a tobacco-tin. Many causes have contributed to form this habit. First, there is the earlier inheritance of the maternal instinct; the mother taking her young to sleep with her, in order to feed and comfort it, would give the idea of taking to bed anything exciting fondness—dolls, toys, &c. Then there is the food-instinct—the dragging-food-into-the-lair idea—with which may be associated a particular fondness of children for something to eat when they are in bed; and then there is the proprietary idea, arising from the feeling that to keep possession of articles it is necessary to sleep with them, if not on them. When a young child is trying to resist another taking things away from it, the usual method it pursues is to put the articles between its legs, to push away its assailant with its hands, and to scream loudly. During the scream it brings its mouth into a particular shape to show its canine teeth to the best advantage, and it frequently puts its head forward, especially protruding the chin so that the other animal may have a good view of its canine teeth. This is what the reason was; with a child, of course, it is a case of inherited habit and association, because it has never known how to fight with the canine teeth.

The earlier inheritance of the maternal instinct is worth noticing further; the doll-proclivity of girls is a particular instance of earlier inheritance thereof. Doll-nursing instinct is not shared in the least by any healthy boys, nor can they take to little household

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duties with the handiness of a girl. Boys' earlier inheritance is all in the way of offensive weapons, of bows, bats, balls, and noise, with a tendency to teasing and bullying, a feature for which the male has been famous, the sufferer who was put upon being the female—the weaker vessel; weaker because the males fought with one another for her; had she fought with her sisters for the males she could have been the stronger and the bigger-brained.

The female, however, does inherit a pugnacious instinct, chiefly defensive. She has had to fight on behalf of her young ones, and in such cases the maternal instinct becomes very strong indeed. Children show this character; and I witnessed in one of mine a very curious exhibition of what might be called perverted instinct arising from a conflict of inherited associations. She was quite a little girl and was nursing her doll with all possible expression of affection, loving it, kissing it, and calling it all the endearing names she knew. Up came her brother, and began to tease her. In an instant the pugnacious idea was aroused in defence of the doll, but, having no available weapon in hand, she seized the doll by the hind legs, and, wheeling it aloft, brought its china head down with resounding force on the cranium of her brother. He retired, howling and discomforted. She, excited with her triumph, returned to the caressing of her doll with redoubled ardour, quite unconscious of the incongruity of her actions, an unconsciousness which heightened the comicality of the incident.

Another habit of children—a sadly destructive habit too—is that of picking at anything loose, any piece of wall-paper especially, so as to tear it off. This habit is a survival of a monkey-practice of picking off the bark from trees in order to search for insects. Any loose piece of bark, even the very least displacement, indicates an insect-refuge, and immediately suggests live prey; so that with the monkey there is a definite association between loose bark and food. With the child the reason for picking at loose things has been lost, but the instinct to pick remains as a vestigial survival, traceable to a definite food-acquiring instinct of the monkey. There may also have been an association with the monkey-habit of picking out one another's parasites, a habit which is very noticeable among them.

To those people, and they are many, who scornfully repudiate their monkey-ancestry, it may seem far-fetched to notice such a childish habit, and to assert that it had any such origin; but many instances may be cited of habits acquired for some beneficial purpose, or in connection with some particular circumstances of life, persisting both in the life of the individual and also being perpetuated in the race long after the reason for the habit has been forgotten—not unlike superstitious ceremonies and religious observances which survive in a similar way. Thus there is the fear of women for snakes, and the consequent

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loathing and hatred—feelings which seem so unreasonable to many of the strong-minded people of the present day. We have written evidence that these feelings were subject of comment at a very early age of Man's intelligence; and it may readily be surmised that the story of Genesis is only the written account of what had been verbally told for many generations. Mythical as it is, it seems a most ingenious method of accounting for certain observed facts; and that the facts were observed reflects considerable credit on the observers. As mythology it takes high rank; its very naïveté adds to its charm. 'Whence arise these feelings in respect of snakes?' was the enquiry; and in answer thereto the legend gradually grew up, 'that the snake was the tempter; of the presumed mother of all, Eve; he is just such as would be a tempter; his very habits, stealthy, gliding, silent, self-concealing, show at once that he "is more subtil than any beast of the field." Because he tempted Eve these feelings have arisen on the part of woman. The Lord God, when he found that Eve fell because of the serpent's temptation, said in his anger, "I will put enmity between thee and the woman, and between thy seed and her seed." That accounts for what we observe; it is all very plain.' So said the sages of old. It is truly ingenious; but science gives a more simple interpretation, and yet an interpretation which, because it does not pander to the religious self-pride of human beings, in that it does not yield them that distinct rank above all other living things, is less palatable to the majority. Science says that the fear of women for snakes is an inheritance of monkey-like ancestors; that the most terrible foe of the female monkey, the foe most prone to snatch the young one from her, and even to take the mother herself on occasion, was the deadly poisonous snakes. The terror they inspired was so great that there can be no wonder at its survival in the human female of to-day.

Another habit, a relic of what was indulged in for a definite beneficial purpose, remains to the present day—namely, the fondness of children for rolling. It points to the time when our ancestors possessed hairy bodies tenanted by colonies of parasites, and is another example of parasite-irritation shaping animals' habits, alluded to above. These hairy bodies were the homes of many parasites, among which the parents of *Pulex irritans* and many another *Pulex*, together with other kinds which need not be specified, were very much in evidence; and then our ancestors, owing to less perfect articulation of joints, or to less perfection in development of the limbs, or to the thick covering of hair, were unable to reach the source of trouble effectively, and could, like horses or donkeys, only alleviate the irritation by rolling. Scratching of the head as a nervous habit, from the association between nervous irritation and actual irritation by parasites, which must also be transmitted to the brain by the nerves, is a relic of similar ancestral parasitically infested animals. It persists now among human beings who are doubtless

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above suspicion in the matter of unwelcome tenants; and it is a familiar expression of doubt and perplexity among *οἱ πολλοί* who may not be altogether so guiltless.

According to the Darwinists the loss of hair from the body, which Man has suffered in comparison with Simial ancestors, is attributable to the benefit he has derived from being able to get rid of his parasites, or from the greater advantage he obtained in the struggle for existence owing to being less troubled with parasites, whose numbers diminished from want of 'cover.' Such an idea, however, confuses cause and effect in a most remarkable manner. The diminution of parasites is a *result* of the loss of hair, but it certainly is not the *cause* of the hair being lost. To make it so is similar to saying that the diminution of trees in newly settled countries is *caused* by a decrease in the number of wild beasts. It supposes that the greater freedom from parasites was so important to Simial ancestors who lost their hair as to give them immense advantage in the struggle for existence, forgetting that this does not explain the cause of the loss of hair in the first place. With loss of hair once started, some such benefit may be granted; but what caused the loss of hair in the first place? 'Spontaneous variation' is no answer at all; what is the cause of the spontaneous variation? This seems too early a stage at which to say *Ignosco* or *Ignoro*.

Then this parasite-idea ought to be applied to what is going on at the present day—to the loss of hair from the head—but, unfortunately for the parasite-theory, it is among 'the classes' who are certainly above suspicion so far as parasites are concerned that the loss of hair on the head is most conspicuously shown, while in the case of Hodge, who cannot be regarded in the same manner, loss of hair from the head is decidedly rare. An explanation which pretends to account for what has taken place, and yet fails in application to analogous circumstances at the present day, is not one to be accepted. A true explanation of the loss of hair will explain the present-day loss as well as that of the past; the loss of hair from the head as well as that from the body; the loss of hair by the elephant as compared with the mammoth; the loss of hair on the chests of old monkeys; the loss of hair during disease in animals generally; the loss of hair during pregnancy in domestic and other animals; the loss of feathers by penned-up fowls. An explanation which is wholly physiological, and accounts for loss of hair as a pathematic symptom of individual or racial decline, assumes that such loss of hair is an exemplification of a law of reversion, that as progressive ontogenetic or phylogenetic development is, necessarily, progressive acquirement or elaboration, retrogressive development in similar cases is, accordingly, loss or degeneration of characters developed during progression. This explanation, together with the assumption warranted by evidence, that the longer any character or parti[illegible] has been trans-

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mitted in the race, the longer it will withstand adverse influences, may be applied to all the instances of hair-loss given above.

In connection with the hair it may be noticed that certain peculiarities in its mode of growth had their origin in the habits of monkey-like ancestors. On a child's head the hair grows from the crown to the forehead; but in animals which move head-first on all fours—a rabbit, for instance—it may be noticed that the hair is always directed from front to back, a character acquired by the fact of motion through air in a given direction having imparted a given lie to the hair. Such may be assumed to have been the case with the hair in the ancestors of monkeys; but when it is found, as in *Cebus vellerosus*, that the hair grows the contrary way—namely, from back to front—some cause must have induced the change. The flow of rain may be cited—the head being hung down, so that the crown is the highest part, and the rain flows off in all directions, giving the hair a lie in accordance. Now, flow of rain in the case of quadrupeds, as well as the tendency of hair to grow according to gravity, unless other causes are more potent, has made the hair on their limbs grow from the body to the extremities. In the case of Man, however, and certain monkeys, the hair on the forearm grows in just the contrary direction—namely, towards the elbow. Here, again, according to Darwin, rain has been the modifying agent; the habit of clasping the hands over the head during rain has caused the rain to flow from the hands to the elbows, and has given the hair direction in accordance. These, of course, are 'acquired characters'—the lie of the hair is in accordance with certain disposing forces of environment. Such causes do not act on us now; but there are no causes acting to the contrary in a sufficiently potent manner. Consequently we retain by the conservatism of heredity a character acquired in response to the necessities of environment in our prehuman ancestors.

To return to the persistence of habit, the case of sucking may be noticed. Sucking, of course, is the act of childhood—it is one of the most important incidents connected therewith. The baby sucks to satisfy hunger; and associated with sucking are the feelings of warmth, sleep, and comfort. But hunger means distress; and sucking to satisfy hunger means sucking to alleviate a particular distress; consequently it has developed into sucking to alleviate any distress or pain generally. Thus, when an infant is hurt, it turns in its distress to its mother; it desires to suck, and it forgets its trouble in sucking. All these associations are potent in later life. It may be observed in many children long after they have given up sucking; when they are cross, or when they are teased, or angry, and vexed, they suck their thumbs. Many children in the same way cannot go to sleep without sucking something—their thumbs generally being ready implements for the purpose—so persistent is the association of sucking

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with sleep. In later life children suck the ends of their pens or pencils when in doubt and perplexity over their lessons, from the association of sucking with distress or anxiety; and in still later life the masher, and the young man whose ideas do not flow very readily, suck the ends of their walking-sticks when they are in doubt or anxiety, in conversational or amatorial matters—such act of sucking being a relic of the baby-habit acquired by the infant from the association of sucking with alleviation of distress, no matter in what way it was caused. Further, the number of men who suck the ends of their moustaches,[4] and of women who suck the ends of their crochet or knitting needles, or anything else, whenever they have the least feeling of doubt, annoyance, anxiety, distress, discomfort, or the like, points to the persistence of a youthful habit long after all reason for it has ceased, and forms an instructive lesson in the development of the methods used to express emotions.

In other animals equally curious habits may be noticed, particularly in domesticated animals, because inherent organic conservatism carries into the new state of life habits and instincts useful to the old. The turning round of a dog before it goes to sleep, and what my children call the 'kneading-dough' action of a cat when before a warm fire, have been noticed before. But it may be remarked that when a cat takes a piece of meat she invariably gives it a shake—a habit acquired by the wild animal to shake off blood-drops and any adherent grit obtained by the flesh from contact with the ground, but an entirely useless performance in the case of a domestic cat fed on cooked meat in a carpeted room. Ducks which are kept away from a pond will, when it rains, or when they hear the splashing of water, repeatedly raise and lower their heads with a jerking motion—the same action which they use when in the water in order to throw the water over their bodies to wash themselves. Ducks delight in water, and consequently these washing movements are intimately associated with pleasure. Thus they feel pleasure when they are let out after confinement, though they may not be near water; and this pleasure they express by going through the washing movements—in fact, the association is so strong that these movements have become a conventional expression of pleasure of any kind. Young lambs will mount any hillock in a field, because their wild parents were dwellers in mountainous countries. We ourselves when we wish to express scorn, or contempt, or anger, draw up our lip so as to expose the canine teeth—the weapons with which our monkey-ancestors were wont to fight, as has frequently been pointed out. Babies, when they cry—and thus wish to express rage and indignation—draw the mouth into a quadrate shape. This peculiar set of the mouth in a crying infant was noted by Darwin;[5] but the reason for it does not seem to have

[4] Apart from the sedative effects of nicotine, the sucking at a pipe may also be soothing from the inherited association. [illegible] n-smokers suck straws.

[5] *Expression of the Emotions*, [illegible] 158.

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been grasped. It arises, however, from the fact that crying is associated with anger, that in anger the fighting instinct is dominant, that the fighting instinct leads to a display of weapons on the *noli-me-tangere* principle, that the weapons of our ancestors were caniniform teeth in the upper and under jaws. It may be observed that the lips of a crying baby's mouth are so disposed as to exactly display the caniniform teeth as much as possible; but here comes the curious part of the whole matter—a young baby shows the quadrate-shaped mouth more remarkably than older children; yet it has no teeth to display, for the teeth are not to be seen in the gums. Here is a habit, acquired for a definite purpose, persisted in afterwards when no means are available for fulfilling the purpose, and yet persisted in because of the long association in ancestors of the weapon-display with anger. For a newly born baby to retract the corners of the lips in order to expose teeth which are still hidden in the gum is a ludicrously futile process; yet it shows in an extraordinary manner that a habit once acquired may remain, polarised, as it might be called, long after all reason for its acquirement and use had passed away.

From sadness to joy is a very welcome transition; and consequently a few remarks upon the method of expressing pleasure will not unsuitably follow those on the expression of pain. To show that they are pleased human beings frequently draw up and wrinkle the nose the while they elevate the upper lip so as to expose the teeth. The same action may be noticed in terriers to express pleasure, and it is called 'grinning:' in children it is a remarkably common feature. It is not general among adults; but when it be a regular habit in any individual it leads to the formation of obliquely transverse furrows each side of the nose, and so gives to the face a definite and somewhat amiable expression, which may degenerate into an unfortunate peculiarity.

The origin of this expression does not seem to have been any wish to expose the teeth, but rather a desire to sniff in as much as possible. Animals derive their greatest pleasures from the satisfaction of the sexual and gastric appetites; and all odours associated with such satisfaction would become pleasing, because they would suggest pleasant ideas to the senses. It would be pleasant, then, to inhale such odours, as the odour of a good dinner is pleasant to a hungry man about to enjoy it; and he expresses his satisfaction by sniffs. The rapid repetition of a series of sniffs in succession, necessitating certain convulsive movements of the stomach, may have been the initiation of that expression of delight called 'laughter,' which consists in a series of quick convulsive stomachic movements coupled with certain guttural cacklings.

What might be called the genesis of our expressions, or their historical development in the phyletic series to which Man belongs,

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opens a very wide field. Darwin has attacked it in his *Expression of the Emotions*; but, though he has collected a great store of most interesting facts, the theories and conclusions which he formed in connection therewith are sometimes not so satisfactory as they should be. Particularly does this apply to his principle of antithesis, which it is admitted in a note to the 2nd edition (p. 52) has not met with much acceptance. This can hardly be wondered at; because it seems so totally opposed to that gradual acquirement and development which the Darwinian doctrine supposes. Space does not allow a further consideration of this subject, more than to say that, like other animals, children's actions when at play show mimic warfare and perverted inheritance of sexual instinct. Love and war, which played such important parts among prehuman ancestors, have left their mark upon children's actions to-day—an influence which can be easily discerned, though it may be sometimes obscured. Even such a matter as the elevation of the eyebrows during astonishment may be traced to the desire of prehuman ancestors to erect the hair, in order to make themselves as big as possible, and therefore formidable to their foes, a habit which animals constantly exhibit when they are suddenly startled. It is the *noli-me-tangere* principle, sometimes practised with good cause, but at other times being the merest 'bluff,' a veritable trading under false pretences. It is to this practice of erecting the hair that we owe the involuntary expression during extreme terror—that of the hair standing on end with fright. By disuse we have lost the voluntary power to control the muscles which perform the function of erecting the hair; but the involuntary power still remains. Such seems to be the explanation; at any rate involuntary erection of the hair during terror is a well-known fact, treated of by Darwin.

Enough has been said to show that the characters and habits of children afford every support to the evolutionist; that what is quite unintelligible and even antagonistic to any idea of special creation becomes significant and full of meaning in the light of the doctrine of gradual development; that the actions of children when rightly interpreted tell their own tale and may fitly be compared to ancient monuments of prehistoric times; lastly, that the human infant is an interesting object of scientific research, and that even a cross baby should be calmly contemplated by the philosophic mind.

S. S. Buckman.

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THE PEOPLE'S KITCHENS IN VIENNA

SOME twenty-five years ago there was great distress in Vienna. The people were heavily taxed, and had little wherewith to pay their taxes; for work was scarce and wages were low, whilst the cost of living was extremely high. In tenements and rooms of the poorer kind in the city there are no conveniences for cooking; the working classes are, therefore, obliged to live on *Wurst* and such unwholesome things, or to go to restaurants for their dinners. In those days, however, a dinner in a fourth-rate restaurant cost sevenpence at least, a large sum for a man to pay who was earning perhaps eight shillings a week and had a wife and children to support. The majority of labourers, even when in constant employment, could not afford to dine every day; and as for casual workers, it was only on high holidays that they had a regular meal. The great mass of the wage-earning population, in fact, was miserably underfed, to the detriment of the whole community.

Dr. Josef Kühn, a practical philanthropist who had made an exhaustive study of the subject, was convinced that this state of things was the result, not so much of the poverty of the workers, great as it undoubtedly was, as of the rapacity of those upon whom they were dependent for their food. The dinners for which they paid sevenpence did not cost threepence; thus the restaurant-keepers were levying a toll of more than 100 per cent. on every meal they sold to the neediest class of their customers. Food, good in quality and sufficient in quantity, might, the Doctor maintained, be brought within the reach of all wage-earners, if those who supplied it, instead of being extortionate traders, were men prepared to give full value for the money they received. He therefore proposed that, in the poverty-stricken quarters of the city, there should be opened, under public management, restaurants in which food should be sold at the lowest possible price compatible with their being self-supporting. According to his plan, the money necessary for the initial expenses in connection with these establishments was to be raised by public subscriptions, no profits were to be made, and the cost of management was to be minimised by honorary officials being employed. In other respects the undertaking was to be conducted on strict business principles, all

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who frequented the restaurants paying for what they received exactly what it cost. Dr. Kühn's scheme was greeted by the Viennese with great sympathy; it was, however, unanimously condemned as impracticable. No one would believe that a restaurant could be managed by amateurs, and the idea of an institution organised on the lines suggested being self-supporting, was held to be absurd. The Doctor soon discovered that, if the work on which he had set his heart was to be done, it must be by the individual efforts of himself and his friends; no collective action on the part of the city was to be counted upon.

For two years he devoted himself to studying the working of restaurants and perfecting the details of his scheme. Then, in 1872, in conjunction with four other gentlemen, he organised the People's Kitchen Association. The very *raison d'être* of this association was, and is, to provide the working-classes of Vienna with nutritive, palatable food at prices within their means. It began its operations on a somewhat humble scale. Each of its members subscribed five hundred florins, and with this money a restaurant was started in the Hechtengasse. At first the restaurant was open only from half-past eleven o'clock until two, during which time dinners were served at a charge of fifteen kreuzers (threepence) or eight kreuzers each. For fifteen kreuzers, a slice of beef or mutton weighing eight decagrams, and forty centiliters of vegetables were supplied; for eight kreuzers, four decagrams of beef or mutton, and twenty-five centiliters of vegetables. The Hechtengasse is in the centre of a densely populated district in which are several large factories; the new restaurant was well placed, therefore, for securing customers. The fame of its threepenny dinners soon spread through the neighbourhood, and before many weeks had passed it was thronged from the moment the doors were opened. Soup at three kreuzers the plate was then added to the menu; vegetables, too, at four kreuzers for fifty centiliters, and puddings, omelets, macaroni cheese, &c., at eight kreuzers the portion. Low as were the prices charged, the restaurant was, almost from the first, self-supporting. It thus afforded a startling proof of the extent to which the poor had previously been exploited by those of whom they had bought their food.

When once the success of the first venture was assured, strong pressure was brought to bear on Dr. Kühn to induce him to open a People's Kitchen, as he called his restaurant, in every district in Vienna. This, however, he refused to do. Much of the organisation of his undertaking was still in the tentative stage; he was afraid, therefore, lest any sudden extension of its work should throw the whole concern into confusion. All that he could promise was, that the association, of which he was the president, would open two more restaurants as soon as the necessary arrangements could be made. At the same time he proposed that other kitchen associations should be formed, and that these, although perfectly independent, should act

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in friendly co-operation with the one he had founded. The Princess Hohenlohe-Schillingsfürst was the first to act on this suggestion. She organised an association which opened a kitchen in the Leopoldstadt district. In 1874 the Princess Liechtenstein helped to start one at Meidling. In the course of the following two years three more independent associations were formed, each of which has now a kitchen of its own. A particular interest is attached to one of them, owing to the fact that it is organised for Jews. In the kitchen it has opened, the food is dressed according to their peculiar ordinances, and special preparations are made for the Jewish festivals. Meanwhile the First Association, as that organised by Dr. Kühn is now called, was hard at work. In December 1873 it opened a kitchen at Neubau, and, two months later, one in Mariahilf. In 1875 it began to supply not only dinners, but breakfasts and suppers, in its restaurants; and it further extended its operations by providing special meals for poor children. Since then it has established five more kitchens, all in populous districts. Thus there are at the present time in Vienna thirteen People's Kitchens, eight under the direction of the First Association, and five belonging to the allied associations. They are all founded on the same principle, all worked on the same lines, and are all self-supporting. Their operations are now conducted on quite a colossal scale. Their supplies are bought by the thousand tons, their soup is made by the thousand gallons, and sometimes as many as 2,400 persons a day dine in one kitchen.

Practical common sense is the chief characteristic of the organisation of these people's kitchens. The system adopted by the First Association has served as a model for others. This association is open to all who choose to join it. On the 1st of January, 1892, it had on its roll 398 members—viz. 245 honorary members and 153 ordinary members. Honorary members are persons who have rendered some special service to the association, or who have made it a donation of 500 florins, or who subscribe annually ten florins. Ordinary members are those who subscribe annually at least one florin, or who have held some honorary office in a kitchen for six months or longer. The management of the affairs of the association is vested in an executive committee, which is chosen at a general meeting of the members. This committee holds office for three years, one-third of its members retiring every year. It consists of a president, two vice-presidents, a treasurer, an auditor, two secretaries, two professional advisers (an architect and a doctor), the local directors, the lady superintendents, and the assistant superintendents of the eight kitchens belonging to the association. These are all honorary officials, but attached to the committee are three—a general secretary, a book-keeper, and a kitchen inspector—who are paid. The members of the executive occupy the position of the directors of a public company, and are responsible for the entire working of the kitchens. They seek out

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cheap provision markets; make contracts for supplies, fix the weight and price of the food portions sold, engage the matrons and cashiers, and decide where and when new kitchens shall be opened. They also verify accounts, regulate expenditure, and have full control of the finances of the association. They must, however, submit their books and balance-sheet to the scrutiny of a special revision committee appointed by the members of the association. The executive meets once a month, and delegates its authority, in the intervals between its sittings, to its president.

Ever since the First Association was formed, Dr. Kühn has been its president—a president, too, who devotes himself heart and soul to promoting its interests. He visits the kitchens constantly, tests the food, sees that the officials do their work, and that everything is going smoothly. He is always on the alert to secure for his customers good value for their money—to gratify, too, their tastes and their wishes. He invites them to make suggestions for the improvement of the kitchens, and listens to all criticisms with a patience that knows neither bound nor limit. His chief coadjutors are the lady superintendents, most important officials. Each kitchen has its own lady superintendent. She is responsible to the executive, practically, for the whole management of her kitchen; for, although the matron is responsible for the food supply, the cooking and the domestic arrangements of the establishment, she is responsible for the matron. She checks the matron's books and watches over the general expenditure, for all the money spent passes through her hands. She takes charge of what is received for the tickets sold, and certifies that it corresponds in amount to the value of the food served. In consultation with the matron, she issues orders for provisions and decides on the menu for the day. She is, in fact, in the position of the mistress of a large establishment, and the matron is as her housekeeper. She has certain social duties, too, to perform. She must organise a local committee of ladies who will undertake to interest themselves in the work of the association, and be present in turn in the kitchen whilst dinners are being served. She herself, or one of her two assistants, must be there every day at least from eleven until two. Thus the office of a lady superintendent is no sinecure; upon her fitness for her work, in fact, depends in a great measure the success or failure of the kitchen.

There is no more interesting place in all Vienna than a People's Kitchen. The most important is the one in the Hechtengasse, only a few hundred yards away from the house in which the First Association began its work, twenty-two years ago. It is held in a fine handsome building, which was erected in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the Emperor's accession, the money for it being raised by the late Princess Auersperg. The kitchen itself consists of two very large lofty rooms, one on the right of the hall, the other on the

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left. In each of them are a number of long tables covered with American cloth, and having benches on either side. The room to the right is the principal dining-hall. The upper part of the one to the left is cut off from the rest by a counter, beyond which the public are not allowed to pass. Here is the huge fireplace at which the food is cooked and kept hot until the time comes for serving it. A marked feature of the kitchen is its scrupulous cleanliness. Although many hundred persons pass through it every day, the air is always fresh and pure; and there is never a sign of dust or untidiness. The white china plates and dishes are spotless; the knives and forks are brightly polished; whilst as for the glasses they literally sparkle.

Attached to the kitchen are fourteen paid servants—a matron, two assistant matrons, a cook, an assistant cook, two kitchenmaids, two scullerymaids, a washer-up, a general helper, two men waiters, and a cashier. They are all hard at work by half-past five in the morning, for by six o'clock they must have breakfast ready for the men who call on their way to the factories. Breakfast is a very simple meal, soup, tea, and bread being the only things provided. A portion of soup, or of tea, costs three kreuzers; a white roll, two kreuzers; and a slice of brown bread, one. For eight kreuzers, therefore, a good breakfast can be had; and, as most of the workmen are content with soup and brown bread, they pay only four kreuzers (four-fifths of a penny) for their meal. After eight o'clock no breakfasts are served, for then preparations for dinner begin. The cook and her assistants since six o'clock have been chopping and paring, and stewing and boiling; for a meal for two thousand persons or more is not to be prepared in a hurry. When the cooking is done the dividing out begins. This is the work of the matron, and most tiresome work it is; for, as the association makes it a point of honour that every portion shall be exactly equal in size and quality, each one of them has to be weighed.

The first guests to arrive are always the school children; for, as they are received on special terms, and have a menu of their own, they are admitted only from eleven until a quarter to twelve. They come trooping in with their tickets in their hands in the most orderly fashion. Some are thinly clad, poor little things, who look as if their lines were cast in very poverty-stricken places; while others are evidently the children of well-to-do artisans and small shopkeepers. But differences of rank are as nothing in a People's Kitchen; all there are on terms of equality, for brass tickets tell no tales. Those the charitable give to teachers for the children of the poor are just as bright as those wealthier parents buy for their own sons and daughters. The little ones themselves do not know who pays for their dinners. Thus in Vienna a solution has already been found for the problem which is so sorely perplexing our School Boards. During the winter months some thousands of children often

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dine in the kitchens. They are given every day a large white roll and a plate of pea-soup, milk pudding, cabbage, or sauerkraut. The portions are as large as an ordinary child can eat, and the charge for a dinner is five kreuzers. No sooner are the children gone, than the general public begin to arrive; and from twelve o'clock until nearly two the Kitchen is crowded.

The menu for the day is written on a huge slate which hangs near the door. That menu is a curiosity; it is never twice the same in one week, and the variety of dishes it includes, in the course of the year, is simply marvellous, considering the prices charged for the dinners. The list the lady superintendent and the matron have to choose from, when deciding what shall be given on any special day, comprises fifteen kinds of soups, eighteen vegetables, meat of one sort or another dressed in twenty-one different fashions, twenty-nine sweets, six salads, to say nothing of such trifles as *entrées*. The following may be taken as fair samples of the dinners the First Association provides for its customers:—

Groat soup	3	Kreuzers
Peas	4	"
Beef with peas	8 or 15	"
Venison with macaroni	8 or 15	"
Raisin pudding	8 or 15	"

Clear soup	3	Kreuzers
Spinach	4	"
Beef with spinach	8 or 15	"
Pork cutlets with potato salad . .	8 or 15	"
Fruit pudding	8 or 15	"

Each dish is perfect in its way, carefully prepared and delicately seasoned. All the ingredients are of the best quality; and they are cooked by highly trained professionals, who rank, in point of skill, with those employed in the clubs epicures frequent. And these are the dinners of the poor, *nota bene*, of the class which in England must content themselves with bread and cheese and perhaps a rasher of bacon. As everything is sold *à la carte*, no one need spend more than he chooses on his meal. The average cost of a dinner is eighteen kreuzers, though the prices range from twenty-five kreuzers to six. It is an almost unheard-of thing for the persons who dine in the kitchen to have a slice of the joint as well as a portion of the other savoury dish; a very large percentage of them, indeed, have only fifty centiliters of vegetables and twenty decagrams of bread. For this somewhat meagre meal they pay six kreuzers.

Customers, unless they go provided with tickets, must buy them at the door where the cashier sits, for no money is taken in the kitchen. Their first business is, of course, to examine the menu and make up their minds what they will have for their dinners. They

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then take up their places in the long row of persons trying to reach the two lady visitors, who stand near the counter where the dishes are served. One lady examines the tickets, while the other hands the portions of food which correspond to them in value. A servant who is near gives a white roll, or a slice of brown bread, to each guest as he passes; and a second provides him with a knife, fork, and spoon. He must then find for himself a seat, a difficult matter sometimes; and, if he wishes for water (nothing else is allowed to be drunk) he must fetch it from the tap.

It is a somewhat motley company, it must be confessed, that meets together day by day in that Hechtengasse Kitchen. All sorts and conditions in truth are there: students whose science is deeper than their purses; ex-criminals with tickets given them at the prison door perhaps; and gentlemen who have backed the wrong horses. Of women of course there is never a lack: actresses whose beauty is faded, unsuccessful artists, and the widows of professional men. People who have wasted thousands in their day, sit side by side with those whose lives have been one fierce hopeless struggle to make both ends meet. It is the common rendezvous, in fact, of failures of every sort and kind. Still these are only the exotics, as it were; the great mass of those who frequent the kitchen belong to the wage-earning classes, and are hard-working men and women. Carpenters, masons, postmen, seamstresses, flower-sellers, shopgirls, all dine together; and scattered about among them are shoe-blacks, crossing-sweepers, and even beggars. The beggars, however, who go, must, for the time at least, cast aside their rôle; for nothing that smacks of alms—whether the giving or receiving—is tolerated. The kitchen itself is not a charity, it must be remembered, but a business concern—a fact its managers are always careful to impress on their guests. Every dinner is paid for, and whether by him who eats it, or by someone else, is no affair of theirs. Thus those who go there are subject to no humiliation; no call is made on them for gratitude or thanks; they are there on precisely the same terms as in any other restaurant. The treatment they receive in the kitchen differs only from that which they receive elsewhere in its greater courtesy; instead of rough attendants to wait on them, they have ladies. It is the special duty of the honorary officials to see that no guest is neglected. During dinner, the lady superintendent, Madame Fischer-Ullrich, the local director, and a lady visitor, go from table to table soothing the impatient with tactful words, lavishing kindly attentions on all comers, and removing every cause of friction. The good-tempered courtesy, which is so marked a characteristic of the Hechtengasse Kitchen, is undoubtedly due in a great measure to the personal influence of Madame Fischer-Ullrich and her assistants, to their ceaseless efforts in promoting the general comfort. A rough word is rarely heard in the kitchen, and—what is always a good sign—the

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most comfortable seats are yielded to the old and feeble without a murmur. Two detectives are present during the dinner hour in case disorder should arise; but it is a most unusual thing for recourse to be had to their services. At two o'clock the kitchen is closed, but it is opened again for supper from six until nine. Then tea, soup, ham, cold beef, salad, hot vegetables, and the remains of the dinner *réchauffé* are served. The average cost of a supper is ten kreuzers.

In the course of the day more than twenty thousand persons on the average are now provided with food in the People's Kitchens. And these are far from forming the whole *clientèle* of the associations. In Vienna as elsewhere there are people who cannot afford even a five-kreuzer dinner. There are others who are too feeble to go to a restaurant; others, again, who object to eating in public. Special arrangements are made for the benefit of such as these. At certain hours in the day, the kitchens are open for the sale of food to those who wish to take it away with them. People who have invalids in their houses can procure for them in this way suitable nutriment at a small cost. And women with large families may fetch a quart of soup, a milk pudding, or whatever else they can afford, and, safe from curious glances, divide it among their children by their own fireside. The First Association also undertakes to distribute food, in almost any quantities, wherever it may be required. At the request of the Burgomaster, it will organise at a few hours' notice special dinners for the unemployed. In this way it renders good service to the authorities in seasons of unusual distress. The cost of these meals is defrayed either by the Municipality or by public subscription.

The remarkably low price at which food is sold in the People's Kitchens must be ascribed, in some measure, to the gigantic scale on which the undertaking is conducted. The associations require such vast quantities of provisions, that they are able to open out new markets for themselves, in places where the supply is great and the demand is small. Vegetables and dairy produce, for instance, are transported by the wagonload from remote country districts, where they are bought at considerably under wholesale market prices. As every housewife knows, too, the cost of preparing food varies, within certain limits, in inverse ratio with the quantity prepared. Whatever may be the cost of one gallon of soup, two gallons of the same quality can be made for much less than twice the sum; while a hundred gallons, if made together, do not cost so much as fifty made separately. In the Hechtengasse Kitchen, soup is prepared by the 6,710 liters at a time, and all other provisions on the same scale. The skill with which the kitchens are organised and managed by their honorary officials is also a very important factor in determining the price at which the food is supplied. The working expenses are kept down by the practice of the most rigid economy in every department. The matrons are all highly trained housekeepers, who are

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accustomed to dealing with large stores of provisions, and who know to a nicety the materials required for every dish. It is their duty to see that no waste occurs. A considerable saving is effected, too, by employing only thoroughly good cooks of wide experience. The result of this rule is that there are no mistakes in seasoning; no food has to be thrown away as uneatable; but every dish prepared is of the best quality.

A special interest is attached to the economic arrangements of the People's Kitchens, owing to the financial condition of all the associations being so extremely satisfactory. So far as the food supply is concerned, the kitchens are entirely self-supporting. The number of kreuzers paid for a breakfast, dinner, or supper, represents the full cost of these meals—the bare cost of course, without any addition for profits, expenses of management, or interest on capital. All that the executive committees require is that the receipts of the kitchens, taken collectively, shall balance the expenditure, and leave a trifle in hand against an evil day. If it is found there is a surplus of funds, some of the portions of food are increased in size; if, on the contrary, there is a deficit, they are made somewhat smaller. During the year 1891, the First Association cleared its expenses, and was left with a balance in its favour of 4,108 florins. It is, therefore, entirely independent of outside pecuniary aid; and it will ultimately return to the community, in one form or another, whatever money it receives. Hitherto it has devoted the subscriptions and donations of its members to defraying in turn the initial expenses of each of the kitchens it has started. But now that every district in Vienna is provided with a kitchen, the association will apply its funds to purchasing the freehold of the houses which serve as kitchens. The building in the Hechtengasse is already the property of the First Association. Every year, however, a certain sum, corresponding in amount to the rent of that kitchen, is set aside by the executive committee; and this, together with the other funds at their disposal, will be allowed to accrue until it be sufficient to purchase another kitchen. The rent for the two kitchens will then be set aside until enough money is raised to buy a third, and this process will continue until the association is the owner of its eight kitchens. Then every year a sum, equal to the combined rents of these kitchens, will be devoted to providing very poverty-stricken districts with food at less than cost prices, and giving free dinners to poor children.

Now that his organisation for the food supply of Vienna is in full working order, Dr. Kühn is seeking out new fields of enterprise. He has just completed an elaborate arrangement for transporting provisions to any town or village in which an outbreak of cholera should occur. Everything is to be cooked in Vienna, and taken to the plague-stricken district in air-tight cans. These cans are an invention of the Doctor's own. They fit into wooden cases which are lined with

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felt; and food placed in them retains its heat for twenty-four hours. He is now engaged, in co-operation with the Red Cross Society, in perfecting the commissariat arrangements for the soldiers who, in case of war, would be billeted near the capital. The First Association is also considering a plan for supplying with food the public hospitals and other charitable institutions in Vienna.

These People's Kitchens must be ranked among the most successful philanthropic undertakings of this century. They are a striking proof of the splendid results which may be attained by individual efforts. Before Dr. Kühn began his work, Vienna, so far at least as its poor were concerned, was the worst-fed capital in Europe; to-day it is undoubtedly the best. Thousands of men, women and children, who, if the old restaurant régime had continued, would go half-starved, have now as much as they can eat every day of their lives. Wholesome, palatable food has, in fact, been brought within the reach of even the worst paid of wage-earners; and this has been done without any lavish expenditure. The cost of starting a kitchen in which five hundred persons can dine is only some 500*l*. It would be a hard task to find a more humane—or a wiser—way of spending money. The underfed, it is well to remember, are a dangerous element in any community.

EDITH SELLERS.

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MORE LIGHT ON ANTONIO PEREZ

In this Review for May 1883 there appeared an interesting article by Mr. Froude entitled *Antonio Perez: an unsolved historical riddle*, in which the author's profound knowledge of the inner character and methods of Philip the Second is utilised in order to lighten somewhat the load of contumely which for centuries was heaped upon the king for his implacable persecution of his fallen minister. The materials upon which Mr. Froude mainly based his article were Perez's clever defence, published first during his exile in England, and the information derived by M. Mignet from the depositions of the witnesses against Perez in the various proceedings in Spain. He arrives at the conclusion that Philip's extraordinary vacillation and unexplained vagaries in the treatment of his favourite, during the twelve years he remained under a cloud in Spain, were the natural result of the king's cautious cunning and timidity; which, to a great extent, is no doubt true: but the mystery itself was left, as indeed is indicated by the title of Mr. Froude's article, an unsolved riddle still. Since the article was written a considerable amount of new evidence has been forthcoming which must now be taken into consideration, and may possibly modify some of the hitherto accepted conclusions. In addition to that which has been published in Spain and France, I have recently been fortunate enough to come across, in the British Museum,[1] an invaluable collection of the secret notes which constantly passed between Philip the Second and his Secretary of State. These notes are all in the original handwriting of Perez, copiously interlined and covered with remarks and answers in that dreadful scrawl with which Philip annotated every paper that passed through his hands. The collection is labelled by Perez himself *Villetes secretos de Antonio Perez al Rey*. I have no doubt these letters are those to which Perez refers in his 'Relaciones' as being contained in two sealed trunks, which remained in the custody of his wife when his official papers were seized early in 1585. To extort them from her, she and her children were confined in the same castle as her husband. Threats of torture and starvation could not wring them from her until the devoted woman had written to her husband, in her own blood, to ask him whether she might deliver

[1] B.M. MSS. Add. 28262.

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them. He had placed, he says, the most important series in safety, and she gave those papers up. When she handed the keys of the trunks to the king's confessor, he told her that, if she or Perez were troubled further, he himself would go 'like a madman' into the Plaza and proclaim the truth. Spanish inquirers have usually deplored these papers as lost or destroyed, but there is little doubt that the *Villetes secretos* at the Museum are they. The papers reserved by Perez for his defence are not amongst them. At his death in 1611, Don Rodrigo Calderon was sent by Philip the Third to beg Louis the Thirteenth to deliver Perez's private papers, as being 'objectionable to the king's wisdom and dignity.' It was asserted at the time that they had been burnt by order of the French Government. However that may be, there is a series of Spanish papers in the Royal Library at the Hague which closely correspond to the letters which must have been used by Perez in writing his defence, since every sentence he quotes is found in them. I have not seen the documents themselves, but they are described by Gachard and quoted by Motley, and it is curious therefore that they also should have been overlooked by the authors who have written on the mystery of Antonio Perez. With the contents of these two sets of documents before me, and the contemporary papers published by various Spanish and French scholars subsequent to the date of Mignet's work, I propose to examine Perez's defence from a more analytical standpoint than has hitherto been adopted.

In the depth of the winter of 1591 Antonio Perez, 'like a whipped hound loth to leave his master's shelter,' wandered through the crags and snows of the Pyrenees, escaping from the country by betraying which he was thenceforward to live. He was a timid man of emaciated frame, and had to be carried by his faithful friends over difficult places, querulously complaining of the hardness of his fate; but withal boasting for the rest of his life of the extent of his persecutions, magnifying his miseries, almost cherishing his troubles for the notoriety they brought him, and determined to keep the eyes of the world upon him as 'a monster of misfortune' rather than be forgotten. He was brilliant and fascinating, prodigiously vain, and sought from the first day of his exile to surround himself with an atmosphere of mystery and romance. He had been sacrificed, he hinted, because he was the favoured lover of the Princess of Eboli, whose affection the king sought. Safe in the shelter of Essex House, two years later he wrote, with consummate skill, the famous defence of himself and impeachment of his enemy which passed for two centuries and a half unchallenged as a statement of fact. Philip was represented in it in the blackest colours, and Perez as an honest minister who had been cruelly persecuted by his master from motives of personal jealousy. Protestants the world over were only too eager to accept the distorted portrait of their foe as a true one; and even Perez's vanity for a time

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was satisfied with the homage paid to him as the man who had stripped the mask from Philip's treachery. He had been Philip's prime minister from the age of twenty-six, and had ruled Spain under the king for ten years. The son of a former Secretary of State, he had been brought up by Philip's beloved favourite, Ruy Gomez de Silva, Prince of Eboli, who until his death led the party of peace and diplomacy to which Philip's cautious temperament made him incline.

The traditional policy of Philip and his father was to employ for high administrative offices in Spain only new men, creatures they had made and could unmake. The great nobles might be ambassadors and generals abroad, but not ministers at home, and their power for evil in the Peninsula had already been broken. They did not relish the process, and a strong aristocratic warlike opposition led by the Duke of Alba existed in Philip's Court. Ruy Gomez had taken care to fill the offices with young men of his own school, such as was Perez himself, and had brought up the king's natural brother, Don John of Austria, in the same ideas. When Don John was sent to fight the Turk, a minister was attached to him belonging to the party, but as soon as they were out of the leading strings, dreams of empire and conquest took possession of them. A great Christian realm was to be founded in Africa, England was to be conquered, Don John was to marry Mary Stuart and rule over a Catholic Britain. The Pope and the fanatics were only too ready to encourage the young prince in his Quixotic yearnings; but Philip and Perez knew that, sorely beset as they were, without money and with the united forces of Protestantism against them, war and conquest were absolutely impossible. So Don John's secretary, Soto, was withdrawn by Perez's recommendation; and Escobedo, a colleague of his own, a stanch member of his party, was appointed.[2] He was soon won over by the young prince's ambition as completely as Soto had been; and when Don John was sent to Flanders to carry out the task of pacification, Escobedo was warned that there must be no nonsense. Peace must be made at any cost consistent with Catholicism and Philip's sovereignty. They began badly, for the prince and his minister rushed to Spain from Italy without orders instead of going direct to their post. They wanted the recognition of Don John as a prince of the blood, and to be allowed to make a dash for England from the Netherlands. Both requests were gently evaded, and Don John went on his uncongenial task, to be afterwards followed by Escobedo. But they went secretly intending to swoop down on England with the Spanish troops which were to be withdrawn from Flanders, and Perez pretended to acquiesce in the plot, in order to learn everything that was going on. The States, prompted by Orange, were on their guard. The troops must march overland to Italy, and then the invasion of England would be impossible. In vain Don John protested and

[2] See original letters, Perez to Philip, B.M. MSS. Add. 28262.

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stormed. The States were firm; and to all his brother's despairing remonstrance Philip only answered stonily that peace must be made at any cost; so the prince had to yield, the mutinous troops marched out amidst the curses of all Flanders, and Don John's wild dream of empire vanished.

The letters upon which Perez mainly depends to show the provocation given for Escobedo's murder were mostly written early in 1577, whilst the withdrawal of the troops was under discussion, and are full of rash violent words. Passionate prayers came from the prince and his secretary that they might fight it out; imploring requests for money and arms 'to beat these drunken wineskins;' and then, when the States had their way and the prince saw his designs frustrated, came wild, incoherent, despairing expressions of disgust and annoyance. 'All is lost,' they said; 'we are like madmen ready for any desperate course.' 'Don John would rather go as an adventurer to France than do such work as this.' 'He was a soldier and could not do it; the more he gave way the more insolent the Flemings became. A woman or a child could do the work better than he.' 'What is wanted here,' said Escobedo, 'is only an old woman with a distaff.' On the 7th of February, 1577, Escobedo wrote, 'O! I am ready to hang myself, if I were not hoping to hang those who do us so much harm. O Master Perez! how stubborn and hateful these devils have been in hindering our plan! Hell itself must have cast forth this gang to thwart us so.'[3] Don John himself wrote just as strongly, 'O Antonio! how certain for my sorrow and misfortune is the frustration of our plans just as they were so well thought out and arranged!'[4] Such letters as these were written all through the winter of 1576 and early spring of 1577. Some letters, written late in March and at the beginning of April 1577, were intercepted by Henry of Navarre; and the copies sent to England are now in the British Museum.[5] They are as violent as any of those quoted by Perez, Escobedo's letter to the king of the 27th of March being especially insolent. 'They have not a real to pay the troops, and no one will trust the king to the extent of a maravedi.' He details his many shifts and devices to raise money, without success, and concludes:—

> You must raise money at any cost and any loss to get us out of this difficulty. If this do not please you, then let others come and try their hands; perhaps they may succeed where I have failed. I give your Majesty clearly to understand that, if our requests be not complied with, we shall take it as a dismissal, warranting us in going whithersoever we will. If your Majesty will not supply the indispensable means, it is unreasonable to expect us to stay any longer.

In another intercepted letter from Don John to Perez, dated the 7th of April, he implores to be recalled, as he is so unfit for the work.

[3] Escobedo's and Don John's letters, Hague MSS.
[4] Ibid.
[5] B.M. Cotton Vesp. cvii.

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He will stand by his post as long as he can; but a point will soon be reached beyond which he cannot go.

> Believe me it is most vital that the king should withdraw me. If he do not, then I must fail in all my obligations, and things here will get worse than ever. . . . If my request to be recalled be refused, I shall be forced to take a course which will surprise everybody, in order to avoid greater troubles.[6]

All was useless (they said); Orange kept alive the Flemish distrust of them. O! that they might at least be allowed to capture Zealand as a base for future attack on England.

All this was gall to Philip; and as each letter was sent to him by Perez the latter fanned the flame of his resentment. Perez avoids any hint in his book that he did so, but his secret notes now before me are full of insidious suggestions to arouse Philip's suspicion. In one undated note written about this time his devilish ingenuity in trying to ruin Don John and Escobedo is manifest:—

> I am now (he says) getting to the bottom of these dark hints in Don John's letter. It is that he wants to leave his task and come hither—this is Escobedo's doing! I will look into it all and give your Majesty my opinion. It may be of little value, but my love and faith must be my justification. No doubt they think Flanders is too small a field for them to run very far in.

On the margin of this Philip writes the grim comment:—'This would be a fine thing and upset the whole business. Flanders is not such a small field either: at any rate Spain will prove smaller if they come in such guise.' Perez in his book vaguely hints at treasonable designs on the part of Don John and Escobedo, but only seeks to support the suggestion by two quotations. One was an entirely uncorroborated alleged conversation with Escobedo before even he went to the Netherlands, in which the latter said something about fortifying a rock off Santander and dominating Spain from there. This is so vague and improbable that it may well be dismissed, particularly as, in the face of it, Escobedo was allowed to go to his high office in Flanders. The other evidence of Escobedo's disloyalty given by Perez is a quotation from one of his letters, dated the 3rd of February, 1577, saying that Don John would rather go as an adventurer to France than remain governor of Flanders, 'and if this cannot be, then to return to Spain, become a courtier, and govern all by means of his friends.' But false Perez omitted the context, which will be seen in the letter at the Hague, and conclusively proves that the aim was to form a strong political party to become, as he says, 'the staff of the king's old age.'

But Don John and Escobedo had quite drifted away from the old peace party of Perez and Ruy Gomez, and their return to Spain would now have strengthened the Alba faction, the rise of which would have meant Perez's downfall. The object of the latter, therefore, in trying to discredit and ruin his former friends, who had now deserted his

[6] B.M. Cotton Vesp. cvii.

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party, is clear. The secret notes in the British Museum contain ample proofs of Perez's attempts to strengthen his own position by sowing distrust of his opponents' loyalty. The Duke of Alba and the 'Toledos' are constantly sneered at and doubts being cast upon them, especially in Portuguese affairs. In the letter from Perez in the Museum,[7] giving Philip the joyful news of the pacification of Flanders and the exit of the Spanish troops, he is jubilant at the temporary triumph of his policy, and bids the king tell Alba, 'for he will burst with rage.' So persistent is the detraction of Alba and the 'Toledos' in these secret notes, that it probably largely explains the duke's disgrace and banishment on what always have been considered frivolous and inadequate grounds. The intercepted letter of the 7th of April[8] from Don John to the king at last gave the welcome intelligence that Escobedo had succeeded in borrowing enough money to get the troops out of Flanders, the rest of their pay being given to them in bills on Italy.

> No one (he says) could have done it but Escobedo. He has pledged his own honour for repayment, as he is known to be honest. Your Majesty should indeed be thankful to him. . . . Your own credit is quite gone, and if you ever wish to raise it you will comply with the obligations now contracted. I implore you to do so. If you do not, I shall indeed be powerless, and your interests irretrievably ruined. The troops will at once get out of hand and will plunder right and left; they are just the kind of men to do it, sulky and desperate as they are at their withdrawal. For God's sake do not expose us to this. Do not allow yourself to be persuaded that I can put them off with words. If the bills and warrants be not met, the men will think I have cheated them, and will spread discontent all over Italy.

He begs for more money, even thus early despairs of peace, and hints at the step he took months later in seizing Namur and defying the States.

The Council of State at this time practically consisted of Perez and his two friends, the Marquis de los Velez and Cardinal Quiroga, Archbishop of Toledo; and in all the accounts of their deliberations sent by Perez to Philip in the secret notes, they emphatically agree that war is impossible, and that the money and men requested by Don John cannot be sent. Quiroga even went so far as to propose that Elizabeth should be asked to mediate; but in a note Philip dissents from this.[9] In one of these letters Perez tells the king that the letters refusing Don John the forces he requests must contain no hint of any fear that they might be used against England. At last Don John had to make the best of it. The brutal Spaniards marched away, and the young prince entered Brussels with a smile on his lips and bitter disappointment in his heart. It was suggested that Escobedo's efforts in getting the troops away should be rewarded by knighthood, and Los Velez was very warm in the matter. He told

[7] B.M. MSS. Add. 28262. [8] B.M. Cotton Vesp. cvii.
[9] B.M. MSS. Add. 28262.

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Perez one day that he should speak to the king about it, but Perez was quite shocked, as he was busy at the time breeding distrust of Escobedo in Philip's mind, and wished to keep a monopoly of patronage in his own hands. He tells the king that he answered:—'For God's sake take care what you are about and feel your way first. Do not let us damp present pleasure by discounting the future. Let us prize such boons as rewards for curing the invalid.' He warns Philip that Velez will 'sound the ford,' however, and if he smiles upon his suit, 'you will never be free from importunities. It is quite right for you to confer favours, but do not teach us to ask for them on such occasions as this.'[10]

The petition for Escobedo's knighthood was renewed again and again; but Perez always stood in the way. It was not becoming, on principle, he said, for a king to give what he was asked for, but to choose his own time and give what he pleased. But, after the successful exit of the Spanish troops, he advises the king to give a small pension to a natural son of Escobedo's, at school at Salamanca. It is clear that in May and June of 1577 Perez was not greatly inimical to Escobedo. The worst danger was over, Flanders pacified, the troops gone, and the English invasion impossible. The man Escobedo was rough, and importunate that the bills should be met, but that was all. On the 1st of June, 1577,[11] Perez sends the king the advice of the Council as to the aid to be given to the Portuguese expedition to Morocco, and adds:—

I cannot avoid saying that I think when they see all these galleys and troops collected the Pope and Don John will urge you to undertake the English business —*and even perhaps the opportunity might be a good one.* If Escobedo goes with the Italians, as I suppose he will, he will be sure to find his way to Rome and will press the matter personally or by letter, but at any rate we shall have him here in due time. I am delighted with the news of Don John's entry into Brussels, and I think the money he asks for may now be sent. Things really look now like a complete submission. . . . I am pleased that the Spaniards have gone. Escobedo has worked excellently in getting them away successfully. You should now think about that pension for his son. The opportunity is a good one, and it will heal some of his other grievances.

Directly the pacification was effected, therefore, Escobedo was spoken well of. Compare the above letter with the following, written before the pacification, when Don John and Escobedo were asking for more forces:—

Escobar (*i.e.* the cipher clerk) returned to me Escobedo's letter and those that came disguised. They are a terrible worry to your Majesty; and all aim at the same thing, arms and ships for England and Zealand; and Prada's letter the same. They are all agreed about it, and no doubt think that will be the best way to settle matters there. Escobedo is dreadful about the knighthood, as your Majesty will see: and look how he threatens! Really I think it will be best to let him have it to prevent his worrying your Majesty to death.[12]

Perez knew that this was about the last means for getting a

[10] B.M. MSS. Add. 28262. [11] Ibid. [12] Ibid.

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favour from Philip, and the latter shows his disbelief in Escobedo's threat that Don John and he would return in defiance of orders in a pithy little note, that all this about disobeying his commands appears to be 'much cry and little meaning,' but 'if they were to do such a thing,' he says, 'things here would fall into such peril that it would take a thousand years to remedy them.' When Brussels had settled down, and Don John was in the midst of the entertainments of welcome, all things being peaceful, Escobedo thought he might go to Spain for a holiday, and to urge the due payment of the bills he had drawn, on his own pledge, for the pay of the troops. News of his intention was only received in Spain shortly before he himself arrived. An officer named Concha was sent to Madrid as an *avant-coureur*, and Perez thus writes to the king about it:—

> I had Concha here for two hours last night, and during my long talk with him managed to turn him inside out about affairs in Flanders. I deduce from it that things there are not so bad as they are painted to us. I will tell your Majesty all about it, but in the meanwhile Concha says that the Marchioness d'Havrey is so madly in love with Don John that she dresses as a man in order to run after him to balls and parties—and so on to bolder things. He says that Escobedo's coming is to be explained in the despatches in French as being to press the matter of that two millions of money—but I will not tire your Majesty more now.[13]

But suspicion once aroused in Philip's brooding mind could not be easily allayed; and he writes in the margin of this note: 'No doubt things there are less bad than they are painted to us, but I fear they will become as bad; seeing the objects to which these people are tending.'

Escobedo arrived at Santander on the 21st of July, 1577, and in the margin of the letter in which he informed the king of his arrival the latter wrote: 'We must hasten to get him off before he worries us to death.'[14]

It is clear, therefore, that Escobedo came to press for payment of the bills he had drawn. He must have received news in the later autumn of Don John's seizure of Namur and defiance of the States, and doubtless was violently importunate to be allowed to go back with money and troops. In January 1578 Don John won the battle of Gemblours, and then war became inevitable. Philip had promised to withdraw Don John and fulfil the pacification, but he could not allow himself to be coerced by force of arms, and every nerve was thenceforward strained to carry on the war vigorously. Things were in this condition when, after two unsuccessful attempts to poison him, Escobedo was stabbed in the streets of Madrid, by bravos in Perez's pay, on the 31st of March, 1578. The next morning the gossips of the capital at once fixed upon Perez and the widowed Princess of Eboli as the authors of the crime, and one of the king's secretaries, named Vasquez, a sly, quiet priest, wrote to Philip telling

[13] B.M. MSS. Add. 28262.

[14] Perez, *Relaciones* and Memorial.

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him so. The king sent the letter to Perez; and thereupon began a feud between the princess and Perez against Vasquez, which subsequently caused all the trouble. The proud princess clamoured for revenge against the 'Moorish hound' who had traduced her, and the whole Court was kept in a turmoil. The king reassured and consulted Perez at every step, and by his advice warned Vasquez and the Escobedo family not to persevere in the matter, 'as things were not as reported, and the man who committed the murder had good reason for doing so;' but still, either out of revenge for Perez's threats and insults, or because he was secretly encouraged by the king, Vasquez insisted upon keeping the sore open, and supported Escobedo's family in their demands for inquiry. Strenuous attempts, only once with partial success, were made by the king and the greatest people at Court to bring about peace; but Perez and the princess were implacable, and at last, in July 1579, Philip lost patience and had them both arrested. The princess never regained her liberty, but Perez was only confined nominally, and received many reassuring messages from the king. Prompted by Vasquez, however, Escobedo's friends kept the murder from being forgotten; public opinion was excited, and Churchmen and lawyers pressed the king either to try Perez for murder or release him. It did not suit Philip to allow the murder trial; so Perez was restored to office and to favour, on his promise to be friendly with Vasquez. It is evident that up to this time (1580) the king had no implacable resentment towards Perez. But the latter was imprudent and insolent. He gambled and squandered large sums which the great Mendozas said he received from their kinswoman, the princess. He was still under a cloud, and his friends, particularly his wife, implored the king that all the scandal might be stopped by bringing him to trial and acquitting him. 'Tell the woman to be quiet,' said the king; 'if that had been possible, it would have been done from the first hour.'

But then came a great change in Philip. He had to conquer Portugal, and Alba was the only man to do it for him. He was called out of disgrace, and joined the king in Portugal; the Toledos thenceforward were paramount, and Perez and his peace party sank to rise no more. The importunities about Perez followed the king everywhere; and at last, in 1582, he ordered a judge called Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce to make an inquiry. He set about his work with a stealthy thoroughness which Perez ascribes to personal animosity, and for the next two years evidence was silently piled up. Most of those who had been privy to the murder, it was found, had since died of poison, and the page Enriquez took fright and confessed all. The clouds darkened over Perez, and at the end of 1584 his papers were overhauled, and he was charged with corruption and tampering with State papers. 'You will not be condemned in the value of a pair of gloves,' wrote the king's confessor; but he was sentenced to deprivation for ten years, imprisonment for two, and a fine of 30,000 ducats.

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He saw the king had deserted him, and escaped to sanctuary, but was taken thence by the king's officers and kept in close confinement for three years, Rodrigo Vasquez the meanwhile following the murder trail like a bloodhound. In 1588 he was put on his trial for murder. His papers had been seized, his witnesses were dead, and he denied the charge. The Escobedo family after a time were bribed, and withdrew, and it was clear that Perez could not be condemned on the evidence of one accomplice. But still the king would not let him be acquitted. At last Perez was commanded, on promise of acquittal, to confess the whole story, and tell the reasons why the king had ordered the murder. He feared a trap, and refused. Persuasion, promises, and threats were all in vain, and at last, early in 1590, he was put to the torture. At the eighth turn of the cord he screamed that they were killing him, and he would tell all. 'What does it all mean?' wrote Cardinal Quiroga: 'either I am mad, or this affair is mad. If the king knows he gave the order, why must Perez confess the reasons?' Whatever it meant, Perez would trust Philip no more, and the next day changed dresses with his heroic wife and escaped to Aragon. There, for the next year and a half, there raged around his person a great popular struggle for the autonomy of Aragon. Imprisoned and rescued time and again, prosecuted and the prosecution abandoned by the king, claimed by the Church, the people, and the king, he was at last liberated from the dungeons of the Inquisition by a popular rising, and fled to France.

From the first he sought to attribute his persecution to the king's jealousy; and it has almost become an article of belief that Philip the Second was the princess's lover. The researches of Señor Muro have, however, now quite disproved this, and we must seek elsewhere for a reason for the implacable persecution by Philip of his Minister for a crime committed by his orders many years before. Perez's defence before the Aragonese court, afterwards published, is written with consummate art and care. Where it is vague, it is vague for a purpose, and yet examiners have for centuries been content to take it in perfectly good faith, and have blandly followed Perez in his calculated vagueness as to the dates of the events discussed. I have emphasised the fact, in the beginning of this article, that the rude importunity of Escobedo, which Perez quotes as a justification of the murder, is all found in letters dated early in 1577; *before* the pacific exit of the Spanish troops from Flanders. It is true he cites one note of the king on a letter from Escobedo in January 1578, implying that the news it contained was unpleasant, but nothing more. Perez depends mainly on expressions used in February 1577; but we have seen that when Escobedo had succeeded in getting the troops away he was highly praised and rewarded. This was in June, when his former rudeness had been condoned by his later good service. Escobedo was not murdered until [illegible] March, 1578, a year

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after the rude language quoted by Perez was used; so that cannot have been the reason. Besides, Philip was far too conscientious to have the man killed for such a cause alone. Perez gives as another reason for the murder Escobedo's encouragement of Don John in his design against England. If that had been a reason, few of Philip's councillors would have escaped, for from 1559 hardly one of Alba's friends had failed to press it upon the king, often as intemperately as Escobedo himself. But it has been shown here, although Perez does not refer to it, that all of Don John's and Escobedo's letters subsequent to April 1577 treat the English affair as absolutely at an end, as it obviously was as soon as the Spanish troops marched out of Flanders; so that at the time the murder was decided upon, which presently will be shown, that could have been no reason for the murder. Perez vaguely hints that another reason was Don John's intrigues with the Guises; but M. Mignet has pointed out that, certainly from December 1577, the negotiations with the Guises were carried out by Philip himself through his ambassador, Juan de Vargas, and if there had been any understanding between that family and Don John to invade England in favour of their relative, Mary of Scotland, it could only have been dangerous so long as Don John had the disposal of Spanish troops; that is to say, up to April 1577, a year before Escobedo was killed. The dark hints of Perez to the king of the fear of treason from Don John and Escobedo are almost too shadowy to deal with; but it has been shown earlier in this article that all that Perez could produce in support of his hints were, first, an unconfirmed remark of Escobedo's, made long before he went to Flanders, and a garbled extract from a letter, of which we now have the context and see the harmlessness.

I have already pointed out how, for purely political reasons, it was necessary for Perez to discredit Don John and his advisers, when he saw they were drifting to the side of the Duke of Alba's party, the rise of which would mean his ruin. In the secret notes in the British Museum to which have referred there are many instances of the venom which he sought to pour into Philip's ear against his opponents, and one particularly I will quote, because it seems to me to refer to the first suggestion of the murder. It bears no date, but must have been written after Escobedo's arrival in Spain, in the autumn of 1577. He sends a draft of some letter to the king for signature, apparently to Don John, reproving, and perhaps threatening him, for breaking with the Flemings again. He says:—

I have drafted this letter, although I know not how I have succeeded; but your Majesty's idea is excellent in all respects, I think, and especially in view of the secret leagues of the Guises with Don John (or perhaps rather of his leagues with them). Your Majesty, I pray, will think over this and adopt the remedy which is most convenient to you, and which your enemies teach you to adopt; and they are infinitely less wise and powerful than your Majesty. Besides, this

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remedy seems to me eminently one fit for the Catholic king (I mean your Majesty), and, if you choose to adopt it and withdraw your confidence from those who do not deserve it, you will confound them all. It is a little dangerous to send the letter written plainly (*i.e.* not in cipher), but the confidence thus shown will have a great effect upon the duke (of Alba ?).

On the margin of this the king writes:—'What you say here is very good, and you can explain it to me verbally, . . . and we can talk over what will be best to do in the matter of Escobedo, which you spoke to me about this morning.'

In one of his letters, written in France, Perez gives an account of the event that led to the murder which will aid us in fixing the time of its inception. He says:—

The king, finding himself beset with the plots which were being discovered daily of Don John, or rather of Escobedo, and the hurry in which Don John was for him to come back to Flanders, doubtless to carry the plots into effect, or in consequence of pressure brought to bear by the confederates, one day called me into a large room at the Escorial, where furniture and materials were stored, and told me that he had decided to have Escobedo put out of the way. As I had revealed the plots to him, he said he would entrust me with the execution.

Perez asked permission to communicate the matter to Los Velez, to which the king, after some demur, agreed.

Perez, in his 'Relacion,' artfully tries to confuse the reader as to the dates by repeating an alleged remark of Los Velez to the clerk Escobar, made three days before the murder, to the effect that 'with the Host in his mouth he would declare that Escobedo ought to be sacrificed.' That Los Velez would blab in this way to a clerk about such a matter *seriously* is too absurd to be believed, and the remark is evidently introduced by Perez in order vaguely to suggest that the whole matter was settled only a few days before it was executed. Although the words used are obscure, there is no mistaking the fact that the letters now before me are full of references of some deep secret being discussed through the autumn with Los Velez, and, as I believe, with Quiroga also. Now, Philip was at the Escorial in the autumn of 1577, but not in the winter, so that the murder must have been, as we have seen, ordered in the autumn. I have still further proof of this. A letter in the Museum, dated Wednesday, 6th, clearly shows that evil was meant to Escobedo at the time it was written. In it Perez says he has read to Quiroga Don John's letter, and speaks of urging some matter upon the cardinal which was very repugnant to him. He also says: 'I have seen "my friend" twice, and discussed that matter with him,' and then, 'I beseech your Majesty to take care how you send my letters and things. Let them come by a servant of Santoya's. I am afraid of the postmaster and the curiosity of people; besides, Verdinegro (his nickname for Escobedo) has a relative there.' By a careful comparison of dates, I find this

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letter must have been written on the 6th of November, 1577; and all this makes it certain that the king, led away by the misrepresentations of Perez and the exigencies of the moment, had ordered Escobedo to be killed some time in the late autumn of 1577.

When Escobedo left Flanders in July everything was apparently peaceful, and on the 1st of June Perez wrote to the king:—'Now really things look like a complete submission, if we help them forward to the best of our power here.'[15] But in September Don John's pride could brook his position no longer. He refused to haggle any more with the jealous Flemings he hated and despised, threw himself treacherously into Namur, and with his few Germans defied the States. Thence he wrote to Spain letters full of bitterness and complaints about the peace policy to which his brother was pledged. The private letters sent to his friend Rodrigo de Mendoza[16] show that he had lost hope of succour, and was only sulkily determined to save his own honour, come what might. Philip sent him, as we have seen, peremptory commands to bend to circumstances and again conciliate the Catholic Flemings; and the latter were assured, through their messenger, Baron de Selles, that the edict of pacification should be respected. In such a critical state of affairs as this it was of vital importance that Don John should have no adviser at his side who would encourage his warlike ideas, and *then* it was, for a perfectly intelligible reason, that Philip authorised Escobedo's murder to prevent his return to Flanders. But events changed too rapidly. The States invited the Archduke Mathias to govern them; Don John's immediate recall was promised; Alençon and the Huguenots mustered on the French frontier; the battle of Gemblours was fought; and by the time the murder really was committed (the 31st of March, 1578) there was no political reason for it from the king's point of view. The presence of twenty Escobedos could not have made matters more warlike than they were.

The reason why the murder was *authorised* in the autumn is thus clear; the reason why it was *committed* in the spring is now to be considered. Public opinion immediately fixed upon the Princess of Eboli as the instigator, and she herself told her maid only a few days afterwards that she was accused of the murder. It has been generally assumed that the long course of detraction of Escobedo by Perez was, from the first, a deep-laid scheme to satisfy the vengeance of the princess. This could not have been so. On the very day that Ruy Gomez died, in 1567, his widow passionately determined to become a nun in a Carmelite convent she had founded. She would not wait for a proper gown even, but plucked off that of her confessor, 'which was much too large, and not so clean as it might have been,' and went in a common cart to her convent. She soon set the whole community by the ears, and in the end, after much quarrelling and violence, had to be

[15] B.M. MSS. Add. 28262. [16] L'Espagne au xvi. et xvii. siècles. Morel-Fatio.

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turned out by the ecclesiastical superiors, with the support of the king, who peremptorily ordered her to go to her estates, and look after her children and their fortune.[17] She stayed at Pastrana in retirement until the death of her mother, late in 1576. She could hardly have seen Escobedo, therefore, for several years before he came to Madrid in the autumn of 1577. Perez's attempt to discredit Escobedo for the political reasons which I have pointed out began before her return to Madrid. In November 1576, as soon almost as Escobedo's warlike propensity was shown in the Netherlands, Perez writes to the king advising him to send some money to Don John, otherwise, he says 'that Escobedo will poison his mind, and they will send someone over here. God grant that it be not Escobedo. For the love of God, sire, pardon me, but I say it in your interest, and I do not want these people (I mean master and man) to begin worrying you with their complaints.'[18] The depositions of the princess's and Perez's servants enable us almost to fix the date of the lady's cause of resentment against Escobedo. The tirewoman said that, some time after the princess's return, Perez came one day to see her. He was, as usual, scented and overdressed; the princess made fun of him, and he went away in a huff. Some time after this the princess began to praise him, and *then* the household was wont to gossip about Perez's constant visits. The brother of Perez's factotum, who had since died of poison, deposed that he had told him that *shortly before the murder* Escobedo found Perez and the princess under compromising circumstances. He was indignant, and said he would tell the king. Jezebel thereupon burst out in a fury of obscenity and rage, bade him do his worst, called him a foul-mouthed varlet, and swore to be revenged upon him for insulting her.[19]

When Perez had presented his famous defence before the Aragonese tribunal before which he was charged—with murder under the cloak of royal authority; with the divulging of state secrets; and with tampering with ciphered despatches—the king withdrew from the prosecution in a very significant and carefully worded document which is worthy of consideration:—

> If (he says) it were possible to reply with the same publicity which Perez has given to his defence, his guilt would be proved . . . he so defends himself that, to answer him, I should have to publish secrets that ought not to be revealed; involving persons whose honour is more important than the punishment of Perez. . . . I declare Perez to have sinned worse than ever vassal sinned before against a sovereign, both in circumstances attending his offences and the *juncture, time, and form* in which they were committed.

Perez was charged with falsely pretending the royal authority for the murder, although Philip admitted that he authorised it. His offence really was the *juncture, time, and form* of the murder; which

[17] B.M. MSS. Add. 28262.

[18] Gaspar Muro, *La Princesa de Eboli.* [19] Proceso, *apud* Mignet.

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had been committed when the king's political necessity for it had disappeared, and had been sheltered under his authority, given when there *was* need for it, six months before. We understand now what the king meant by saying that Perez had sinned in *juncture* and *time*; and we may well suppose that, as Perez tried twice to poison the victim, the less secret method of stabbing was adopted in defiance of orders, and that the murderer thus sinned in *form* as well. The evidence taken after 1582 had opened Philip's eyes to the full iniquity of Perez's relations with the princess and to the threats of the latter towards Escobedo, *shortly before the murder*, and he saw that Perez must have told the princess that he had the king's authority to kill Escobedo, of which knowledge she availed herself to wreak her own vengeance on the man. Hence the charge of divulging State secrets. A close examination of Don John's and Escobedo's letters taken from Perez's office, most of which are now before us, must have shown Philip, as it shows us, that Perez's dark hints of treason had no warrant therein. It was clear that Philip had been tricked into the belief that his brother, Alba, the Toledos, and Escobedo were traitors, in order that Perez and his party might remain paramount; and doubtless this is the ground for the accusation that Perez tampered with despatches. It was impossible, as Philip says, for him to publish all the facts without dishonouring the great house of Mendoza, and proclaiming that at one time he had been persuaded that his own brother and the Duke of Alba were traitors. Philip's strange vacillations are thus easily explained. When he first heard of the murder he was probably surprised, perhaps a little annoyed. But it did not matter much. Escobedo was a fanatical bore, although he could have done no more harm just then, and perhaps it was well. The king at first doubtless attributed the crime to Perez's over-zeal, or to a private grudge, into which he did not care to inquire too deeply. For the first two years and a half he treated the matter simply as a quarrel between his two secretaries, which upset his labours and caused him discomfort, and which he strained every nerve to heal, whilst keeping the murder in the background, although winking at Vasquez's sly malice in preventing it from being quite forgotten, inasmuch as Perez had sinned in the *juncture, time, and form* of its commission. The great change came over Philip in 1580, when he needed the services of Alba. The grim soldier hated and despised Perez, the scented fribble whose lies he knew had brought about his own failure and downfall. Los Velez was dead, and his place was filled by the Count de Barajas, a firm friend of the Alba party. 'The Toledos' were having all their own way, and the favourite secretaries now were Zayas and Idiaquez, creatures of Alba's, and Vasquez, Perez's deadly enemy. Perez was under a cloud, away in Madrid, and the peace party of Ruy Gomez had fallen for ever. Rodrigo Vasquez de Arce, another creature of Alba's, was

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searching out and piling up the evidence like a sleuth-hound; and when the damning proofs were at last laid before the king, he saw the pitfall into which he had been led. What wonder that, even thus late, he should persecute to the death the man who had betrayed him, and made him, the greatest monarch in Christendom, the cats-paw of his own ambition and a vile woman's vengeance. Now we understand what puzzled Cardinal Quiroga so much—the reason why Philip, knowing that he had ordered the murder, was determined to wring out of Perez a statement of the reasons for it. A few days' more torture, and Perez would have confessed that the authority for the murder was given six months before it was committed; and that in the interim the circumstances that made it necessary had changed. *That* would have been sufficient to condemn him without going into the rest of the story, as would have been necessary before the public tribunal of Aragon. To sum up: Perez's crime and his persecution were largely a question of party politics. He was unscrupulous and stood at nothing. He sought to ruin those who had deserted his party, and, when he had the power at one stroke to remove a political rival and satisfy the vengeance of his proud paramour, he was not the man to hesitate at treachery. Philip found, when it was too late, that, cunning as he was, he had been a mere puppet in the hands of the falsest scoundrel that ever swayed a sovereign.

MARTIN A. S. HUME.

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THE MONOMETALIST CREED

A REPLY TO A CHALLENGE

In the September number of this Review Mr. J. P. Heseltine makes an appeal to monometalists to give a statement of the reasons for the faith which is in them. I propose in the following remarks to give a very brief and concise account of the facts and arguments on which our present system of monometalism is founded. I must, however, begin by correcting two errors made by Mr. Heseltine. 1. He says that I have no practical acquaintance with business. Let me assure him that I am perfectly conversant with business, and have carefully considered this question of bimetalism for more than thirty years. 2. That the question of monometalism had no existence before 1873. On the contrary, the question of bimetalism has been agitated for more than five hundred years.

This vast and intricate controversy may all be reduced to a single simple and definite issue.

Supposing that gold and silver are coined in unlimited quantities, and a Fixed Legal Ratio enacted between them.

1. Is it the fixed legal ratio enacted between the coins which governs the relative value of the metals in bullion? 2. Or is it the relative value of the metals in bullion which governs the relative value of the coins? 3. And if no single and separate States can maintain a fixed legal ratio between the metals when coined in unlimited quantities, can an international agreement among the principal mercantile countries in the world do so?

This is the whole gist of the controversy, and all facts and arguments adduced must be directed to establish one of these issues.

Charlemagne established the system of coinage which was adopted throughout Western Europe. He made the pound weight of silver the standard, and divided it into 240 pieces called pennies. For some centuries these silver pennies were the only coins in circulation.

For a considerable period the kings of France coined these pennies at their full weight and fineness. But about the beginning of the twelfth century they began not only to diminish their weight, but to debase their purity. They considered it part of their inalienable divine right to declare that their subjects should accept the

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diminished and debased coins at the same value as the good coins of full weight.

They further complicated matters by issuing gold coins, and they considered it as part of their divine right to change the rating of these coins with respect to each other as often as they pleased.

These constant tamperings with the coinage produced commotions and disturbances, and drove away foreign trade from the country. At length that great sovereign Charles the Fifth, justly surnamed the Wise, perceived that the only way to restore prosperity to the country was to reform the coinage. He referred the matter to one of his wisest and most trusted councillors, Nicolas Oresme, who, in answer to the appeal of his sovereign, drew up his now famous *Traictie de la première invention des Monnoies*, in twenty-six chapters, which has only recently been brought to the notice of economists.

After explaining the true nature and uses of money, he laid down the following principles :—

1. That the sovereign has no right to diminish the weight, debase the purity, or change the denomination of the coinage. To do so is robbery.

2. That the sovereign can in no case fix the value or the purchasing power of the coins. If he could do so, he could fix the value of all other commodities; which was indeed the idea of mediæval sovereigns.

3. That the legal ratio of the coins must strictly conform to the relative market value of the metals.

4. That if the fixed legal ratio of the coins differs from the natural or market value of the metals, the coin which is underrated entirely disappears from circulation, and the coin which is overrated alone remains current.

5. That if degraded and debased coin is allowed to circulate along with good and full-weighted coin, all the good coin disappears from circulation, and the base coin alone remains current, to the ruin of commerce.

This great treatise, which may be said to stand at the head of modern economical literature, contains the fundamental principles of money which are now accepted by all sound economists; and it was out of these principles that the system of monometalism was developed at the close of the seventeenth century.

The same ideas and evils existed all through Europe, and were called *morbus numericus*.

Poland, which then comprehended the modern Prussia, was afflicted with these evils. Sigismund the First, King of Poland, sought the advice of Copernicus, who was a member of the Prussian Diet. At the instance of Sigismund, Copernicus drew up a masterly treatise on Money, which he entitled *Ratio monetæ cudendæ*, which has only been discovered within the present century, and is included

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in the magnificent edition of his works printed at Warsaw in 1854.

Copernicus had no knowledge of the treatise of Oresme, written 160 years before his time, but he came to exactly the same conclusions. They were:—

1. That it is impossible for the prince to regulate the value of the coins, or of any other commodity.

2. That all the prince, or the law, can do, is to maintain the coins at their full legal weight, purity, and denomination.

3. That it is robbery for the prince to change the denomination, diminish the weight, or debase the purity of his coins.

4. That it is impossible for good full-weighted coin and base and degraded coin to circulate together: that all the good coin is hoarded, melted down, or exported: and the degraded and debased coin alone remains in circulation.

5. That the coins of gold and silver must bear the same ratio to each other as the metals do in the market. Oresme and Copernicus quite agreed that it is impossible to keep gold and silver coins in circulation together in unlimited quantities at a fixed legal ratio differing from the market value of the metals.

6. That when good coins are issued from the mint, all the base and degraded coins must be withdrawn from circulation; or else all the good coins will disappear, to the ruin of commerce.

The early English sovereigns did not debase their coinage, but immense quantities of base and degraded coins were in circulation, and consequently all the good coin disappeared as soon as it was issued from the mint. Edward the First was the first to diminish the weight of the coin. He coined 243 pennies out of the pound weight of silver, and by successive diminutions the pound weight of silver was coined into 744 pennies under Elizabeth. The instant disappearance of the good coin as soon as it was issued from the mint was the subject of repeated debates in Parliament for some centuries, and was an inscrutable puzzle to financiers and statesmen. But they had no Oresme or Copernicus to explain it to them, and the only remedy they could suggest was to enact severe penalties of mutilation to those who exported good coin.

At last Sir Thomas Gresham explained to Queen Elizabeth that good and bad coin cannot circulate together, but that the good coin disappears, and the bad coin alone remains current. As Sir Thomas Gresham was the first in this country to explain that permitting bad coin to circulate was the cause of the disappearance of the good coin, I suggested in 1858 that this should be called Gresham's Law, which name has now been universally accepted. But as Oresme and Copernicus had both declared this law before him, it ought to be called the Law of Oresme, Copernicus, and Gresham.

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This great fundamental law of the coinage soon became common knowledge. It is thus stated in a pamphlet in 1696:—

'*When two sorts of coin are current in the same nation of like value by denomination but not intrinsically* [*i.e.* in market value], *that which has the least value will be current, and he other as much as possible will be hoarded,*' or melted down, or exported, we may add.

This great fundamental law of the coinage has been found to be universally true in all ages and countries, and was henceforth recognised and acknowledged in all subsequent discussions on the coinage.

It applies in the following cases:—

1. If the coins consist of one metal only, and clipped, degraded, and debased coins are allowed to circulate together with good coins, all the good coins disappear: they are either hoarded, or melted down, or exported, and the bad coin alone remains in circulation.

2. If coins of two metals, such as gold and silver, are allowed to circulate together in unlimited quantities at a fixed legal ratio which differs from the market ratio of the metals, the coin which is underrated disappears from circulation, and the coin which is overrated alone remains current.

3. As a necessary corollary, it follows that it is impossible to maintain a fixed par of exchange between countries which use different metals as their standard unit.

This law is not confined to single and separate States; it is not limited in time or space; it is absolutely universal, and it is equally impossible for the whole world to maintain coins of two or more metals in circulation together in unlimited quantities at a fixed legal ratio which differs from the natural, or market, value of the metals, as it is for single and separate States to do so.

The explanation of this problem, which was an inscrutable mystery to statesmen and financiers for so many ages, is extremely simple. If shillings are allowed to circulate together, some of which are worth twelvepence and others only ninepence, and everyone is allowed to pay his debts in which of them he pleases, he will naturally pay his debts with the shillings worth ninepence and keep the shillings worth twelvepence in his pocket. Or, if shillings worth twelvepence have no more value than shillings worth ninepence, bullion dealers collect all the heavy coins they can and melt them down into bullion, in which form they have more value, or they export them to foreign countries where they have their full value. Thus the underrated coins have invariably been found to disappear in one or other of these three ways.

It is exactly the same in all cases in which persons are allowed to pay their debts in things which have nominally the same value but in reality are of different values. When persons are allowed to pay their

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rents in kind, they naturally select the worse portions of the produce to pay their landlords, and keep the best portions for themselves.

If merchants received an order for so many yards of cloth, and the law allowed two different yard measures to be used, one of three feet and one of two feet, merchants would naturally fulfil their orders in yards of two feet rather than in yards of three feet. It is only natural that persons should pay their debts in the cheapest form to themselves.

So, if the law allows debtors to pay their debts in coins of different metals which are rated equally in law, but whose value differs in the market of the world, they will naturally pay their debts in the coin which is overrated, and keep the coin which is underrated at home. Then inevitably the coin which is underrated disappears from circulation, and the coin which is rated above its natural or market value alone remains current; and this is true whether single and separate States do so, or whether the whole world does so. If, then, the whole world were to agree to rate a coin below its market value, it would inevitably disappear from circulation; for the whole world can no more by universal agreement make nine equal to twelve than any separate States can.

For the very same reason it is impossible to maintain a fixed par of exchange between countries which use different metals as their standard, because coins are only accepted in foreign countries according to the market value of the bullion they contain; and as the value of the metals is constantly changing in the market of the world, the value of the coins must equally do so too.

The truth of these principles, which are gathered from the experience of ages, is incontrovertible.

The bimetalists contend that if a fixed ratio between the metals were established by international agreement, the market value of the metals would conform to it; that by so doing the metals would circulate together in unlimited quantities at the fixed ratio and so augment the currency, or circulating medium, of the world; that everyone would bring his gold and silver to be coined; that these might be used indifferently in the payment of debts, and that a stable ratio of exchange might be established between all nations.

Most unfortunately, the experience of bimetalism in every country for five hundred years entirely negatives all these allegations.

1. It is proved that the fixed legal ratio between the coins never had the slightest effect on the relative market value of the metals.

2. That when the fixed legal ratio between the coins differed from the relative market value of the metals, the coins of that metal which was underrated invariably disappeared from circulation, and the coins of the metal which was overrated alone remained current; and that as the market value of the metals changed, gold and silver alternately drove each other out of circulation, so that there was no

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augmentation of the currency, but one metal simply displaced the other.

3. That when one metal is at a premium—*i.e.* its market value exceeds the legal ratio—no private persons bring that metal to be coined, because it would be simply to diminish the value of that metal. The Master of the Mint stated in 1816 that during the whole of the reign of George the Third no more than 64,500*l.* of silver was coined at the Mint, because during all that period silver had been at a premium.

The bimetalists are energetically urging governments to adopt their doctrines. Well, we have two examples of the ideal condition of the bimetalists, and we shall see with what results.

In 1666 it was enacted that all persons might bring their gold and silver to the Mint to be coined free of all charge. By the Mint indentures the gold guinea was coined to be of the value of 20*s.* in silver, but no legal ratio was fixed between the coins; the public were to receive them at such a rating as they pleased. Guineas, instead of being current at 20*s.* according to the Mint indentures, passed current at 22*s.* The silver coins became constantly more degraded, until at last they were clipped down to half their weight. After the great recoinage by William the Third, guineas were successively reduced by proclamation, and a Treasury warrant fixed that they should be received at the rate of 21*s.* 6*d.* at the Treasury. But still all the good silver coin disappeared from circulation as soon as it was issued from the Mint. In their perplexity the Government referred the whole matter to Newton, who showed that the true value of the guinea was only 20*s.* 8*d.*, according to the market value of the metals, and that in consequence of this all the good silver was at once exported. He recommended that the guinea should be reduced to 21*s.* by way of experiment. This was accordingly done; but the guinea was still overrated by 4*d.*, and the consequence was that there was no good silver in circulation during the whole of the century. It then became an established custom among merchants that all obligations became payable in gold only, as the cheaper metal. The foreign exchanges were settled in gold; so ever since 1718 England has become a gold monometallic country, and in public estimation the standard was changed from silver to gold, although the obsolete and effete words of bimetalism lingered on in the Statute-book for another hundred years. At the great recoinage of 1816, that which had become established by mercantile usage was enacted by law. Gold was adopted as the sole standard, and silver was coined only in limited amounts, and made legal tender for only 40*s.* Ever since then England has enjoyed the most perfect system of coinage ever devised by the ingenuity of man, and has been perfectly free from all coinage troubles.

I will now take the case which the bimetalists cite as the golden

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age of bimetalism. France endeavoured to maintain bimetalism from 1113 to 1874. But during that time the mint price of the marc of gold has been changed 146 times, and the mint price of the marc of silver 251 times, and the changes of the rating between gold and silver were innumerable; at last in 1726 the ratio of gold to silver was fixed at 1 to 14½. But silver was rated too highly, and by the same law that gold became the standard in England, silver became the standard in France. In 1803 the ratio of gold to silver was fixed at 1 to 15½, at which it still nominally remains. Gold and silver coins were made equally legal tender at that ratio. But the French liberating armies plundered all the sanctuaries of the countries they came to liberate of their treasures. Vast quantities of silver were coined, and the market ratio of silver to gold became 17 to 1. Thus gold was at a premium from 1803 to 1850, and consequently there was no gold in general circulation during that period. I myself can testify that in 1839 there was scarcely a gold coin to be seen in common circulation in France. There was of course plenty of gold coin to be had at the Bank of France, but those who wanted it had to pay a premium for it.

Soon after 1850 the gold supplies came in from California and Australia, and the market ratio of silver to gold, which was 15¾ to 1, rose to 15⅓ to 1; and that apparently slight change in the market ratio, while the legal ratio remained at 15½ to 1, was sufficient to displace from 150 to 200 millions of silver and to substitute an equal quantity of gold for it. I was residing at a French seaport town in 1857, and every steamer that came in was loaded with casks of Scotch whisky going to be transmuted into French brandy, and every steamer that went out had its deck piled with bags of five-franc pieces. It was the same at every other port. Silver departed from France in a flood, and at length became so scarce that it became necessary to coin those detestable five-franc gold pieces. This case shows the immense practical importance of even a very slight difference between the legal ratio and the market ratio of gold and silver, and decisively negatives the allegation of the bimetalists that gold and silver can circulate together in unlimited quantities at a legal ratio differing from the market ratio.

In 1865 the Latin Union was formed, but even then Italy declared herself in favour of a single gold standard. In 1867 the value of silver began to fall and to create uneasiness. A Commission was appointed, which by a majority declared against the adoption of a single gold standard. In 1868 the fall became more accentuated, and a Commission by a majority declared in favour of a single gold standard. Another Commission in 1869–70 reported still more strongly in its favour. In June 1870 Prussia appointed a Commission to consider the expediency of adopting a single gold standard, but the war of 1870 put an end to all these discussions. By Acts of 1871 and 1873

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Germany adopted a single gold standard. In December 1872 Belgium adopted a single gold standard. The matter then became still more pressing, and a great debate was held at the Société d'Economie Politique in which the Government was represented by M. de Parieu. The majority strongly decided on the necessity of adopting a single gold standard. In accordance with this resolution France closed her mints to the free coinage of silver in 1874, and became a gold monometallic country. The bimetalists persistently assert that it was the closing of the French mints in 1874 that caused the fall in the value of silver, whereas it was exactly the contrary. It was the fall in the value of silver which compelled the closing of the mints to the free coinage of silver, and its necessity was foreseen six years before it took place, and it was only done after the fullest discussion and in accordance with the advice of the highest authorities.

I have now to lay before your readers an instance which is perfectly novel to the general public. As the East India Company extended its dominion it was greatly plagued and tormented by the multiplicity of gold and silver coins—994 in number—which were in circulation in India of different weights and fineness. In 1766 they endeavoured to establish bimetalism, but it entirely failed. In their perplexity they sought the advice of Sir James Steuart, who was the ablest economist in England before the publication of the *Wealth of Nations* in 1776. In 1772 he drew up a treatise on money for them, showing, in exact accordance with all the preceding authorities since Oresme, that it is impossible that gold and silver can circulate together in unlimited quantities at a fixed legal ratio differing from the market value of the metals. In 1805 Lord Liverpool's great master treatise on the subject was published, and as soon as it reached India, in 1806, the Governor-General in Council took it into consideration, and issued a minute to the subordinate governments condemning bimetalism in the strongest terms, and declaring its entire adhesion to the doctrines of Lord Liverpool. By the courtesy of the India Office I am enabled to make this minute public for the first time. It said:

> A proportion between the gold and silver coins is fixed by law, according to the value of the metals, and it may be on the justest principles, but owing to a change of circumstances, gold may become of a greater value in relation to silver than at the time the proportion was fixed: it therefore becomes profitable to exchange silver for gold; so the coin of that metal is withdrawn from circulation; and if silver should increase in its value in relation to gold, the same circumstances would tend to reduce the quantity of silver coin in circulation. As it is impossible to prevent the fluctuations in the value of the metals, so it is equally impracticable to prevent the consequences thereof in the coins made from those metals.

Also:

> But there is a radical defect in the principle itself of giving a fixed value to metals in coin that in their nature are subject to continual change.

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The minute then declared the unhesitating adhesion of the Council to the principle that one metal only should be adopted as the standard unit, though coins of other metals might circulate at their market value. The minute decided that silver should be the sole standard, which was perhaps natural under the circumstances. But the error was most unfortunate, and having been carried out by Lord Dalhousie with the extremest severity by the total demonetisation of gold, has been the cause of all our present troubles.

The principles first declared by Petty, Locke, and Harris, which were fully developed by Lord Liverpool, which received the entire adhesion of the Indian Government in 1806, that one metal only should be adopted as the standard, and that subsidiary coins of other metals might be issued in limited quantities and made legal tender only for very small amounts, were fully adopted by the British Government in 1816.

Thus while the bimetalists of the present day allege that a fixed legal ratio between the coins can control and fix the relative value of the metals, the experience of five centuries and a chain of authorities comprising some of the most illustrious names the world ever produced, with the consequences of bimetalism before them, clearly and unanimously decided that such an idea is a delusion, and that it is the market value of the metals which regulates the relative value of the coins.

Bimetalists now admit that no single country can maintain bimetalism by itself, but they allege that if all nations of the world, or at least the principal of them, were to agree to fix a common ratio, that would maintain a fixed value between them and bring about a stable exchange between all nations. But such ideas are a delusion. When great laws of nature are once proved, they operate throughout the whole world, and not on single countries only. An international agreement can no more make nine equal to twelve than any single country can. If an international agreement were made that the ratio between gold and silver should be 1 to 15½, when the market ratio was 1 to 35, the simple result would be that all debtors would discharge their debts at 10*s.* in the pound, gold would entirely disappear from circulation, and silver would be the sole metallic currency of the world.

In 1830 Mr. Attwood brought forward a motion to re-establish bimetalism. Silver had then fallen only 5 per cent., so that Mr. Attwood's plan would have declared 19*s.* in silver equal to 20*s.* in gold. But Mr. Herries, Master of the Mint, Mr. Huskisson, and Sir Robert Peel unanimously declared that such a thing would bring on a national bankruptcy in twenty-four hours. Sir Robert Peel said, 'The notion of a double standard was totally fallacious . . . all would turn to confusion, and public ruin must be the consequence.' The motion was negatived without a division.

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The bimetalists tell us that bimetalism would lead to a golden age of boundless prosperity; Mr. Herries, Mr. Huskisson, and Sir Robert Peel tell us that it would land us in national bankruptcy in twenty-four hours. Which of these parties will sensible men believe?

The bimetalists tell us that a legal ratio between gold and silver was maintained both in England and France for centuries. What they say is true in the letter, but utterly false in the spirit. They would have us believe that this had the effect of keeping the market value of the metals at that rate, and that both metals remained in circulation together at the fixed ratio. But the actual facts utterly belied the expectations they hold out to us. It is true that bimetalism was printed in the Statute-books of both countries for centuries, but it was invariably found that the metal which was overrated invariably drove out the metal which was underrated from circulation, and alone remained current. Under the law of bimetalism the two metals never circulated together in any country. So far from the fixed legal ratio governing the value of the metals, Governments had, from time to time, to alter the legal ratio, so as to conform to the market ratio, and all civilised Governments have now seen the necessity of abandoning this fallacy, and of conforming themselves to the demonstrated laws of nature.

Bimetalism is only part of a system which prevailed in every country for centuries. Statesmen thought that they could regulate the value of commodities by law, and the Statute-book contained many such laws. But experience showed that such laws were absolutely inoperative, and, after having been abandoned in practice, were at length expunged from the Statute-book. The attempt to restore bimetalism is simply the endeavour to revive this exploded economic fallacy.

If it were possible to establish a fixed ratio between gold and silver by international agreement, it would be equally possible to fix the value of all commodities. Innumerable mercantile catastrophes are caused by the unexpected change in the value of commodities; why not then fix the value of all commodities, and so remove the cause of multitudes of mercantile calamities?

Agriculturists are suffering the extremest depression from the fall in the value of their produce. Why not then fix the value of corn at a remunerative price by international agreement? If it were printed in all the Statute-books of the world that the price of wheat should be 60*s.* a quarter, does any person of common sense suppose that the price of wheat would rise one farthing?

It was formerly found impossible to fix the value of the metals, or the value of inconvertible paper money, by laws sanctioned by the direst penalties; how then can it be possible to do so by merely printing so many words in a book?

Mr. Heseltine complains of the paucity of writers in favour of

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monometalism. But there is no need of a multitude of writers on the subject. The indubitable historical facts which prove the impossibility of bimetalism are contained in the histories of the coinage of every country of Europe for five centuries. And the monumental works of Oresme, Copernicus, Gresham, Petty, Locke, Newton, Harris, Lord Liverpool, the minute of the Government of India in 1805, and the decision of the British Government in 1816, contain, among many others, the arguments against bimetalism and in favour of monometalism which are unanswered and unanswerable. There is nothing to be added to what they have already said, and their arguments can gain no additional strength by being repeated by scores of writers. Neither do fallacious assertions become true by being repeated a multitude of times.

Moreover, every Government in Europe, after having vainly attempted to maintain bimetalism for five centuries, has abandoned it as impracticable and injurious, and adopted monometalism. This course of statesmen who are responsible for the administration of great States is of infinitely more worth than any number of writers.

HENRY DUNNING MACLEOD.

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THE COREAN CRUX

A WORD FOR CHINA

Now that the victory of the Japanese at Pingyang has been reduced to its correct dimensions, and that it has become clear that they are not going to have a mere promenade to either Moukden or Pekin, it may be wise to consider in good time those wider and more important issues which the aggressive action of Japan in Corea has precipitated, and which, however they may be decided, must completely change the international situation in the Far East. It may be admitted that before the Japanese struck their blow at Soul the old accepted view of that situation was passing out of date, and that the vaunted solidarity of foreign opinion in dealing with the two strictly Asiatic Powers had become an unmeaning sham. The day of united and common action at Pekin and Tokio has gone by, and in its place are intrigue and counter-intrigue. England watches and is watched by Russia; France seeks expansion in southern China, and to attain it will not hesitate to ally herself with a victorious Japan; while America claims through her naval enthusiasts that she shall be supreme in the Pacific. These sentiments invested the position of affairs in the seas and ports of China and Japan with the character of a hollow truce, but it might long have remained unbroken if Japan had not recklessly decided to stir up the seething crucible of conflicting jealousies and ambitions. Where more powerful states feared to make a beginning, she has rushed in, regardless of the consequences, and convinced that if any Power declares against her others will champion her side. Japan may be right in this calculation, but it is far from being so clear that she has correctly measured her own chances of success and benefit when the area of the present contest has been enlarged. Her audacity and carefully laid plans have given her a temporary advantage; but when the glitter of her early success has worn off, she will find herself confronted with the real gravity of her undertaking, and far removed from any profitable goal.

The most cynical of critics must hesitate before condoning the unjustifiable action of the Japanese in forcing a war on China, and all their declarations about wishing to reform the Corean administra-

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tion, notwithstanding their plausible appearance, have not imposed on anyone. It is an incontrovertible fact, known to every Foreign Office in the world, that China was most averse to war, and that at the eleventh hour she would have made almost any concession in form to avert it. If anything like the same spirit had prevailed at Tokio as at Pekin last July, the war would have been averted; without a shot being fired, the reorganisation of the Corean system could have been taken in hand under international auspices. But the Japanese had conceived a definite military adventure, and they were determined to carry it out, although for unjust and uncalled-for provocation to a neighbouring Power it could only be compared to England asserting the old claims of her sovereigns to the Duchy of Normandy. No diplomatic pressure of the mild sort attempted by the English Government last June and July could have turned them from their course, and it would have required a very far-seeing and courageous statesman to have warned the Japanese then that any expedition to Corea would be opposed by the British fleet, although the mere threat would have sufficed at that moment, and would probably have been supported by the imitative action of every other Power. But, having lost the favourable moment of arresting Japanese aggression, any further attempt to intervene short of taking a side could not possibly have had any beneficial result; for, while the Japanese have grown elated by success, other Powers have been led to think, by the same cause, that Japan, as the possessor of what is assumed to be an efficient army, may be a valuable ally against England as well as against China. The strong step suggested would in the summer have averted war; but, under the present circumstances, any intervention can only extend the area of trouble, and, perhaps, hasten the arrival of that great international struggle which everyone has been awaiting in dread, but for which few would have prophesied a commencement in the Far East. While we should not lose sight of the fact that Japan alone began this quarrel and is responsible for all its consequences, it is only too clear that the day of intervention will not arrive until there has been a return of reason at Tokio. It is not impossible that this may be earlier than is expected, for a doubtful and lingering war will not be to the taste of the Japanese people. But, pending this happy consummation, the policy of England can only be one of vigilance and military and naval preparation. We lost our chance of taking the lead in the summer, and we must now wait on the action of other Powers; and there is no reason at present to suppose that any of them will be in a hurry to take the initiative.

If such is the case, the field remains clear for China and Japan to show which possesses the superior fighting power; and, notwithstanding the success which has attended the Japanese at the commencement, I have no hesitation in expressing the conviction

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that China is certain in the end to triumph if both states are left to fight out to the bitter end a long and exhausting struggle. This conviction is strengthened rather than weakened by what has occurred in Corea, where the Japanese have skilfully made the most of the advantages they have gained by a clever and energetic policy of press advertisement. No one wishes to deny that the Japanese have shown excellent management, and that they placed in the field a well-armed and efficient army. They formed their plans deliberately; an invasion of Corea has been for years the favourite war game of their embryo Wellingtons; and when China was asleep, or lapped in false security, they struck their blow. It is not surprising that it took effect, and that when China made hasty and ill-considered efforts to regain her position she experienced discomfiture. The Japanese pæans over their success at Pingyang were, however, far in excess of the achievement, and we now know that, by a night surprise which might have succeeded against the best troops in the world, they overpowered a Chinese brigade of less than 4,000 men. On the morrow of that success it was given out that the Japanese army would experience no resistance until it reached the old Manchu capital of Moukden; but six weeks after that event it is still on the Corean side of the Yalu, with a numerous and strongly placed Chinese army in its front. As Sir Halliday Macartney has pointed out with great force and justice, the Japanese were in error in representing their advantage at Pingyang to be a Chinese Sedan.

The Japanese, in the first flush of their success, were not merely going to march on Moukden with the army which had triumphed at Pingyang: they were going to send a fresh expedition of thirty or forty thousand men to make a descent on the shores of the Gulf of Pechihli and to march on Pekin itself. Their supposed naval success in the battle of the Yalu was to pave the way to this daring movement, and speculation has been rife as to whether they would land at Pehtang or Shanhaikwan, or whether they would boldly attack the Taku forts in face. But a month has elapsed since an expedition was said to have sailed from Hiroshima on this mission, and nothing has happened. The explanation must be discreditable to either the veracity or the military power of Japan. Either no such expedition sailed—and the news was given by the Japanese press censors—or it sailed and returned *re infecta*. The course of magnifying military successes must inevitably recoil on the inventors. At a season of the year when the arrival of winter renders military operations impossible in this region, the fact becomes incontestable that a Japanese march on Pekin as well as the attack on Moukden is a chimera. When winter closes the military position will be a Japanese army holding in Corea the capital and certain places on the northern road to the Yalu, with the ports of Gensan and Fusan, and having to maintain its position in face of a hostile population of fifteen millions. If the

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Japanese attempt to assume the offensive before the spring, it can only be in distant enterprises against, say, Nankin or Canton, which will not have much chance of lasting success, and which, even if they obtained it, would not diminish the fighting power of China. On the other hand, the Chinese Government, rendered confident by the security of the capital, will have the time needed to bring up all its forces to the Corean frontier and to resume the struggle next spring with a far more numerous army than the Japanese, and a reasonable prospect of success. The Chinese will, at least in one respect, enjoy a marked superiority over their adversary, and that is in cavalry; and if the swarms of Mongol horsemen are properly employed next spring, the Japanese will have every opportunity of showing their prowess. If the policy of China is essentially pacific, she controls races quite as warlike as the Japanese, and she has only to expend a small portion of her immense latent wealth to enlist all the resources of civilisation on her side in a struggle for existence with her over-confident adversary. The circumstances which told in favour of Japan at the beginning of the contest are transitory in their nature and have already been changed, although the struggle, from the Chinese point of view, has little more than commenced. Before it is over the too hasty opinions expressed as to the military superiority of Japan will have to be retracted, and, even should she gain some victories, the superior resources and power of endurance of the Chinese will eventually wear her out.

While admitting the skill with which the Japanese have from the beginning worked the foreign press, and the undoubted fact that they are an attractive people, whereas the Chinese are, except to those who know them well, repellent, it still remains an extraordinary and regrettable proof that success covers every fault for so large a number of persons in authority to have veered round to the side of Japan during the brief progress of a struggle which they admit was wantonly provoked by that country. Every statement put forward by the Japanese has been implicitly believed, and circulated to the detriment of China; and because one Chinese force was annihilated at Pingyang we have been assured that she could make no stand against Japan, that her army reforms were fictitious, and that the brave men who have hastened to the defence of the capital would be swept like chaff before the wind by the diminutive if gallant soldiers of the Mikado. The Japanese have been taken at their own valuation, but the courage and determination shown by the Chinese under adverse circumstances should not merely have saved them from being derided as a conquered people, but might also have led thinking persons to conclude that, when the conditions had become more equal, they might even succeed in giving a good account of themselves against their enemy. In face of Japanese exaggerations the Chinese have shown a calm dignity that will, in the end, extract the respect of their hostile

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critics, and whatever they may think of the credulity or friendliness of those who have been in such a hurry to predict their downfall, they have not resorted to any of the practices of self-advertisement in which the Japanese commanders have shown quite as much skill as in tactics.

This over-eagerness to belaud the Japanese and to throw ourselves into their arms as the victorious side would be short-sighted enough even if it related only to the present campaign; but when the same credulity is manifested with regard to the fantastic projects put forward by Tokio journalists for the partition of China, and when every village riot in China is magnified into a rebellion against the Manchu dynasty, one can only conclude that there is general ignorance about the modern history of that Empire. The idea that the Manchu dynasty stands in constant danger of being deposed by a national rebellion is an old theory that ought to have been exploded by time and the test of fact. It was gravely put forward by Lord Elgin in a despatch in 1860, when it elicited a noble and dignified rebuke from Prince Kung. Yet the statement at that time was at least plausible, for not merely was the Pekin Government discomfited by the foreign Powers and discredited by disasters of all kinds in the eyes of its people, but a rebel chief, the Taeping leader, was in actual possession of Nankin, the old Chinese capital, and had proclaimed a national dynasty of his own. The Manchu Government succeeded in overcoming this accumulation of dangers, and in establishing its authority on a firmer basis than ever before, and there cannot be the least doubt that it is now far stronger and better able to deal with internal troubles than it was when Prince Kung replied to Lord Elgin. Nor should it be thought that the Manchu dynasty owed its preservation to General Gordon. Great as were the services that hero rendered China, he himself declared with accuracy as well as characteristic modesty that he merely hastened the overthrow of the Taepings, and that the central Government without his aid would have conquered, although the struggle might have lasted some months longer. If the Manchu dynasty survived the troubles which fell thick upon it between the years 1850 and 1865, and which must have overwhelmed it if there had been any general feeling against the Tartars as foreigners, we may feel confident that nothing the Japanese can do will imperil its existence, while its becoming identified with national defence against unprovoked aggression must make it more secure and popular.

The Japanese threat of breaking up China as 'the enemy of civilisation' is more ridiculous than the talk of deposing the Manchu, and scarcely merits a moment's consideration. Yet it seems to have imposed on some persons, and a mad scheme has even been put forward for dividing China between England, Russia, and Japan, which could scarcely have been projected out of Bedlam. Japan has

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as much chance of breaking up China, or sharing in its partition, as she has of annexing Australia or invading India. If she can maintain herself for any time in Corea in face of China's attempts to expel her she will have obtained as much satisfaction as there is any likelihood of her getting out of her present adventure. But the circulation of these fanciful and impossible schemes forms part of the game of bluff which Japan has played from the beginning, and which has enabled her to pose for a brief space as the arbiter of destiny in the Far East. The next phase of her policy will be when she seeks allies to co-operate with her in realising the grandiose schemes that on her own unaided resources are unattainable. If her military success were to continue she might have no difficulty in obtaining her wish, although Russia will never have any real satisfaction in the assertion of Japanese power on the Asiatic mainland, and would only give her alliance when she felt ready to appropriate the greater part of the spoil. But the first reverse, the mere proof that a winter of inglorious and costly inaction will have to be passed in Corea, will prick the bubble of Japanese military reputation, and disincline even restless Powers from helping in any way to extricate Japan from the position into which she rushed of her own accord and in defiance of all remonstrance. The Japanese have taken in hand a dangerous and risky enterprise: they are scarcely likely to succeed in inducing other states to help them by beginning the far more arduous and unattractive task of conquering an Empire which contains more people than the whole of Europe. Yet such views prevail at Tokio, and as it is clear that England will have nothing to do with them Russia and France are looked to as the Powers most likely to fall in with these suggestions. It is, of course, impossible to predict what French politicians with the Colonial fever upon them will do, and we know that considerable irritation exists about the position in Tonquin; but Russia is not likely to be beguiled by Japan, and France will probably follow her lead. Whatever course Russia may eventually take against China, she is far from being ready to embark on a policy which would mark her out as an enemy and render any friendly relations impossible between them. People should remember that the consistent policy of Russia towards China for 200 years without a break has been one of friendship. In the numerous foreign crises of the present century she always posed as China's best friend, and, however grudgingly she may have done so, she handed back Kuldja on the Chinese demanding it. It is true she acquired the province of Maritime Manchuria by taking advantage of China's difficulties, but after all China ceded it by a formal treaty, and does not harbour any resentment in the matter. At this moment the only foreign representative who possesses any personal influence with Li Hung Chang is the Russian minister, Count Cassini; and, so far as it can be gauged, Russia's policy is anti- and not pro-Japanese, and so it will in all

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probability remain, unless by a turn in the tide of war China were to become too strong in Corea. Russia's obvious policy is to prevent Corea being changed from an independent state into a province of either China or Japan, and her sympathy will rest with the side which seems the weaker and the less able to succeed.

If all the principal Powers decide to refrain from intervention China and Japan will be left to fight out their battle to the bitter end, and the critical moment will not be reached until one of them is reduced to sue for peace. Even then the situation will not be grave if for any reason Japan retires from the contest and leaves the Corean question to be settled by an international conference, for China is essentially pacific, and would be glad to have the war ended at any time that the danger of an armed Japanese occupation of the peninsula ceased. But with a Japan more or less successful and in military possession of Corea the situation is, and becomes increasingly, grave, for the Chinese Government may seek some easier way out of its difficulties than by exhausting its pecuniary resources, and by draining the provinces of their garrisons. Under these circumstances China will look to the alliance and support of either England or Russia, and it will be well for our public writers to calmly consider this question in all its bearings before the hour arrives for a momentous decision. It will, at least, be a more profitable and practical study than to follow the Japanese lead and write the epitaph of *Fuit* over the Manchu dynasty or the Chinese Empire. We may feel sure that the subject of an active participation in the war has already been discussed at St. Petersburg, and that during this winter preparations will be made for vigorous action in the spring. Those who have taken only a cursory view of the subject, and who have not studied the course of Russian policy towards China and in the Far East, have declared that Russia must sympathise with Japan. But this is not the case. Necessity in the future may bring them into the same camp, but at present Russia is firmly wedded to the belief that China can give her many advantages and that the date of grappling with the 'yellow danger' must be postponed as far as possible.

Should China wish, therefore, to obtain the alliance of a great Power against Japan, either because she is timid, or because she dreads internal troubles under the strain of taxation and the conscription, there is no reasonable doubt that she could obtain that of Russia, providing she were willing to pay a sufficient price in return for it. China can make concessions to Russia that have an immediate value, not only on the Pamirs, but in the Upper Amour region. The former would place England at a disadvantage in Central Asia, the latter would facilitate the completion of the Siberian railway. The reward of a successful campaign in Corea would also unquestionably be the acquisition of an open port by Russia south of the Tiumen, where the proximity of Japanese and Russian troops provides the

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opportunity of a collision if a *casus belli* has to be found. China can, therefore, amply reward Russia for any assistance she may render her, and although we may think, and it may be true, that what China would surrender to Russia would make her a more formidable danger to her own security than a victorious Japan, that is not the opinion of many Chinese statesmen, who consider the fate of the Pamirs as of little or no importance. While it seems probable and reasonable that Russia would, on specified terms, grant China material aid against Japan, there is also no valid ground for supposing that China will refuse to ask it because she is too proud to admit even a temporary inferiority to such an antagonist as Japan. China was quite unprepared for this war, and had no thought of engaging in offensive measures against anyone when Japan forced a quarrel on her. Taken at a disadvantage it must be months, and perhaps more than another year, before China can have gathered together her inert strength, to give her the superiority over Japan in Corea. Chinese statesmen of a matter-of-fact turn of mind like Li Hung Chang are asking themselves, is this extreme and exhausting effort necessary, when by another method an easier and equally conclusive extrication from their difficulty can be found? China has suffered on the present occasion from having neglected to organise her forces, and she may think that on repairing this blunder she will be able to deal with any future danger that may present itself. But to do so she requires time and the cessation of the present hostilities. She is far more likely to make sacrifices for obtaining support against Japan than to sign an ignominious treaty of peace with her neighbour, and the prevalent rumours of such a course are probably only ruses to gain valuable time. The arrival of winter will not merely give her a sense of security in the north, but it will enable her to negotiate a profitable alliance; and if we stand looking on and trusting merely to the chapter of accidents, we shall see China fall into the arms of Russia, while we are giving expression to platitudes about benevolent neutrality.

China in her difficulties, like everybody else, reckons up who are her friends and who are not. With the best intentions, and without having done anything to provoke it, China finds herself involved in war and exposed to the risk of invasion. She knows also that the world is aware that she did nothing to bring on herself these misfortunes, and it is not surprising that she should look for active sympathy and support from those states which she regarded as specially well disposed towards her. Among these England was pre-eminent, and a consistent policy for more than ten years past had brought the two countries into line on so many subjects that it seemed as if a firm and enduring alliance were likely to ensue. But when the pinch came England has stood aloof from the disputants, and her action has been so half-hearted, or so unskilful, that she failed to avert war when she might have gone so far as to forbid it. When

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China first experienced reverses she began to feel that England had not stood by her, and this feeling has been embittered by the extraordinary and discreditable credulity with which our papers have swallowed every Japanese statement, and have insulted China by treating her as already conquered and on the verge of disruption. This feeling cannot be ignored, and unless our policy passes into a more active phase of friendship towards China we shall see her form the conclusion that Russia is after all the better ally. Under these circumstances we should not hesitate to take a definite and decided course. There will never again be peace and goodwill between China and Japan. We cannot, therefore, hope to retain the cordial alliance of both. If we are the friend of China, we must be more or less the foe of Japan, and *vice versâ*. As practical men we have only to measure the advantages of the two alliances, and if this is done the conclusion cannot be doubtful. An alliance with Japan can in no sense be advantageous to us, and if it were to be retained it would involve us in many risky enterprises, for Japan is essentially an aggressive power. The only value of any ally to us in Asia would be one who could actively participate in the life-and-death struggle that must come with Russia for the possession of India, and as that struggle will be fought in Central Asia and round the Black Sea Japan would be useless to us. As the Japanese are a particularly self-assertive and chauvinistic people, their alliance to a country like England, that at least honestly tries to keep at peace, would also be a dangerous and costly acquisition; whereas in a close association with China there is no such peril, as she is and always has been a pacific power, and has never attempted aggression beyond a well-defined limit. Moreover, an alliance with China means tranquillity without an effort on our part on three-fourths of the whole of the land frontier of India. If we alienate the goodwill of the Chinese, which has been steadily if slowly increasing towards us for some years past, that tranquillity will cease to exist, and with it will also depart the hopes of tapping the trade of interior China. We can retain and strengthen it by showing the Chinese Government that it need not make stupendous sacrifices to Russia to obtain an ally against Japan, and our diplomatic skill must have much deteriorated if, with a dominating fleet at its back in Eastern waters, it cannot bring such pressure to bear at Tokio during the winter that the Japanese will listen to reasonable terms of peace based on their military evacuation of Corea and abandoning the attempt to humiliate China. Failing the pacific arrangement of the matter during the next five months we must anticipate an extension of the area of the contest when military operations recommence in the spring, and if China cannot obtain the alliance of England she will scarcely be blamed if she seeks and accepts that of Russia.

DEMETRIUS C. BOULGER.

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NONCONFORMIST FOREBODINGS

THE Nonconformist conscience has become one of the stock phrases in current political controversy. Sometimes it is used with serious meaning by earnest disputants, more frequently it is a taunt hurled by whipper-snappers at a party whose principles they hate and whose power they dread, but against whom they have no effective argument or even original sneer to employ. An evening journalist, apparently somewhat vexed with the frequent appeals to it, decided that the term needed abbreviation, and reduced it to non-conscience. He was so pleased with this effort of his wit that it was some time before its constant repetition made it wearisome even to himself. It is to be regretted that he did not succeed in banishing the miserable cant phrase from our political discussions altogether. Nonconformist politicians are among the last who would desire to retain it. There is in it a tone of pharisaical assumption which is necessarily more offensive to themselves than it can be to others. They have no desire to pose as men of exceptional moral excellence. Superior persons are never agreeable, but of all pretensions to superiority those of the saint are the most intolerable. Superior culture is unlovely, but superior piety positively repulsive. For myself, I fail to see why a Nonconformist conscience should be more quick and sensitive in discrimination between right and wrong, more keen in insight, more loyal to truth and more absolute an authority than a Churchman's conscience. For a Nonconformist to put forth such a claim on his own behalf would be the very climax of spiritual pride and arrogance. There is a wide area of opinion and sentiment which cannot be affected by the distinctions between the Church and Nonconformity. On the question in the discussion of which the term was first used there is no real difference between Churchmen and Nonconformists as such. Amongst both alike there is a growing number who believe that high moral character is an essential qualification for political leadership. It happened that the party in which the occasion for the manifestation of this feeling arose was that in which Evangelical Nonconformists were a powerful element, and hence they were credited with a fidelity of conscience which, had it been demanded by

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the lapse of some Conservative statesmen, might have been just as conspicuous in Churchmen with similar religious views.

Having said thus much in deprecation of any real or supposed assumption on the part of Nonconformists, it must be added that the very sneer which is distilled into the epithet is itself an indirect tribute to the character of Nonconformist politics. They doubtless make many mistakes, but while they are the most trusty of allies, so are they the most awkward and impracticable of opponents, because their action is based upon principle. They have had many and bitter disappointments in the Liberal party in which they have so long filled a prominent place. They have continually helped into power leaders who have treated them with conspicuous ingratitude, and yet even such experiences have not quenched their loyalty. Prior to the advent of Mr. Gladstone to power the only Liberal chiefs who had shown a reasonable consideration for their demands were Mr. Fox and Lord John Russell. Yet they have always been ready to do yeomen's service in the ranks. Walpole treated them first with evasion, and when that was no longer possible with positive insult. His answer to the inquiry when the time would come for granting their demands was simply: 'Never.' Its brutal frankness was an indication of his faith in their adherence to his party. And he was right. The neglect with which Nonconformists have been systematically treated has not weakened their attachment to the party of progress or shaken their fidelity to its leaders. The reason has simply been that they were governed by conscience rather than by interest. Possibly their action is to be explained, as I was once courteously told by a distinguished legal luminary, by the fact that they are themselves a subject race. It may be questioned, however, whether, even accepting this view, they would not have acted more wisely had they pursued a more selfish policy. Nor must it be forgotten that, so far as they answer to this description, it is because of their fidelity to principle. It is conscience which has kept and still keeps them out of the ranks of the National Church, which has deprived them of its honours and emoluments, and which has often prevented them from accepting terms which would have been more advantageous to themselves, but would have been fatal to the principles for which they contend.

To this extent, then, there is a truth in the phrase, which it must be confessed has a certain unpleasant flavour about it. It is a tacit confession that they have introduced a religious force into politics, and an acknowledgment that with that force party politicians will have to reckon. It is the expression of petulant impatience on the part of professional politicians on both sides who cannot bear that their little game should be spoiled by men who are governed by other considerations than those of mere expediency. Mr. Welldon, the able Headmaster of Harrow, has put the subject

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in its true light in his singularly candid statement at the Church Congress. His eloquent tribute to Nonconformists is only too laudatory, and if it is to be accepted by them at all, it must be as setting forth the ideal at which they must aim rather than the actual which they have realised. He describes it

as that remarkable rising of opinion which has been lately known as the expression of the Nonconformist conscience. No doubt (he says) it is possible that the Nonconformist conscience will some day prove itself to be foolish or vindictive. It will be so if the Nonconformists are induced to think more of their Nonconformity than of their conscientiousness. But, so far as I can see, it has, until now, been simply the utterance of a disinterested and enlightened moral sense; it has been an outburst of a just and righteous indignation. I could wish the Church in her long history had displayed more of it, and I am at a loss to understand how we, as Churchmen, who have sometimes, and not, I am afraid, unjustly, blamed the Nonconformists for subordinating morals to politics, should be slow to appreciate this instance of morality triumphing over political ties and interests.

It will surely be greatly to the advantage of the nation that Nonconformists and Churchmen alike act upon the principles here laid down. It does not at all follow that even in that case they will always be found on the same side. Mr. Welldon gives us a timely warning against thinking more of our Nonconformity than of our conscientiousness. But our Nonconformity, like his own Churchmanship, is an act of homage to conscience. What we have really to keep in mind is, therefore, that men who are governed by equally nigh moral and even religious motives may honestly pursue diametrically opposite lines of policy. It is here that the special distinction of the Nonconformist conscience is seen. There could not well be a more signal illustration of the difference between it and the Church conscience than that which is supplied in the present School Board controversy.

It is the misfortune of this, as of all struggles in which sectarian or political feeling is strongly enlisted, that the opposing parties are so unwilling to credit each other with honourable intentions and pure motives. There are Churchmen who would confidently appeal to the action of Nonconformists in this matter as a clear instance of that subordination of morality, and even of religion, to politics which Mr. Welldon deprecates. They seem unable to understand how a man can be a sincere believer in Christian truth unless he is prepared to impose it upon others. They talk loudly of the consciences of parents who would be aggrieved unless the nation which provides them with free secular instruction for their children, and even combines with it the teaching of great religious principles common to all who profess and call themselves Christians, add also to this an education in the principles of their own particular sect. So far as the mass of the parents are concerned, this kind of conscience, if it exist at all, has been singularly apathetic and silent. Nevertheless it is continually paraded as an important factor in the discussion,

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while the conscientious objection of Nonconformists to employ public funds, which are exacted from citizens of all varieties of religious persuasion, for the teaching of particular doctrines, is treated as a sign of imperfect and faltering allegiance to the doctrines themselves. In the particular matter of the School Board, the political interests involved are of comparatively slight importance. It is the religious question which is at issue that excites the interest and stirs the zeal, and the strong antagonism of honest men on both sides marks the wide difference between the conscience of the Churchman and the Nonconformist respectively.

The Churchman not only holds, in all honesty, that it is perfectly right for him to insist on the teaching of what he calls definite beliefs in schools supported by public funds, but that it is his bounden duty to do so. He maintains that the rights of the individual conscience are sufficiently respected if children enjoy the protection of a so-called Conscience Clause. But it does not seem to occur to him that ratepayers have also their rights, and that they may feel justly aggrieved if they are forced to contribute to the support of tenets which they hold in abhorrence. He is sufficiently tenacious of his own rights in this matter, and sensitive as to the slightest infraction of them, but he is utterly careless to those of a minority who do not hold the Evangelical faith. Some Churchmen—if I am not mistaken including one bishop—have gone so far as to suggest that they should follow the example of those Dissenters who went to prison rather than pay church rates. It would be a curious and edifying spectacle to have a bishop or two, accompanied by Lord Halifax and Mr. Athelstan Riley, taking cheerfully the spoiling of their goods, or singing hymns of praise in the cells where they were expiating the sin of loyalty to conscience. But the effect would certainly be lost when it was found that their only grievance was that they were not permitted to tax the community for the support of their own sect, and that while they were so extremely sensitive as to the supposed rights of their own conscience they had not the slightest scruple as to coercing the consciences of others.

Can it ever have occurred to them as possible that the positions of parties might be reversed? Whether, indeed, it be within the range of practical politics, such a contingency must be taken into account. Christians who are desirous to carry out the precept of their Master, and do to others as they would that others should do to them, should ask themselves what in such case they would regard as equitable treatment at the hands of triumphant Agnostics. As they would have these men deal with them, so should they act now. The arguments at present employed by Mr. Athelstan Riley would be quite as sound if advanced by a secularist majority in Paris in defence of the teachings of secularism. If brought face to face with such an evil state of things, these gentlemen might begin to per-

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ceive the advantage of a separation between religious and secular teaching, and be grateful for liberty to use the school building for religious education to be given at their own cost, and by members of their own Church. At present they enjoy the favour of Cardinal Vaughan, even though at the very time when he is proffering his aid he is flaunting his contempt of their Church as the creature of schism. But were it possible that their present ally could attain a preponderance such as they at present enjoy, that the educational staff of the Board Schools was mainly composed of Roman Catholics, that priests were found on every Board of school managers, and, in short, that the Cardinal's influence was felt everywhere, is it probable that they would acquiesce readily in some proposal to give the teaching a more Roman Catholic character, or that it would be made more acceptable to them if its Roman Catholic spirit and tendency were masked under a professed desire to secure more definite doctrinal teaching?

The principle of Nonconformists, on the contrary, is that he who would successfully maintain the independence and freedom of his conscience must be scrupulous in guarding the rights of others. Here, as everywhere, he who would win respect for himself must show it to his fellows. I dare not assert that this is the ruling principle with all Nonconformists. Were it so we should not be in the midst of the educational difficulties which confront us to-day. There are professed Nonconformists who have not the courage—I will not say of their own convictions, but of the principles which they are understood to hold. The result is that we are fighting about a compromise which, of course, is logically untenable, as all compromises are, which satisfies no party and can easily be riddled by assailants on both sides, but which, nevertheless, is the best available solution, for the present, of a very tangled problem. The controversy itself in its incidents and its necessary results is really one of the most painful episodes in our public life. Here are men of distinction and character content to stultify themselves by becoming supporters of a policy which at the same time honesty compels them to repudiate. The voluntary humiliation of the Bishop of London, in particular, has an artistic completeness which is unique. If any element were needed to add bitterness to his position, it has been supplied by his able Archdeacon, who, meekly following his chief, seems to please himself with the idea that at least he will not renounce his opinions, but will only abstain from acting upon them, and will not become the champion of actions which he has publicly condemned. If this be the way in which the Christian religion is to be illustrated and defended, alas for the Christian religion! The caustic satire which Matthew Arnold directed against the Bishop of Winchester of that day for his presumptuous assertion 'that something must be done for the honour of his blessed Lord' may be much more keenly applied to Mr. Athelstan Riley. Samuel Wilberforce was a man of genius, a theologian with

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a considerable measure of capacity and knowledge, an eloquent and forcible polemic, and it was by argument, not by School Board tactics, that he thought to do service in the cause of truth. But can any sane man believe that the great doctrine, so recklessly thrown into the arena of strife, will obtain a stronger hold upon the understandings and hearts of men by such victories as have been won on the Victoria Embankment? This degradation of the most sacred things offends even unbelievers. It is strange, indeed, that those who profess to be working for the honour of their Lord are doing much to put Him to an open shame. We who are calumniously charged with unfaithfulness to the truth, to whose service our lives are devoted, refuse to believe that its real interests can ever be promoted by external force.

Dr. Döllinger, in one of the essays in his recently published volume, asserts, with his characteristic insight, that the Independent was the champion of liberty rather than of any particular theological system. That does not mean that he has not a definite creed of his own, but only that he refuses to force it upon others. That is the governing principle of Nonconformist action in the School Board controversy. They regard the discussion about doctrine as altogether out of place, and as detrimental to the highest interests of religion. They do not believe that the minds of young children are able to grasp the subtle definition of dogma, and they hold that it is quite possible to inculcate the general principles of religion and morality without perplexing their immature intellect with the most abstruse questions. But especially is it their desire that the great work of popular education shall not be hindered by being made subservient to sectarian interest of any kind.

In this controversy, therefore, Nonconformists are fighting the battle, not only of liberty of conscience, but of education itself. The Anglican Church has yet to reap the harvest for which its too zealous advocates on the School Board have been sowing. A more discreditable record it would not be easy to find. It was desirable to win votes which might be available for sacerdotal purposes, and as there was no way of securing them that seemed at once so easy and so safe as by setting up a reputation for economy, the schools were starved. The indictment of this miserable policy has been drawn, not by the minority on the Board, who might be suspected of partisanship, but by the impartial Inspector of the Government. It embraces almost every educational offence with which a Board could be impeached. There is a deficiency of schools, and those which exist are insanitary, often to the point of danger. The teaching staff is kept down to so low a point that classes are overcrowded and their work imperfectly done. The same cheese-paring policy prevents the introduction of appliances which would increase the refining influence of the schools, and give to the education more completeness. It is a sorry record

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from first to last. But what else was to be expected from men who have the most antiquated ideas of what education ought to be, and who are really administering Board Schools in the interest of rival institutions? The Anglican Church, I venture to think, could hardly have pursued a more dangerous course, and one of the worst calamities which could befall it would be a success which would leave its promoters free to work it out to its full extent. The democracy is becoming every day more conscious of its strength, and less tolerant of clerical control. If it wants Christianity taught in the schools, it must be Christianity without creeds, and without priests; and in this it has the full sympathy of Nonconformists. They acquiesced in the settlement of 1871, not because it was logically defensible, but because it afforded a *modus vivendi*, and from them will not come any proposal to disturb it. But I am myself in perfect sympathy with the ideal set forth by Mr. G. W. E. Russell, that

> the State should provide universally and compulsorily the secular knowledge about which all were agreed, and that religious training, the highest form of all training, the training of the soul of the immortal part of the threefold constitution of man, should be undertaken primarily by the parents, and next by the promoters of religion of the various denominations, with the blessed influences of the Sunday and the Sunday school.

That certainly is the direction in which reform must move, and it is satisfactory to find so strong an expression of opinion from a member of the Government. On this point Nonconformists are certainly in accord with the Liberal party. Mr. Acland is the best Education Minister we have had, and the bitterness with which he is assailed is the surest proof of the efficiency of his administration.

This agreement on a question of so much importance suggests that the natural place of Nonconformists is in the ranks of the Liberal party. Indeed, it is hard to conceive of them anywhere else. But a preliminary question suggests itself as to the future of the Liberal party itself. There are innumerable signs of disintegration in the political world. In the first place, the future position of Liberal-Unionists seems to be veiled in an obscurity which Mr. Chamberlain's recent speeches have served rather to deepen than to relieve. Some of his followers seem to be discontented with him, and, as was to be expected, he distinctly tells them that he will not be the leader of a murmuring and discontented party. The position which he has created is, to say the least, an extremely awkward one. It is hardly to be expected that the Tory wing of the party whose unity and greatness have been so loudly proclaimed will accept his projects of social reform. But if not, how is the alliance to be maintained, and if it be broken, what is to become of the Liberal-Unionists? This is only one of many signs which point in the direction of a redistribution of parties. My present question is, In what direction do Non-

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conformist sympathies lie? Without taking what may be regarded as a somewhat distant outlook, and confining ourselves more strictly to the discussions of the hour, the question as to the relations which the Nonconformist party are likely to occupy towards Lord Rosebery and his Government becomes daily more urgent.

It must be recognised that the retirement of Mr. Gladstone from public life could not fail to have a considerable effect on Nonconformist feeling. Towards that illustrious leader they have long cherished a strong personal attachment which has served to strengthen their political loyalty. This is the more remarkable because of the strong ecclesiastical differences which have separated them, and which there has been no disposition on either side to minimise, and yet the reason of the alliance is not far to seek, and I venture to think is equally creditable to both. Nonconformist admirers of Mr. Gladstone have been exposed to many a 'flout and jibe and jeer' because of their supposed hero-worship. But, at all events, they can plead that their hero was worthy, and that such service as they rendered was independent, unbought and disinterested, and that if their attachment to great principles was all the more enthusiastic because of their devotion to the leader by whom they were represented, they never sacrificed the principles for the sake of the man. They have differed from Mr. Gladstone in past times, and, if their allegiance was too sturdy, and it may be added too intelligent, to be weakened by objections to some details of policy, it certainly was never so blind as to follow his lead without any inquiry as to the course he was pursuing. It is simply impossible, however, that they should be unaffected by the retirement of a chief who has so long been regarded by them with a sentiment of affectionate reverence. It is easy for philosophers to profess indifference or even contempt for personal feeling of this kind, but the majority of mankind have not attained this elevation. The personal element is an important factor, especially when that person is a Gladstone. Even those who are most profoundly influenced by abstract principles, and most eager in the struggle to assert them, will hardly undertake to question the enormous increase of power which comes to a principle when it is incarnate in a man of brilliant genius, unquestionable integrity, and high moral purpose. Such a leader inspires an enthusiasm in his followers which is a force that is literally immeasurable. Mr. Gladstone has been all this. The present change in the Liberal leadership is an incident of unparalleled difficulty.

It would be a sorry compliment to Nonconformist Liberals—to their sagacity as well as to their chivalry—to say that their attachment to Liberalism was such that they were prepared at once to transfer to a new leader, even before they had experience of his qualifications, the same enthusiastic loyalty which has been so

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lavishly given to the veteran chief whom they have lost. There was a magic in his very name which will not soon be lost. That name

> will still sound stirring
> Unto the men of Rome;
> Like the trumpet blast which calls to them
> To charge the Volscian home.

It is hardly probable that in this generation another can have the same remarkable influence. On the other hand, some of the worst reproaches of their enemies would be justified were Nonconformists to allow these sentiments of personal regret to induce a relaxation of their efforts for the success of the cause with which, hitherto, they have been so closely identified. There is really no fear of so lamentable a result, provided the Liberalism of the future is in harmony with the past—a fuller development of the principles for which the party, under Mr. Gladstone's lead, has so strenuously contended.

In the discussion about the succession to the leadership, Nonconformists did not take any prominent part, and it may safely be said that they were ready loyally to accept the choice of those who, being at the centre of political life, have a clearer understanding of the needs of the situation, as well as a more intimate knowledge of the qualities of individual men, than is possible to the mere outsiders.

There are occasions when a statesman is so clearly marked out for the highest position, and the popular voice is so distinctly in his favour, that its decision is irresistible. But when, as in the present case, no one stands out so conspicuously as to end all controversy, an appeal to a plébiscite of the party is an extremely doubtful expedient. The risk of 'swopping' horses when crossing a stream is proverbial, but the peril would be increased tenfold if the operation, instead of being managed by experts, was entrusted to any chance bystander. The transfer of the Premiership was accomplished with a facility and success which were a surprise to friends and a bitter disappointment to foes. There have since been caves and rumours of caves; we are assured that the party is honeycombed with intrigue, and we have any number of quidnuncs prepared with the most thrilling stories of the rivalries between leading politicians and the unscrupulous methods by which they have been carried on. But the fact is unaltered. The most anxious, and even perilous, crisis in the fortunes of the Liberal party has been passed, and the strength of the party remains unbroken. A session which began amid clouds and darkness, in the midst of divisions and uncertainty, with not a few serious omens of misfortune and disaster, closes with a record of achievements whose importance even the critics, whether within or outside the Ministerial ranks, are compelled to acknowledge. Such a result speaks volumes as to the wisdom of those by whom the policy has been shaped, and by whom practically the leader has been chosen.

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This question of leadership is not, however, to be thus summarily dismissed. It may fairly be argued that the signal success which has marked the session is due as much to the loyalty of the party as to the skill of the chief, especially as the course of legislation was practically decided before his accession to office. Even so far as the leadership is concerned the honours belong to the Chancellor of the Exchequer rather than to the Prime Minister. We often hear it said that throughout the session the former has been steadily rising in reputation and influence. Unless Sir William Harcourt was to be a failure, this was inevitable, and it is not easy to see how it is to be otherwise in the future. The House of Lords is simply a land of darkness and of the shadow of death for a Liberal Premier. He may hold his own as a master of logical fence or brilliant retort, he may be supreme in argument, but he cannot hope to change a single vote, still less to govern a solitary decision of a body which, if it ever by chance stumble into a sensible resolution, does it out of selfish care for its own interests rather than deference to considerations of justice or sound policy. It is in the House of Commons that the battle of Liberalism has to be fought, and in the wise conduct of the struggle there rests the only hope of influencing the Upper House, as by courtesy it is still described. It is impossible that the leader by whose wisdom, dexterity, and courage that struggle is successfully maintained should fail to secure a strong hold upon those who have daily to fight under him.

This is one of the disadvantages attendant on the selection of a peer as the Liberal Prime Minister. Possibly it is one which was not so fully appreciated in the first instance, but it can hardly have been overlooked, and yet the choice was made. The situation is certainly one to make large demands upon the magnanimity of both men, and its difficulties may easily be aggravated by the senseless or malicious gossip of those who are never so happy as when they have some new sensational story wherewith to startle all who will listen to them. The only point, however, which I care to note in connection with it is that it suggests an obvious qualification to the confidence with which the present position of the party is quoted as conclusive evidence that the choice of the leader was the best possible under the circumstances. I should myself go further and say it is the only one which has in it the remotest chance of immediate success. It is true that the unity of a body which has so often been contemptuously described as a motley host, with no principle of coherence, has been maintained with an efficiency the more surprising because of the almost unparalleled difficulties of the situation. It is true that a small and composite majority has presented as solid a front to the foe as the 'thin red line' of Balaklava. It is true that a Ministry which it was confidently predicted would perish in its first year closes its second stronger and more buoyant than ever, and, what

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is of even more significance, that this success has been achieved despite the most terrible loss which any party could have been called to sustain. But it is no disparagement to Lord Rosebery to say that for this result he is indebted mainly to the skill of his lieutenants, who have of necessity had to do the fighting, and the resolution of a party which has compensated for its comparative feebleness by a sturdy loyalty which has had few, if any, parallels in the political history of this generation.

It is not because I think any change in the leadership expedient that I venture to insist that the question of Lord Rosebery's success is still *sub judice*, and to add with all frankness that some incidents of the last few months have awaked serious doubts in the minds of many who certainly were not disposed to regard him unfavourably. They are felt by many Nonconformist Liberals, and by many Liberals who are not Nonconformists, and in neither case are the hesitations due to the influence of Mr. Labouchere, or indeed to any personal feeling whatever. The men of whom I speak desire to be supporters of the Prime Minister, and are fully alive to the perils of any attempt to overthrow the present arrangement. It is their anxiety as to the future of Liberalism which causes their misgivings, and the more candidly they are recognised and dealt with the better, both for the party and its chief.

It must be remembered, in fairness both to Lord Rosebery and his critics, that the position of a successor to Mr. Gladstone must under any circumstances have been an extremely difficult one. A young statesman who listened only to the dictates of ambition might well have been content to wait in the expectation that, after successive failures on the part of men of more experience, his opportunity would come. If Lord Rosebery had declined the honour offered to him by his colleagues, he would have been abundantly justified. There was no reason why he should prematurely snatch at the prize, tempting as it was; there were many why he should have preferred to wait. As he is undoubtedly a man of great acuteness, I prefer to believe that the position was pressed upon him, rather than accept the stories generated in lobby gossip of his eagerness to secure it. Whether they were wise who urged him is a point which I have no competence to discuss. But assuredly in accepting it he showed true patriotism. If I am mistaken here, I am bound to admit that my contention in his support must fall to the ground. A man who intrigued or even finessed to obtain the succession to Mr. Gladstone would have given, in my judgment, the strongest proof of his unfitness for the position. Such a suggestion in the present case is absolutely without warrant, and, in the absence of any semblance of proof, I decline to believe that so shrewd a man as Lord Rosebery was betrayed into such fatuous folly.

Still, however pure the patriotism of his Lordship in undertaking

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the office, that does not at all diminish its responsibilities and difficulties. The Liberal Premier of to-day must be a very different man from any of Mr. Gladstone's predecessors. Lord Grey, with his lofty integrity, but aristocratic temper and bearing; Lord Melbourne, with his acute knowledge of men, but cynical indifference to principle; Lord Palmerston, with the geniality and John Bullism which made him so popular, and enabled him to palm himself off as a Liberal statesman while pursuing an essentially Tory policy, would be impossible to-day. Even Lord John Russell, beyond controversy the noblest Roman of them all, would have much to unlearn as well as to learn before he could successfully lead the party which has succeeded to that by which he was for so many years honoured and trusted as perhaps no Liberal chief had previously been. The days of the great Whig houses are past, never to return. A proud aristocrat condescending to lead a democracy which has become conscious of its own strength, and fancying that he is a benefactor when he consents to accept their votes, and the personal honours which come with them, would be an anachronism. The title and ancestry of our Prime Minister avail him nothing except with a certain section of the snobbish persuasion, who are hardly in their place in the Liberal party, and certainly bring no strength to it. With the stalwarts of the party they are a positive disadvantage, and would have been felt to be so but for the Prime Minister's manifest superiority to such adventitious distinctions. He must command confidence by his personal qualities and his bold enunciation of a policy which is at once spirited and prudent.

It is the favourite idea of Tory writers and speakers that the present Liberal, or, as they are pleased to call it, Gladstonian party is made up of a number of discordant sections each intent on some scheme of its own, and not only indifferent to those of the rest, but in some cases positively hostile to them. In the party of progress there must always be an apparent justification for such a view. But it leaves entirely out of sight the one principle of progress which is common to the whole body. Human nature being what it is, it is certain that the influence of selfishness will be felt in every great confederacy, and that there will be some who, while ready to advance in every other direction, will hesitate as soon as their own personal interests seem to be threatened. There may be brewers who think too much of 'the trade,' and while willing enough to abolish a Church establishment shrink from a small additional tax on beer and whisky, even as there may still linger in the Liberal party some champions of a State Church who are Liberals on every other question, but cannot reconcile their minds to complete religious equality. But this does not affect the solidarity of Liberalism. Its programme, as defined in the notorious Newcastle resolutions, is not composed of a number of fortuitous atoms with no relation to one another, except

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that each marks the price which must be paid for the support of a particular section. It simply marks out a number of branches all springing from the one root. If this be not so, a Liberal party would have no permanence—could not, indeed, be said to have an existence as a party. It would be at all times little better than a promiscuous mob of those who were interested in the progressive policy of the hour, and would dissolve as soon as the particular measure was carried. A case may be set up in favour of this view. But it is more plausible than true. It is very trite to say that the party sheds a certain number of adherents on the achievement of any great reform, and it must always be equally true that different sections of the party have their separate measures in which they are peculiarly interested. This latter difference is more conspicuous at present because of the delay in British legislation due to the necessary prominence of Home Rule. The Tories make merry over the supposed attempts of Lord Rosebery to meet the demands of the rival claimants. But the only point at issue is the order of precedence, and, despite the excited demonstrations of more ardent spirits, it is pretty certain that the unity of the party will be maintained so long as there is an unshaken confidence in the loyalty of the Prime Minister to true Liberal principles.

The only point with which I propose to deal here is the relation of the Prime Minister to the Nonconformist section of the party. The point is one which has evidently engaged the attention of all who do not fail to perceive how largely it may affect our immediate political future. Some time has elapsed since it was confidently asserted by one who had a considerable knowledge of the situation that Dissenters were the only section of the middle class which maintained their loyalty to the old flag and the old chief. Nothing has subsequently occurred which requires a modification of that statement. There were then, as there are now, numbers of middle-class Churchmen in the Liberal ranks, as there are Nonconformists, who are eager to proclaim themselves Unionists. But these exceptions do not materially affect the truth of all observation, which really means that in the large secessions of the middle class from Liberalism which has been so marked a feature of the last nine years, the only section which has remained faithful is that which represents the Nonconformist conscience. They too must have been exposed to the influence to which others of that class have succumbed, and it becomes a very curious problem whether that resistance is likely to continue.

The causes which have produced the change to which I refer are still in operation. Sir William Harcourt has told us that the influences leading to schism and disintegration were at work before the Home Rule controversy commenced. So far as they were personal, they do not concern me at present. I have to do only with the action of forces which are of a more permanent character than the feelings generated by selfish ambition. The crucial fact is, in my judgment,

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the pronounced attitude of Society. That is due doubtless to the fierce antagonism which the Home Rule proposals have provoked; but it is probable, not to put it more strongly, that society would have shown itself as bitterly hostile to any other strong reform which Mr. Gladstone had introduced. The process of conversion might not have been so rapid or so complete, and some who have deserted their former Liberal associates would probably have remained faithful. But with the democratic changes of 1885 the secession of the old Whigs became inevitable, and the result could not fail to be that a more decided bias would be given to Society, always sufficiently under strong Conservative influences. Home Rule hastened this development, but it would be a mistake to regard it as the sole or even the principal cause.

No one who has carefully studied these facts can be surprised at the great falling away of so many of the middle class from the party of which numbers of them had been active workers. Society has all-powerful attractions for the prosperous, and it has not been scrupulous as to the employment of them in the sacred cause of privilege. It is easy to scoff at Lord Rosebery because of his aristocratic position and connections, but these very things have only made the trial of his faith more severe. The peers who have passed successfully through the bitter tribulation of recent years have certainly given full proof of their sincerity and resolution, and are to be honoured accordingly. If we would appreciate their fidelity rightly, we have only to look at the discreditable conduct of others, especially of those new-fledged peers who have hardly taken their places before they have begun to use their powers against the leader by whom they had been conferred. These gentlemen can hardly be suspected of an intention to furnish arguments against the House of Lords, but they could not well have provided a more cogent one. They are an object lesson as to the anti-popular sentiment of that House which is sure to impress the mind of the democracy.

They are, however, peculiarly instructive as to the dominant influence in Society, an influence to which successful capitalists, or budding young statesmen, fresh from the schools and flushed with some early political triumphs, are peculiarly susceptible. It would be easy to cite a number of examples in support of this, but the task would be an odious one. Th fact is sufficiently evident, and cannot be left out of view in any forecast. Some have thought that Lord Rosebery may detain some in the fold who might otherwise have been induced to stay. But this is a very doubtful speculation, and were it more certain the men who would be so affected would bring but little real strength to the party. Robust politicians, those who have formed the bone and sinew of Nonconformist movements, are superior to such considerations.

It cannot, and ought not, to be concealed that many of these

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'stalwarts' are looking anxiously at the present situation. To begin with, they do not look sympathetically—not to put it in any stronger form—upon the Prime Minister's connection with the Turf. If Ladas be not exactly an abomination in their eyes, it is at least regarded as a very important factor in the politics of to-day. In judging the ill-advised speech at Eton, there are extenuating circumstances to be urged, but it staggered many who had previously been staunch supporters of Lord Rosebery, and who certainly had not the faintest sympathy with the meddling interference of the Anti-Gambling League. Nonconformists, who fancy themselves entitled to impose their own ideas of amusement upon the Prime Minister, enforced by a threat of their secession from the party in case of his refusal, are hardly to be dealt with as practical politicians. They are the successors of the Fifth Monarchy-men and will fail as disastrously. But numbers who would make no such unreasonable demand are unable to understand how a votary of the Turf can be an earnest Liberal politician. It is not at all a question of the ownership of a fine horse, it is the general influence of the racecourse which shocks them. A Derby Day is a carnival of vice. Of course such a statement will at once be met by specious pleas for the need of popular recreation, illustrated by glowing pictures of pleasant family excursions into the country and the like. Those who reprobate the vicious surroundings will be denounced as sour bigots. Yet the fact remains that gambling is one of the worst sins of the day, and that the racecourse is one of its strong supports. Can it be satisfactory to a party intent on the moral elevation of the people that its leader should be one of the most prominent patrons of that racecourse? We are told that Ladas has won adherents for the Liberal party from a class which has not been wont to regard it with favour. The party would be better without them, especially if their accession is counterbalanced by the loss of enthusiasm, if not the withdrawal of support, on the part of many who have been among its most ardent champions.

But a more serious matter still is the feeling with which some regard the concessions to the Labour party. Of this there has just been a conspicuous illustration in the retirement of Mr. Illingworth from Parliament. The Liberal party has had no more loyal and constant adherent than that gentleman. Twenty years, even ten years, ago he was reckoned among advanced Radicals, and he has renounced none of the opinions which placed him at that time in the front rank of the party. But he has not adopted the Collectivist theory; he is, according to the *Chronicle*, a representative of *laisser-faire* Radicalism. So he feels himself compelled to withdraw from Parliament. He differs with the Government on the eight hours question, and his retirement will (we are told) by the great mass of Radical voters 'be hailed as a tribute to the sincerity and reality of the social mission of the Government.' It would be desirable to know whether the

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Government takes this view of their work, and whether they regard with such absolute complacency the falling away from their ranks of such men as Mr. Illingworth. Many who do not agree with all the views of that gentleman feel a keen resentment of such treatment. He was faithfully serving the Liberal party during those dreary years in the wilderness when the journal now so ready to censure him was simply throwing its influence into the scale against the Liberal chief. It may be that he has not been sufficiently touched by the spirit of the new democracy, but is the honourable record of years of devotion to the democratic cause when it was weak and unpopular to count for nothing? Surely it has not come to this, that in the Liberal party there is to be no room for those who will not swallow the shibboleth of Mr. Benjamin Tillett or Mr. Tom Mann.

I am here simply urging a plea for catholic Liberalism, and I am quite ready to admit that the faults against it have not all been on one side. Middle-class politicians may have been slow to learn the lessons of the new age. But the democratic party cannot afford to cast them out. It is because I feel so strongly that a cordial understanding between the old Liberals and the Labour party is essential to a victory over the forces of reaction that I regret the loss of Mr. Illingworth. Nonconformists, I undertake to say, are as ready as any other section of the Liberal party for social reforms, and it is hard to believe that the Government are anxious so to force the pace that any of them should be needlessly alienated. There is, however, another incident which even before the retirement of Mr. Illingworth had disquieted not a few minds. Mr. Batty Langley, the recently elected member for Attercliffe, had been a steady and self-sacrificing worker in the Liberal cause for many a year, and it is not too much to say that Liberalism in Sheffield was largely indebted to him for the position it has won. He was chosen by a large representative committee, in which the working class was predominant, as the candidate. He had one offence—he was not of the Labour party—and therefore he was opposed. It was a matter of no importance to any one but its own members that the National Reform Union did not approve the decision of the local committee. It was a very different thing when Lord Tweedmouth undertook to pronounce an adverse judgment. Lord Tweedmouth is supposed to be to Lord Rosebery a kind of political archdeacon—the 'oculus' through which he surveys the party. It was unfortunate if any of the middle class are to be retained that he should have delivered himself against the action of the Attercliffe Committee. After all that Committee has its own independent rights, and it may prove to be dangerous to interfere with them. I repeat that I for one am desirous to concede all that can fairly be claimed by the Labour wing of the party. But there has been not a little to suggest that our leaders regard that wing as the party. There could hardly be a more fatal mistake. The

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plain fact is that Liberalism cannot afford to estrange any section of its supporters, and there must be a 'give and take' policy all round.

On other points I have not room to speak. On Temperance Reform and on the most pressing and most difficult question of the hour, the future of the House of Lords, earnest Dissenters will be found abreast of the most advanced reformers. It is superfluous, however, to say that Disestablishment is the question in which they are most deeply interested. But to suppose that there will be any faltering here is to insinuate a suspicion of the honour of English gentlemen, which I refuse to entertain. It is possible, however, that ere long the question of foreign policy may throw into the shade for the time all these domestic reforms. The atmosphere seems charged with electricity, and he would be a bold prophet who undertook to say when the storm will burst. What Lord Rosebery's policy would be in that case is a matter for serious anxiety. Nonconformists generally have but faint sympathy with Imperialism, and they are distinctly hostile to Jingoism in all its varieties and shades. It would be extremely unfair to suspect his Lordship of any tendencies of this character; but it would be folly to deny that they have their representatives in the party, and for myself I regard them as a distinct source of danger. It may be that Lord Rosebery is all the more fitted to hold them in check because of his imperialism. But on this as on other points we wait for the revelation of time. I, for one, distrust the Uganda policy, and indeed the African policy in general.

The simple conclusion is that the Prime Minister is on his trial. Nonconformists are quite prepared to give a favourable verdict, but, remembering some of the circumstances of the last few months, they are naturally anxious to have their faith justified by his works. We deprecate a hasty, adverse judgment, and finding much to admire in the Prime Minister, hope that his own utterances will soon end all doubts.

J. GUINNESS ROGERS.

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FRUIT RANCHING

THINKING there may be many other young men situated as I was a year and a half ago, I venture to give my experience, in the hope that it may be of some little use.

Two years ago this spring I was brewer in a London brewery, and while there was taken ill with a bad attack of pleurisy and pneumonia, and on my recovery, the doctors strongly advising against my remaining in town, found myself with nothing to do. After spending some months at home, trying to get another berth, I noticed a letter in the *Field* from a farmer in Canada, which first turned my thoughts to emigration; my father knowing a gentleman who had nephews somewhere in America, made inquiries of him, and found that they were doing very well fruit-farming in California, also that an Englishman owning a large fruit ranch about ten miles from this place was then in London.

Hearing this, I went up and saw Mr. H——, the above-mentioned gentleman, who gave such a glowing account of colonial life that I settled to go out and prospect; so, as he was returning shortly, we made arrangements to travel together.

We left England in February 1893 and came straight through to his ranch at El Toro. I was much struck by the various changes of climate we passed through on the journey.

When we left Chicago there was a severe snow storm raging, and we could hardly keep warm enough, but after a day or two's run it was just the reverse, and we spent a good deal of time on the platform at the end of the car. They are very free and easy out here, and don't mind what you do on the train as regards riding on the platforms and getting on and off while in motion, very different from the order of things in England.

I expect nearly every one knows that all trains out here are vestibuled, and one can walk from one end to the other.

The cost of the journey from England to Los Angeles or San Diego, for first-class accommodation the whole way, including food, sleeping berth on the train, cab fares, tips, &c., amounts to about 45*l.*

A through ticket from New York on can be got at Cook's,

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London, but they don't book sleeping berths; however, if required, their agents meet you on the boat at the wharf at New York, also at Chicago, and get you your berth and see to checking your luggage through; there is no bother about looking after your things, as they are checked through to their destination. One hundred and fifty pounds weight is the limit on the cars, and overweight is charged at high rates. It is a good thing to have as little as possible to carry with you, as there is not much accommodation in the Pulmans for packages. Mr. H—— and I had eleven between us, and lots of bother they caused, till we tipped the porter to stow them away in his private cupboards.

We came by the Pennsylvania railroad from New York to Chicago, and thence by the Sante Fé route, the most direct, and which runs a daily through train from Chicago to San Diego, California. It is a twenty-six hours' trip from New York to Chicago, and four nights and three and a half days from there to San Diego. Part of the way they run dining-cars, and after that have stops at suitable times for meals. It is advisable though to have some light provisions with you, as occasionally they are delayed for a few hours between stations by breakdowns or washouts. That happened to us; a freight train ran off the track ahead of us, delaying us five hours; fortunately we had some food, and joining with another party in the car had quite a jolly picnic.

It is well, if one gets out to stroll about at any stopping-place, to keep a close watch on the train, as there is no guard to come round shutting doors, &c.; the conductors just call out 'All aboard!' and off they go. The journey on the whole is uninteresting, mostly through deserts, though there are some interesting features, Indian villages, crossing the Rockies, and the Cañon Diablo, a gulch about three hundred feet deep, a quarter of a mile wide, extending nearly eighty miles.

I had asked Mr. H—— what would be my best plan on arrival, and he most kindly offered me work at regular wages while I was looking about, which offer I gladly accepted.

Just at first I found the hours from sun up to sun down rather long and trying, especially as we were 'baching,' viz. doing all our own cooking and housework, quite a new experience to me, and rather interesting, though I soon got tired of it; but they told me to go easy at first, and after a few days the time seemed to fly.

Work on a fruit farm is very varied and a great part of it done with horses. The usual hours when working by the month are from sun up to sun down—that is, you are supposed to get your breakfast and have your team ready to start work as soon as it is light enough during the winter, and finish up, having all chores done (feeding horses, cleaning stables, &c.), by six o'clock P.M. In summer you start

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about 6.30; when working by the day you start at 7 A.M., and quit at 6 P.M.; wages by the day are 6*s*., and by the month about 8*l*. Of course when you are working on your own ranch you please yourself about the hours. I usually get up at 7 o'clock and breakfast at 8, unless ploughing or doing anything particular.

After working on Mr. H——'s ranch a few months and having looked around the neighbouring country well, I came to the conclusion that I liked El Toro better than any other place having the same advantages, so I bought twenty acres of land and started fruit farming.

I got my house and barn built by contract. We are very well situated here in that way, as an English resident in this valley has built several of the largest houses by contract and has given entire satisfaction.

El Toro is very prettily situated, surrounded on three sides by hills on the main line of the Sante Fé route, about halfway between Los Angeles and San Diego, two and a half hours by rail from either, and about half an hour from Santa Anna, a very rising little town.

There are one freight and two passenger trains each way daily, so access to the neighbouring towns is easy. There is a daily mail here, but we have to fetch our own letters, as there is no delivery.

The valley lies pretty high, and on a clear winter's day a big range of mountains about 150 miles away can be seen. It is very pleasant, and at first seemed very strange to me, to sit out of doors in the sun during the winter, and see the hills around covered with snow.

We are about six miles from the Pacific, where there is quite a little village, cottages owned by people of the neighbouring towns; and during the season Lajuna is quite gay; parties often go down there from here for bathing. There is a daily stage service between El Toro and the beach, and usually one can hire a furnished cottage there for 2*l*. a month. When I first arrived here there was one hotel, a grocery store, the houses owned by Englishmen, and a few small fruit ranches; since then there have been built three more houses for English families, and several smaller ones for American ranchers; a butcher's, a barber's, another general grocery store, a blacksmith's shop, a large warehouse, and a lumber yard have also been established.

There is a nice little English church, and we have service every Sunday evening. At present Captain H——, one of our English residents, acts as lay reader, but we hope soon to have a clergyman; there is rather a difficulty in arranging it, as this place is not large enough to wholly support one, and the other English churches in the neighbourhood are rather far away, Tustin, the nearest, being twelve miles.

There is also a very decent middle-class free school, with an average attendance of thirty.

At present there are six English families resident here, and several

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bachelors. We have a good lawn-tennis club, and have started cricket. We can just muster an eleven, so with the shooting (there are plenty of quail and rabbits up in the hills and several places for duck quite near) there is always something going on.

The climate here is lovely; no rain during the latter part of spring and the whole summer; beautifully mild winters, though this year we have had it colder than any of the old Californians can remember; several times the thermometer has reached freezing point, which is most unusual. Generally during the day while the sun is up it is warm enough to sit out of doors, but gets quite chilly towards evening. The summers are moderately hot, but then again the nights are cool, and it is very seldom one cannot sleep under blankets.

Most days there is a gentle breeze blowing between 10 o'clock A.M. and 4.30 P.M. We get lots of mists during the night-time, but they disappear as soon as the sun gets up.

I worked out of doors all last summer and never found it unpleasantly hot, except through the hot winds from the desert, which are horrible while they last, generally three days: we only had one bad and two slight ones last year. Down here they go by the name of the Santa Anna winds, but in Santa Anna they pass the compliment on to the next town, and call them Riverside winds.

Houses are not very expensive to build; a good house of two bedrooms, dressing-room, bath-room, and screened-in scullery, dining-room and servants' bedroom, 10-foot verandah on three sides, hot and cold water laid on, finished in best style, plastered and painted throughout, costs about 400*l.* Bachelors as a rule build a two-roomed house finished inside with ceiling, costing 40*l.* to 50*l.* Nearly all the country houses in this locality are built entirely of wood, one story high and raised a little off the ground. Then there is a tank house—the tank is nearly always outside—which costs about 40*l.*, that is for one finished up with two small rooms one above the other; an open one costs very much less. The barn, stables, carriage-house, and saddle-room are as a rule all under one roof. A barn 20 × 30, main floor, five stables, 5 × 14, harness-room 5 × 14, a buggy shed 14 × 30, costs 80*l.*

Many people have their barns open at the ends, but it pays to have a good tight one on account of the mists.

Water in this country is struck at from 16 to 20 feet; in my own case we reached water at 17 feet and went down 7 feet further, and now I cannot pump the well (4 feet square) dry, running the pump with a gasoline engine and throwing a one-inch stream.

The majority of ranchers use a windmill to drive the pump, but with an engine one is sure of the house supply, and if you have a good well you can do a lot of irrigating for vegetables, &c. The engines are exceedingly easy to run, and very economical, costing about 1*s.* 3*d.* per day of ten hours, and after starting them up you can leave them

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entirely for two or three hours at a time. A three-horse power costs 60*l.* I have one, and also a barley crusher, which is a very good investment, as the nearest mill is at Santa Anna, fifteen miles away, and I get a lot of crushing to do for my neighbours.

A 1200-gallon wooden water tank costs 5*l.*, iron ones are a little dearer. Well digging can as a rule be contracted for at 4*s.* a foot, four feet square, till water is struck, and then by the day, the man down the well getting 10*s.* per day, and the others ordinary wages.

Fencing is very cheap; I had 760 yards of fencing done, two wires, posts thirty feet apart, and it cost altogether 7*l.*

A good working or driving team of two horses can be had for fifty or sixty pounds. They always measure horses by weight in California, hands are unknown; saddle ponies cost about 10*l.* apiece; a good fresh milch cow fetches 10*l.*, hens 24*s.* per dozen, and young pigs 10*s.* to 1*l.* each.

There is no good government land about here now, and land suitable for fruit growing costs 20*l.* per acre in El Toro, that is about the usual price for fruit land except near towns, or where it is under an irrigating ditch, where it ranges from 20*l.* to 40*l.*

The land in our valley is especially adapted to fruit growing, as it lies so level that the rain does not run off at all, and owing to the loamy quality of the soil readily sinks in; for the same reason it is easily kept well cultivated so as to get the full benefit of all the moisture.

Most of the wells here show a depth of sixteen feet of rich loamy soil, and the buyers last season all remarked on the fine quality and size of the fruit grown here.

The best-sized ranch for one man is between twenty and thirty acres, that gives one plenty to do without having to slave. It is advisable when choosing your land to try to get a little rise to build on, and so get the benefit of all the breezes. I was very lucky in that respect; the hill rises gradually from the road about 250 yards away, and then drops suddenly, so I built the house on the top, and had the barn down behind, quite out of the way, and we look clear over it from the house. Land for grain can be rented for a quarter or a fifth of the crop, or 4*s.* to 8*s.* per acre, depending on the quality; this year there will be about 7,000 acres in grain around here.

The usual feed for horses is barley, hay, and rolled barley; the hay is allowed to head out about three-quarters, and is then cut, left on the ground two or three days, then bunched with a rake, and is ready for use. The price of good baled hay this year is 35*s.* per ton, about a fair average.

There is a very good market for ordinary farm produce, such as eggs, butter, &c., though just at present prices are very low; eggs 5*d.* per dozen, and butter 8*d.* per lb.; young chickens are worth about 1*s.* each, and hogs 2½*d.* per lb. live weight.

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I should think the best plan for anyone meditating settling in California would be to get into correspondence with someone out here before leaving England, then on arriving he would have somewhere to go to find out the best means of getting about and seeing the country before purchasing. It is best to go either as a pupil (premiums need not be paid, as many ranchers are very glad to take a pupil and board him and teach him all they can in return for his work, though if you do pay a small premium you don't have to rough it so much nor work so hard), or else to stay on a ranch, where you can get a good insight into the work and general management before starting ranching.

At present in El Toro there are about 300 acres set out in fruit, about half planted this year. Mr. D—— W—— set out 100 acres in orchard five years ago this spring in this valley, proving by the manner in which the trees have grown that they would thrive and yield fruit without irrigation.

The general method of cultivation is to plough deep and get the ground thoroughly broken up and fine to a depth of three or four inches before setting out any trees, then as soon as the orchard is planted to cultivate and harrow sufficiently to keep weeds down and the surface loose and fine, which prevents evaporation.

There are a great many cultivators and harrows especially designed for orchard work, most of them riding tools, and drawn by two horses. The majority of fruit growers plough their orchards at least once a year, though I know an orchard which has done well and has not been ploughed for two years. Where fruit will grow without irrigation there is a great saving of labour, as every time you use water you must cultivate the land before it gets dried out and baked by the sun.

The greater part of the orchards here are set to prunes and apricots; both bear a fair crop at four and a half years, apricots rather the larger of the two. Both fruits are dried, so can be held if prices are low. Up to the present there has been no difficulty in getting help locally to handle the crops, and as more trees come into bearing we shall always be able to get help from the neighbouring towns to help us out. Before the crops are picked, buyers and commission agents come round, but of course with dried fruits there is no particular hurry. The drying is very interesting work; apricots are cut in half and pitted, then spread on trays, put in the sulphur house for a few hours to bleach, and after that left in the sun till sufficiently dry. Well-canned fruit is almost transparent.

Prunes are dipped into boiling water and lie for a minute or two to crack the skin and allow the inside of the fruit to dry, and are then spread in the sun in the same way as the apricots are.

On four and a half acres of 4½-year-old apricots (seventy to the acre) in El Toro last year the owner got nearly twenty-four tons of

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ripe fruit, which dried out to about four tons. When trees are older the shrinkage is less, as the first year the fruit is borne on the old wood and does not get enough sun to give best results.

They were harvested last July and beginning of August, and in October dried apricots were selling free on board the cars at shipping point for 5¼*d.* per pound, cash business. In December and now these same are worth 5½*d.* to 6¼*d.* per pound according to quality, and may possibly advance another ½*d.* before the new crop comes in.

The cost of handling crop, viz. picking, pitting, sulphuring, sorting and drying, is 1*d.* to 1¼*d.* per pound on the dried weight, depending upon how regularly the fruit ripens. Sacks to hold a hundred pounds cost 3*d.* each. Prunes don't bear quite as heavily in proportion the first year. They got last season about eighty tons of fruit off ninety acres, a hundred trees to the acre, which dried out to about twenty-six tons. This crop from the trees into sacks costs about ½*d.* per pound to handle, and on a large scale can be contracted for at a slightly lower rate. Prunes now are 2*d.* per pound, that is, the small size, eighty or ninety to the pound; fifty to sixty to the pound are worth in Chicago 3⅓*d.* to 3¾*d.*, and larger ones, forty to fifty to the pound, 4*d.* to 4¼*d.*

All these quotations of prices are taken from the most conservative paper on the coast, the *Californian Fruit Trade Review* for February 17, 1894, and the present year is acknowledged by all to be one of frightful depression. In the same number of the *Review* an instance is cited of a Mr. B—— having got fifty-five tons of apricots and forty-seven tons of prunes, each off five acres, the trees grown and in full bearing. The other instance I can vouch for, as they came under my personal experience; details of other fruit crops I cannot give, as there are no other sorts of trees bearing here, except home orchards.

The cost of the different trees varies considerably from year to year, but there is a downward tendency. This year oranges and lemons four to five feet high, strong, well-grown trees, were 15*l.* per 100. Apples, pears, peaches, nectarines, almonds, figs, &c. 2*l.* Apricots 2*l.* 10*s.*, and prunes 1*l.* 15*s.* per 100. Grapes grow very well and bear largely here out of doors. Semi-tropical fruit and ornamental trees also thrive; there are a few instances close here in which dates and bananas have ripened their crops.

The necessary tools for a fruit ranch do not amount to a great cost. One needs a 12-inch plough, 2*l.* 8*s.*; an 8-inch one for getting near the trees with one horse, 1*l.* 12*s.*; a cultivator, about 11*l.*; a harrow (the Acme harrow is the best, as it crushes up all clods), 7*l.*, or a drag harrow, 4*l.*; waggon, 20*l.*; and shovels, picks, hoes, &c. If you corn between the trees you need a small cultivator, 2*l.*

Carriages are very cheap; you can get a very nice buggy for 30*l.*,

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and a cart, a little two-wheeled affair, very useful for breaking horses in, for 4*l.* Harness is also cheap; good buggy harness for a single horse 6*l.* to 8*l.*, work harness 8*l.* per double set.

English saddles are very difficult to get hold of, and the Mexican saddles are uncomfortable for anyone used to the English ones; it is all balance riding, the stirrups are straight below you, so have to be long with the leg straight; they are very heavy, weighing about forty pounds, with a high peak in front and behind.

Poison is quite an item at starting, as the country is overrun with ground squirrels, which are death on corn, trees, &c., but after you once get them killed off, they are very little trouble to keep down. There are occasionally rattlesnakes met with, and lots of tarantellas, large poisonous spiders; they claim that the latter will come at you, and can jump a foot or two, but all I have seen I have tested with a good long stick, and have never come across a jumper; the bite is supposed to be as poisonous as a rattlesnake's, but I have never heard of anyone round here being bitten, and there are a good many about, so perhaps they are not as bad as painted.

No particular outfit is necessary for this part of California. English summer underclothes are quite enough for winter, and some flannel shirts for working in. The usual working costume is flannel or calico shirt, blue jean trousers, 'copper-riveted spring bottom pants,' 5*s.* a pair. Boots are cheap, but cloth clothes are very dear, and are subject to a high duty. A friend of mine had two suits sent out a few months ago, and had to pay 3*l.* duty on them, so it is as well to bring a good stock.

The roads, except the county ones, are decidedly bad; they are simply earth, so after the rain cut out very much. The main roads are kept in a little better order, but none of them are anything to brag about. Still, the buggies are very easy riding, and one soon gets used to the bumps, though at first I often used to think of our smooth English highways. One advantage of these roads is that they are never rendered almost impassable through mending.

The cost of living in the country out here is considerably less than in England, especially leaving out the question of servants, or help, as it is called here.

While we were baching when I first came out, our bills used to come to about 30*s.* a month apiece; then we had butter, milk and eggs free. Working on a ranch and paying for your board, the usual charge is 1*l.* 15*s.* per month. At most of the country hotels you can get a room and good board for 1*l.* a week. Since I started housekeeping, four adults in family, I find our meat bill has averaged 2*l.* per month (beef is from 5*d.* to 7*d.*, and mutton 4*d.* to 6*d.* per lb.), and groceries about 6*l.* per month; eggs, butter and milk off the ranch.

We bake our own bread, as is the custom, so the baker's bill is

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included in groceries. A Chinaman comes round twice a week with vegetables which are very cheap, and occasionally we get fresh fish brought up from the beach.

It pays to wash all clothes but house linen at home, as the prices charged are pretty stiff, but house linen is cheap.

Cotton goods are about the same price to buy as in England. Woollen goods are dearer and not so good. Furniture is cheap; most of it is lighter in style than the English, and usually made of light oak; a solid good bedroom suite, of double bed, washstand, and dressing table, costs from 7*l.* to 10*l.*, light oak well made and finished; the washstands and dressing tables are fitted with drawers and cupboards.

Wages for domestic help are cruel. A general servant gets about 4*l.* a month, and a cook 6*l.*; they are all very hard workers, and out here hardly anyone has more than one, but the English find them more familiar than they have been used to. Some of them expect to take meals with the family and have the use of the sitting-room and occasional use of the horse, so you want to be a bit careful when engaging one; they leave when they choose without notice, and written characters are unknown.

My wife finds the best and cheapest way of managing, as everyone here helps in their own homes, is to have a girl about fifteen years old at 8*s.* a week, who does all the rougher work in washing, cleaning, &c.

I will just say in conclusion that I thoroughly enjoy this life, and have never been in better health and spirits than during the last year.

To sum up, I bought 20 acres of land for 400*l.* twelve months ago, and have spent in all so far between 1,500*l.* and 1,600*l.*, having the whole 20 acres set out in orchard. I have also rented 40 acres; half I have in barley and wheat, and the rest ready for corn.

In four and a half years from the beginning of this year (by which time I shall be 26 years old) my returns from the orchard will commence, and my outgoings, about 200*l.* a year, ought to cease, by which time I calculate I shall have spent in all about 2,500*l.*, and in a year or two more, as the trees come into full bearing, I should be living comfortably on my ranch, besides saving at least 5 per cent. on capital invested.

As examples of an ordinary day's work I take two days.

January 8.—Got up at 6.30, fed horses, cleaned stables, milked. Breakfast at 8, after which took team and waggon up to town, and hauled home lumber and corn. Dinner at 12.15. After dinner fixed corral for pigs, then ground some corn, attended stables, cow, &c. Supper at 6, bed at 8.30.

February 27.—After breakfast watered ornamental trees round

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house, and caught vermin; after dinner rode down to see the barley crop and corn land.

I see that a big cut rate war has just started between Santa Fé and Southern Pacific Railways, and they say rates will be extremely low shortly, a good opportunity for anyone wishing to see this country.

A. C. TWIST.

El Toro, California:
February 1894

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THE BIBLE IN ELEMENTARY SCHOOLS

THE courtesy of the Editor of this Review permits me to supplement the arguments set forth in these pages in July last by offering some additional considerations, which, in view of the approaching election for the London School Board, appear to me to be important, but which the exigencies of space obliged me to withhold.

The conclusions which in my former paper I sought to establish may be briefly summarised here. They are:—

1. That the instruction in the Holy Scriptures which has been given to the scholars in the Board Schools during more than twenty years has proved to be of great value, intellectually and religiously; and that there is not the least reason to think it less careful and efficient now than at any previous time.

2. That such instruction is, in every sense, more appropriate to the age and to the needs of young children than creeds or formal statements of doctrine, which must necessarily be unintelligible to them.

3. That all experience proves the inefficacy of such dogmatic statements, whether considered as a means of forming the opinions of young learners, or of attaching them to the religious communion of the teachers.

4. That there is not the smallest evidence of the dissatisfaction of parents with the simple unsectarian teaching now given, or of any wish on their part for instruction of a more definite or dogmatic character.

5. That the introduction of *any* official interpretation and definition on points on which those who regard the Bible as the authority on matters of belief and practice differ among themselves is inconsistent with the character and purpose of schools established on a public basis, maintained by public funds, and designed for the use of children of all classes, in a free and mixed community.

6. That the attempt recently made, in the supposed interests of orthodoxy, to formulate the essentials of the Christian faith, in language other than that of the Bible itself, has already provoked an irritating and unseemly controversy; that it has wholly failed to

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secure the approval of the various Christian bodies, which have hitherto worked together in perfect harmony under existing conditions; that it has seriously disquieted the teachers, and interfered with the general educational work of the Board; and that it threatens to become a source of grave embarrassment and division in the future.

7. That the effect of the prolongation of such an attempt will be to render any religious instruction in our common schools difficult, if not impossible, and will probably lead to the exclusion of such instruction altogether from the programme of the London School Board, and to the adoption of a purely secular system.

8. That such a result would be a serious disaster, and would be deplored most of all by those who value the Bible as one of the chief agents for promoting the moral and spiritual advancement of the nation.

These conclusions have not, so far as I am aware, been refuted in any of the numerous references which have since been made to my former paper. In one or two cases that paper has been vaguely characterised as an attack on the Christian creeds. The charge is wholly groundless. The article does not call in question the value of creeds and formularies as part of the heritage of the Christian Church. It simply contends that they are of little or no meaning or value to young children; and that to inculcate them on authority as matters of belief at the school age is to begin at the wrong end, and in many cases to lead to a perilous reaction when the time comes for the scholar to think for himself. In just the proportion in which the nature of childhood and the true principles of elementary education are studied and understood, the method of offering formal doctrinal statements to the young for their acceptance is becoming discredited, and proves more and more to be ineffective.

It is not a little remarkable that the persons who advocate the adoption of this method appear to confine their solicitude to the Board Schools, and make no similar effort to give greater definiteness to the religious instruction in schools attended by the children of their own class. We hear very little of movements to enforce theological orthodoxy in our great public schools, in the numerous old foundations which have recently been reorganised under the Endowed Schools Act, in the schools of the Girls' Public Day School Company, or in the vast number of private and proprietary establishments which provide higher and intermediate education. Some of these, it should be observed, are boarding schools; and in them the teacher is *in loco parentis*, and means are taken, and very properly taken, to bring up the children as in a Christian home, to secure regular attendance at religious worship, and sometimes to prepare candidates for confirmation. But, in so far as these establishments receive day scholars, it may be safely said that there is, as a rule, much less religious instruction in them than in Board Schools; and that such

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instruction very rarely assumes a dogmatic character. The heads of intermediate and higher schools would testify, not only that there is no demand on the part of parents for more doctrinal teaching, but that those parents would resent as an impertinence any attempt on the part of an outside body to interfere in the matter. The Church Education Union, and other associations which have evinced so much anxiety to introduce their own definitions of Christian doctrine into the schools of the poor, know very well that they would be powerless to exercise any such influence over the schools of the rich. Is it because the working classes are less able than others to speak their minds on this subject that they are to be treated as the *corpora vilia* on which theological experiments can be tried? And is it quite fair to the working-class parent to assume, without evidence, that he desires what he has never asked for, and what fathers in another rank of life would not accept if it were offered?

It is a significant fact that, in all the recent discussions about religious teaching, scarcely any account seems to be taken of the different agencies which are available on Sunday for providing such teaching. After all, children attend the day school for five days in the week only, and Sunday is appropriated by universal consent as the special occasion for religious training and worship. On that day the ministers of religion are at full liberty to give effect to their own convictions in regard to the one subject to which they rightly attach paramount importance. If the inculcation of doctrinal truth is, as many would have us believe, the essential element in the Christian education of the young, here is the opportunity for the clergy, and nothing need prevent them from using it to the full extent. Now it would be interesting to inquire in what way advantage is taken of this opportunity. There are three well-known forms of specific Sunday instruction—children's services, Sunday Schools, and public catechising in church. A word or two may be fitly said on each of these subjects.

Special services for children are happily common in connection both with the Church of England and with Nonconformist congregations. They are somewhat more numerous in chapels than in churches, and are said to be often very interesting and effective. They are characterised by short and simple acts of worship, by the singing of appropriate hymns, and by brief addresses on Bible stories, or on points of duty and of conduct which lie within the experience of young children. But, so far as I can learn, they are not, except in rare cases, made the occasion of definite theological instruction; and those who conduct these services aim chiefly at familiarising the hearers with the habit of public worship, making it attractive to them, and enforcing such moral and religious precepts as will awaken the conscience, and influence the behaviour and feelings rather than the formal beliefs of the children.

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Then there are the Sunday Schools, one of which will be found attached to almost every place of worship, either of the Church or of Nonconformists. These schools are attended presumably by the particular class of children on whose behalf so much has been said of late, children whose friends desire to see them brought up in the religion of their fathers. Here, at any rate, in schools whose sole business it is to impart religious instruction, it might be expected that special efforts would be made to provide the 'definite dogmatic teaching' which is regarded by its advocates as of supreme importance. Yet it is notorious that little or no security is taken for such teaching in Sunday Schools, and that it is rare for the clergy to apply any tests or inquiries by which they can satisfy themselves that their voluntary helpers in these schools are competent for the task. On this point it will not, I hope, be deemed inappropriate to cite my personal experience. I was during more than ten years a voluntary teacher in a Church Sunday School. I was then a young man, and for such a work I sorely needed supervision and guidance. But I never received either in any form. The clergy of the parish in which I taught neither knew nor sought to know what were my qualifications or beliefs, or whether my teaching was 'distinctive' and orthodox or not. I have reason to believe that this experience is fairly typical of that of many others, whose services are willingly welcomed, and who are presumed, on very insufficient evidence, to be doing the work of the Church and qualified to teach her doctrines.

Lastly, there is the ancient and edifying practice of public catechising in the church on Sunday afternoons. On this subject the Rubric furnishes unmistakable injunctions:—

'The Curate of every parish shall diligently upon Sundays and holidays, after the Second Lesson at Evening Prayer, openly in the church instruct and examine so many children of his parish sent to him, as he shall think convenient, in some part of this Catechism. And all Fathers, Mothers, Masters and Dames, shall cause their Children, Servants and Apprentices (which have not learned their Catechism) to come to the church at the time appointed, and obediently to hear and be ordered by the Curate, until such time as they have learned all that is here appointed for them to learn.'

Now this is the Church's own appointed method of providing such religious teaching as she deems necessary for her children. And it is to be observed that it is not merely the saying of the Catechism which is thus enjoined, but *instructing* and *examining* thereupon. Yet we all know that the practice has largely fallen into disuse. A statistical return showing the number of London churches in which the rubric is obeyed would throw a curious light on the reality of that demand for 'Church teaching' of which so much has been heard in recent discussions. It is indeed difficult to understand

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the position of those clergy who having habitually failed to use the means put into their hands by ecclesiastical authority for securing the proper doctrinal instruction of their own flocks, yet complain of the incompleteness of the theological instruction in the municipal and public schools, and feel entitled to appeal to the teacher of such a school, or to the ratepayer, to perform the duty they themselves have neglected. And there is a not less patent inconsistency in the attempt on the part of some of the ministers of religion to impose on the teachers of the rate-aided schools tests and guarantees of orthodoxy, which they do not exact, and would indeed find it impossible to exact, from the well-intentioned but often ill-instructed young people whose services they readily accept as teachers of religion in their Sunday Schools. The right delimitation of the respective spheres of influence of the churches on the one hand and of the State on the other is a difficult problem. But it can never be satisfactorily solved until the ministers of those churches recognise their own duty to the children of their respective congregations, and learn to do it well.

The Circular recently issued to teachers is avowedly designed to guard against the possibility of agnostic or secular teaching. But its authors seem to be unaware that this is not the only direction in which deviation from the regulations of the Board is possible. Considering that three-fourths of the trained teachers of England have received their professional preparation in Church Training Colleges, it would not be surprising if a few of the young people held pronounced views about sacraments, or sacerdotal authority, or even auricular confession. In just the proportion in which such teachers cherish strong religious convictions on these subjects, they will be under some temptation to use their influence over the children, and to enforce, even though indirectly, the newer Anglicanism in a Board School. It does not appear that the authors of the Circular think it needful to take any precautions against such a possibility as this. But such a departure from the Board's present 'Compromise' is at least as likely, and as surely inconsistent with the spirit of the Education Act, as any teaching in a latitudinarian or agnostic sense. For my part, I believe the danger in either direction to be very small and remote. Excess and defect, indifference and sectarian zeal are alike to be discountenanced, but they will be prevented—as I have before said—rather by care and vigilance on the part of the managing committees, and by dealing judiciously with individual cases, when they occur, than by laying down general rules. For all such rules, while they fail to prevent exceptional errors of judgment or of conduct, tend to restrict the freedom of the ninety-nine per cent. of the teachers who are now striving faithfully to carry into effect the regulations which have controlled the Board's action from the first.

The history of recent discussions must suffice to show the best

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friends of religious education that a false step has been made, and that it ought to be retraced. It may be urged that the abandonment of all attempt to enforce the new Circular would amount to an admission that its authors had been in the wrong, and that they had ceased to care about the religious and moral training of the children in the Board Schools. But the interests at stake are too serious to be sacrificed to a sentiment of *amour propre*; and it is still open to the energetic men who have raised this question to admit frankly that they have made a mistake, and to retreat honourably from an untenable position. We may well believe that the letter putting forth their new definitions and articles of faith was conscientiously intended as an 'eirenicon.' If so, it has lamentably failed in its purpose. It has conciliated nobody. It has been practically repudiated by all the Nonconformist bodies. It has incurred the grave rebuke of the Bishop of London, and the scarcely less emphatic disapproval of the Bishop of Rochester, the Archdeacons of London and Westminster, and many of the most influential clergy in the metropolis. It has greatly strengthened the position of those who, while acquiescing during many years in the present arrangements, have always desired the complete secularisation of the Board Schools. It has elicited a powerful protest from the teachers, and seriously disturbed their relations to the Board. It has divided and disheartened many of the Christian laity of all denominations, who have been accustomed to act together in the management of these schools, on a common basis of reverence for the Holy Scriptures, and of a desire to see the children brought up in the fear of God, and with a love for His Word. That is a very intelligible basis of united action. It is the only basis on which the citizens of a country like ours can hope to work together in maintaining the religious character of our common schools. In the higher interests of education we want, on all our local Boards for the government of such schools, a substantial representation of religious men and women; but the only condition on which their services will be of real value to the community is that they will not attempt to use their influence to promote the interests of their own particular churches or sects, and that they will relinquish all endeavour to enforce upon the Board their own interpretation of Christian truth.

Meanwhile it ought to be distinctly understood by the electors that the scheme of Biblical lessons put forth from the first by the Board has been at work without friction or difficulty for twenty-three years. Neither in the reports of the Board's own examiners in religious knowledge, nor in any other form, is there the least evidence of any failure of duty on the part of the teachers, or of any tendency to depart from the 'Compromise' in a secularist or non-Christian sense. But there is abundant evidence of a desire to depart from it in the opposite direction. It is the present majority on the Board

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which has for the first time expressed its dissatisfaction with the reading and explanation of the Scriptures, 'in a manner suited to the capacities of the children,' unless such instruction is supplemented and modified by the new creed and definitions put forth in their Circular. It is with them that originated the proposal to make inquisition into the personal beliefs of the teachers. It is the list of their nominees for the coming election which is recommended to the suffrages of the London electors by the 'Church Education and Voluntary School Defence' association, by the English Church Union, and by the ladies of the Primrose League, in the avowed expectation that their candidates, if elected, will place such an interpretation on the Cowper-Temple Clause as shall be more favourable than heretofore to religious orthodoxy as understood by those bodies.

That such a policy will ultimately succeed, and be accepted by the English people as a permanent solution of the religious question in rate-aided schools, no careful student of our history, or of the tendencies and social forces which are at work in our times, can find it possible to believe. But the temporary success of this policy at a single election would have consequences which may easily be foreseen. It would certainly not set the question at rest. It would prolong for a time an unfortunate and fruitless controversy. It would withdraw the thoughts and efforts of the Board from many much-needed measures of educational improvement. And it would assuredly ere long bring about such a reaction as may prove fatal to the present system of Scriptural instruction, and therefore to the highest interests of the scholars in the Board Schools.

J. G. Fitch.

Postscript.—Since these pages were in type, the Bishop of London has by his address at the Exeter Church Congress completely altered his attitude, and, while still regarding Mr. Riley's crusade as a serious mistake, has nevertheless recommended Churchmen to vote for him and his allies. There are only two suppositions by which this astonishing advice can be accounted for: (1) That those who are urging the withdrawal of the Board's Circular constitute an irreligious party, or at least a party which does not care to maintain religious teaching; and (2) That the interests of the Church and of religion are, after all, to be best served by supporting the very policy which the Bishop himself has demonstrated to be mischievous and unwise. Of these two hypotheses it will suffice to say that the first implies a most unjust aspersion on a large number of Liberal Churchmen and on the whole body of Nonconformists, and that the second is absolutely unintelligible.

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'JUSTICE TO ENGLAND'

A RALLYING CRY

It seems to me, looking back on the recollections of my life, that ever since I first took an interest in politics I have, in one form or another, been reminded of my duty to do justice to Ireland. I am not old enough to recall the days of the Catholic Emancipation or the Tithes controversy; but my early years were spent amongst people who were strong partisans of the measures by which these grievances of the sister kingdom were removed, or supposed to be removed; and I can remember perfectly well how the policy of placing Catholics and Protestants on a footing of legal equality, and of exempting the Catholics from contributing even indirectly towards the support of an alien Church, was defended on the ground of justice to Ireland. The latter days of O'Connell's career, and his monster meetings in the cause of Repeal, are matters within my youthful recollection, and I know that even in those now remote times I was called upon to pardon if not to admire the great Liberator, because he was fighting the battle of justice to Ireland. I can recollect, unfortunately for myself, the Irish insurrection of 1848, and have not forgotten how my youthful sympathies were enlisted on behalf of mercy to the leaders of that most contemptible of abortive risings by the plea that, blamable as their conduct may have been, it was excused by the injustices of which Ireland had to complain. I was in Ireland during the Fenian rising and can recall, as if it were yesterday, how I was admonished by my Liberal instructors not to judge too hardly of the misguided patriots, such as James Stephens, who had been driven to resort to civil war in order to redress the injustice done in the past to the 'distressful country.' In the campaigns for Tenant Right, for the disestablishment of the Irish Church, and for the Irish Land Act, my sympathies were appealed to on the ground that one and all of these reforms were demanded by justice to Ireland. And now in mature life I am still exhorted to support Home Rule, and the restoration to their tenancies of the evicted tenants, on the same old plea, that I am bound to do justice to Ireland. Looking back through many long years, I can truly say that the greater part of the British legislation of my life has been concerned with the discussion and enactment of measures which were all justified on the ground that they were called for by

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justice to Ireland, and that, if passed, they would remove all causes of Irish complaint. Indeed, the salient feature of the political era in which my lot has been cast appears to me to be that we have always been redressing some Irish grievance whose removal was to make Ireland prosperous, loyal, and contented.

I am not now concerned to inquire whether the various measures to which I allude were or were not justified by the circumstances of the day. All I can say, speaking for myself, as a single and insignificant unit of the party who sought to do justice to Ireland in the belief that by so doing we should create a true union of hearts, is that we meant well, and acted up to such lights as we then possessed. No man can do more, and I, for one, am not ashamed to reflect that, within the narrow limits of any influence I might possess, I have advocated a variety of Irish so-called reforms, the obvious objections to which on abstract principles I was content to overlook on the faith of repeated assurances that, if only these reforms were passed, Ireland would have no further grievance of which she could possibly complain. The end, in my judgment, would have more than justified the means. My only complaint is that the end has not been obtained. No man has any cause to be ashamed of having been taken in by false pretences. But when the pretences are shown to be false, he forfeits his claim to sanity if he allows himself to be deceived again. Has Ireland been rendered loyal, peaceful, and orderly by the long chain of concessions to Irish ideas that we have made during the course of my lifetime? To this question there can only be one answer. In consequence I utterly decline, as a rational being, to make any further concession on the strength of assurances that if I will only yield to this last demand I shall reap the reward of my previous sacrifices of principle and policy. We have most of us, I suppose, invested in mines on the strength of reports of untold stores of gold lying just beneath the surface. We have paid call after call, in compliance with the assurances of experts that if we only dug a little deeper we should strike ore. But a time comes when our patience, if not our money, is exhausted. So it is with justice to Ireland. That mine, at all events, is shown to be a delusion and a fraud. The time has come to cut the loss. In lieu of troubling ourselves further about justice to Ireland, we had better turn our attention to justice to England.

The retrospect to which I have referred forces another conclusion upon my mind. Throughout all the years in which I have taken any interest in politics I can recall no period in which our administration of home and imperial affairs has not been hampered and thwarted by the necessity of studying the Irish vote. Whether government by party is an ideal system is an abstract question, and as such possesses only an abstract interest. It is enough for me to know that, ever since I can remember, we have governed by party rule, and that for any

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period with which I or any man now living is likely to be concerned, it is by party rule we shall be governed in the future. Now the essential condition of government by party, if it is to be a blessing and not a curse, is that both parties, however their views may differ on questions of administration, should have one common object—that of promoting the welfare of the country whose fortunes they desire to administer. This condition has in the main been fulfilled in England ever since party government became a reality. Whigs and Tories, Free-traders and Protectionists, Conservatives and Liberals have been equally sincere in their desire to promote the well-being of England, and in their hearts have given each other credit for equal sincerity. But this community of patriotism, ever since I can remember, has been impaired by the existence of the Irish vote. From the days of the Union the vote in question has been at the service of whichever English party strove to bid highest for its acquisition. In the days of unreformed Parliaments this evil was kept within comparatively narrow limits. The bulk of the Irish constituencies were under the direct control of the Protestants and English garrison in Ireland, and, whatever the defects of the Irish landlords may have been, they were, as a rule, loyal to the interests of the United Kingdom. At the same time the representatives of the few independent Irish constituencies were in most instances amenable to private considerations, by which their support could be secured to the cause of law and order. The evil I refer to only began to display its true existence when, having reformed our own Parliamentary representation, we consented, in deference to the justice to Ireland plea, to grant the same suffrage to the Irish as we possessed ourselves. Ever since the great Reform Bill we have had in Parliament a succession of Irish parties who, however much they may have differed in other respects, have been at one in constituting a disturbing and discordant element in British politics. We had the Repealers under O'Connell, the Young Irelanders under Feargus O'Connor and Meagher of the Sword, the Papal Brigade and the Home Rulers under Isaac Butt. All these factions were willing to give their support to either party in the State which was prepared to advance their interests or purchase their support. But up to a recent date the support they could offer was not sufficiently valuable to command a ready market. It was only under the control of Parnell—the Englishman by race, by creed, and by character, whom the irony of fate had made the leader of Irish disaffection—that Ireland learnt to make full use of her Parliamentary strength. It required an Englishman's knowledge of the strength and weakness of our national character and of our national institutions to realise that public men in England could not withstand the temptation of party spirit. Under our system of government a compact and independent faction, strong enough to turn the vote in favour of either of our two contending parties, must necessarily be master of the situation.

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Acting on this conviction, the lost leader of a lost cause set himself to form an Irish party, ready to vote indifferently with the Ministry or the Opposition. It is no business of mine to try and pass judgment on the dead statesman. He has gone beyond the reach of human censure; and, the older one grows, the less confidence one feels in the estimate one forms of the motives which influence human action. Moreover, in Parnell's case, the punishment he sustained by the desertion of his allies and the betrayal of his followers must with all fair-minded adversaries stand in arrest of judgment. It is enough for me to say that, be his motives what they may, the aim of his action was to undermine the power of England. By identifying the demand for Home Rule with the acquisition of the land, he united the Irish peasantry in support of repeal, and, for the first—and I trust the last—time in our history, he created an Irish party whose services, though at the disposal of the highest bidder, were only to be bought by the sacrifice of British supremacy to the cause of Irish independence. Circumstances played into his hands, as they always do play into the hands of men who know their own minds and see their way before them. The exigencies of party strife rendered necessary the extension of the suffrage to householders in the counties as well as in the towns. It was obvious that such an extension, even if desirable in England, must throw the complete command of the representation of Ireland into the hands of an ignorant, poverty-stricken peasantry utterly unfitted for the exercise of political power. But, though the danger of a genuine Nationalist party being formed in Ireland under Parnell's leadership was already patent and manifest, our politicians, irrespective of party, were prepared with light hearts to establish household suffrage throughout Ireland. To have done otherwise would have been to surrender a party advantage; and this was more than could be expected of party politicians.

The result was what any man of sense might have anticipated. At the election which followed the enfranchisement of the Irish peasantry Mr. Parnell swept the board, and the uncrowned king had it in his power to make or unmake ministries. How he used that power is within the recollection of us all. The history of the great betrayal is too recent to be yet forgotten. We need no telling how a great historical party, every member of which, with scarcely an exception, had throughout his political career resented the slightest imputation on his loyalty to the Union as a monstrous libel, went over in a body to Home Rule the moment it became clear to Mr. Gladstone that he could not unseat the Conservatives without the aid of the Irish vote. We may hope that in time to come the Liberal party will not remain so completely subject to one-man rule as it was under Mr. Gladstone. On the other hand, there is little ground to imagine that Mr. Gladstone's successors are less likely than their late

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leader to sacrifice principle to party. We have even less cause to expect that, in the event of any further sacrifice, the example of the Liberal-Unionists will be followed by any similar secession from the Liberal ranks.

Parnell has gone, but his work survives. Whatever may be the outcome of the miserable and contemptible divisions in the Nationalist organisation, we may take it for granted that the Irish constituencies as at present constituted will always return an immense preponderance of members hostile to England, and that these members, however they may quarrel amongst themselves, will coalesce together whenever they see an opportunity of advancing the interests of Separation, by transferring their support—for a consideration—to one or other of the two parties which contend for the control of public affairs. We may take it for granted also that one or the other of these parties will in the end consent to give the consideration required. Under these conditions Imperial and British interests will of necessity be subordinated to Irish exigencies; and the prospect of justice being done to England will become more and more remote.

It may be said that, even admitting the existence of the evil on which I have dwelt, the evil is without a remedy. We cannot undo the past; we cannot recall the political privileges we have unwisely granted. Having made our own bed, we have got to lie in it as best we may. If this were so, I for one should see no advantage in futile recommendations. Supposing our political institutions had been definitely established in such a fashion that they could not be modified without a revolution, the only course would be to wait till the evils inherent in our present system had assumed such magnitude as to justify revolutionary action. Happily for this country, the process of reconstruction is not complete, and, according to my view, the completion of the process will afford us an opportunity of materially modifying, if not of removing, the evils caused by the balance of political power resting in the hands of the Irish Nationalists.

It is admitted on all sides that, if the Liberals remain in office, they intend to introduce certain electoral reforms, whose avowed object is to increase the influence of the party in the constituencies. By diminishing the term of residence now required as a qualification for the possession of a vote, and by doing away with plural voting, the Liberals propose to augment the electoral power of the masses at the cost of the classes. I am inclined to think myself that the actual importance of these reforms is grossly exaggerated, both by their advocates and their opponents. But in any case I doubt the expediency of the Unionist party offering any determined opposition to the enactment of electoral changes which are more or less the logical sequence of the principle of the admission that the numerical majority has a right to ride roughshod over the numerical minority. The principle may

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be sound or unsound in the abstract. But as we Unionists have got party government established, and have got to accept it as an accomplished fact, we have no *locus standi* in objecting to any reform based upon the fundamental principle of our political institutions. The swallowing of gnats may be unpleasant, but to strain at the gnat when you have swallowed the camel is not conducive to success. My own belief is that the practical results of the 'one man one vote' system, and of a reduction in the residential qualification, would not tell very much one way or the other. But, even if this view is incorrect, and if it could be shown that single voting and an increase in the working-class electorate would tell materially in favour of the Liberals, I should still hold that, as a matter of policy as well as of principle, it would be unwise to resist these changes.

The main reason why I hold this opinion is that acquiescence in these demands would afford the Unionists an unequalled opportunity of coming forward as champions of what in my judgment would be a useful reform under a popular cry—that of justice to England. The real weakness of the Unionists lies in the fact that their policy has been mainly, if not exclusively, of a negative character. The one point on which the two sections of the party have hitherto been in cordial co-operation has been the necessity of not allowing the Union to be repealed. It might have been expected beforehand that the necessity of maintaining intact the integrity of the United Kingdom would have appealed to a powerful popular sentiment. It is not necessary to discuss here the reasons why this expectation has not been fulfilled. For my present purpose it is sufficient to record the patent fact that, though the maintenance of the Union is recognised by the educated classes as a matter affecting the vital interests of the country, this recognition has not extended to the great masses of the community—that is, to the section of the population to whom under our democratic institutions we have entrusted the supremacy of political power. It is quite true that the demand for Home Rule in Ireland has met with no response on the part of the English masses. On the other hand, this demand has not met with any determined opposition on their part. The state of popular sentiment in regard to Home Rule—I am speaking of England—may be best described as one of inert indifference. There is no popular desire for repeal. Indeed, such opinion on the subject as exists amidst the masses seems to be hostile rather than otherwise. But this hostility is not sufficiently pronounced to afford any guarantee that the electorate, even in England, might not accept a programme involving Repeal, supposing that such a programme appealed to their sympathies on general grounds, or held out the prospect of reforms which the masses rightly or wrongly imagine would advance their individual interests. It is upon the fact of this popular unconcern in respect of the Home Rule controversy that the whole policy of the

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Separatists is based. Unionists may and do deplore the fact in question. But if they wish to defeat the policy of Separation, they in their turn must recognise and act upon the fact that this unconcern does exist, and as yet shows no prospect of disappearing.

Of all the Unionist leaders there is no one more fully in touch with English popular sentiment than Mr. Chamberlain. In season and out of season he has pressed upon his party the absolute necessity of appealing to the masses with a positive as well as a negative programme. He has proposed a number of reforms of a social and industrial character, whose adoption as part and parcel of the Unionist platform would in his judgment excite that popular enthusiasm on behalf of the Unionist cause whose absence has hitherto proved the main difficulty with which he has had to contend. How far the particular reforms he recommends would appeal strongly to popular sentiment is a point on which I need not enter. It seems to me sufficient to say here that the Chamberlain programme is open to two very grave objections. The first is that the proposed reforms must inevitably raise a number of issues on which the Conservatives and the Liberal-Unionists are not yet sufficiently agreed to secure the cordial co-operation of the whole party. The time may come, and I trust will come, when the Unionists will have a common policy in respect of other questions besides that of the maintenance of the Union; but the formulation of such a policy must, I fancy, be the result, rather than the cause, of fusion. But, even if this were not so, and if a programme of social reform could be devised which would command not only the acquiescence but the cordial support of the Opposition, I doubt its enunciation, under present conditions, producing any great effect. So long as the Ministerialist coalition remains in existence, the Opposition are powerless to legislate, except with the consent of the Ministry. If, to quote one instance out of many, Mr. Chamberlain were to introduce a measure for providing old age pensions, and were to introduce it as a Unionist measure, one of two results would inevitably follow. If the measure excited little or no popular interest, it would be cold-shouldered out of existence by the Ministry. If it did excite such interest, it would be adopted and enlarged by the Ministry, and carried by their support. In matters of social legislation a Liberal party in office can always outbid a Conservative party in opposition. Indeed, if the Unionists are to bid for the popular vote by proposing popular measures, they can only do so with any chance of success by proposing some measure which is likely to be popular with the country at large, but which, owing to the composition of their party, the Government are not able to adopt as their own. In other and plainer words, the desired measure must be one which would commend itself to the English electorate, and which the Irish Nationalists could not consent to support. Such a measure lies now, or rather will lie soon, within the grasp of the Unionists.

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The other day, in addressing a Nationalist audience, Mr. Murphy, who was a Parnellite member in the last Parliament, declared that the motto of the Irish party at Westminster must be Ireland first and all the world afterwards. *Fas est et ab hoste doceri*, and I would say the motto of the Unionists should be England first and Ireland afterwards. The common sense of the British public may be relied upon to open their eyes to the plain fact that the Irish vote blocks the way to all legislation in the interest of England, unless that legislation is of a kind to facilitate, or at any rate not to retard, the cause of Home Rule. The Irish, whether Parnellites or anti-Parnellites, make no secret of their intention to make the concession of what they call justice to Ireland an essential preliminary to any act of justice to England. The British people are told in so many words that until they grant Home Rule to Ireland they are not to be allowed to legislate on their own affairs and for their own interests. And, as things are, the Nationalists have the power to make good their words. Any attempt, therefore, to propose social reforms for England while the Irish difficulty remains unsettled is as futile, to adopt a metaphor of Mr. Labouchere's in one of his recent philippics against the Ministry, as the loading of a number of trucks while the line is blocked ahead. If my forecast, however, should prove to be correct, an opportunity will shortly present itself by which the line of British legislation may be cleared from the obstruction caused by the Irish vote. The obstruction, as I hold, may be removed without any modification of the principles on which our constitution is formed. Justice may, in fact, be done to England without any injustice being done to Ireland or any other portion of the United Kingdom.

It is understood, on the faith of semi-official announcements, that next session the Government will introduce bills to abolish plural voting, and to reduce the residential qualification for lodger voters to a period of three months. Under the present Government announcements, even of an official character, are not altogether reliable; but in virtue of general considerations the statement seems probable in itself. It is manifest, from the reluctance of the Ministry to face a dissolution, that they fear the result of an appeal to the constituencies. There is reason to believe that the Liberal agents throughout the country have sent reports to headquarters stating that in the absence of Mr. Gladstone the elections will go in favour of the Opposition unless something is done to strengthen the position of the Liberal party. There is, to say the least, a probability that one man one vote, and a large increase in what may be called the migratory electorate, would improve the prospects of the Liberals in a considerable number of doubtful constituencies. Supposing, therefore, that the Government holds together till next session, their obvious policy must be to bolster up the declining strength of their party by some manipu-

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lation of our electoral system such as that to which I have alluded. It may be taken for granted that, no matter how vigorous might be the resistance of the Opposition, the Ministry could carry bills, abolishing the plural vote and reducing the residential period, through the House of Commons. They could rely with confidence on the cordial and united support of their Irish allies in respect of the proposed reforms, as their enactment would not only diminish the probability of a Unionist majority being returned in Great Britain, but would materially increase the supremacy of the Nationalist vote in Ireland. If bills of this character were passed by the popular branch of the Legislature, the hereditary branch would be placed in a position of considerable embarrassment. No doubt the rejection of these reforms by the Upper House would be logically justified by the plea that until the question of Home Rule had been submitted directly to the constituencies it was impolitic and unfair to pass measures designed by a side wind to strengthen that portion of the electorate which, from ignorance and indifference rather than from conviction, is supposed to be ready to accept Home Rule on the recommendation of its party leaders. But this contention, however sound and however reasonable, would hardly commend itself to popular apprehension. Practically the Peers would be forced to choose between accepting reforms which might result indirectly in the return of a Home Rule majority, and rejecting reforms by no means indefensible in themselves, and whose direct result would be to augment the power of the working-class vote. The retention of plural voting and of a prolonged residential qualification by the action of the Lords in direct antagonism to the action of the Commons might possibly, if not probably, supply the Liberals with the popular cry against the House of Lords for which they have hitherto been searching in vain.

Under these circumstances it seems to me that the Unionists ought to hesitate before they make up their minds to identify their party with plural voting and with a refusal to reduce the residential qualification. The wiser course, to my thinking, would be to accept these reforms in principle, and to resist their application unless they were made an integral part of a general reform of our electoral system in accordance with the principle upon which, wisely or unwisely, we have allowed it to be based. That principle, as I have already stated, is the right of the numerical majority to rule the State. It is too late to discuss the question whether that principle is right or wrong in itself. We have adopted it as the basis of our constitution, and, having once adopted it, we cannot get rid of it without a revolution. But even those most adverse to the democratic theory of government cannot be accused of inconsistency if they urge that, as we are henceforth to be ruled by numerical majorities, those majorities should be constituted so as to represent the population. If we are to govern by counting heads,

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irrespective of brains, let the heads, in the name of common sense, be counted in accordance with the rules of arithmetic. With household suffrage, rapidly approximating to manhood suffrage, equal electoral districts have become not only a logical but a practical necessity. My advice, therefore, to the Unionist party would be to meet the demands for depriving the well-to-do classes of the advantage, such as it is, of plural votes, and for conferring, by the reduction of the period of residence, a large increase of power on the poorer classes of voters, by declaring that the time has come to give every elector the same amount of electoral influence. One vote one value should be the cry with which the Unionists should defeat the attempt of the Liberal party to gerrymander the electorate in the interests of Home Rule.

I can fully appreciate the objections entertained in many quarters to the principle of government by numerical majority. But that principle being once admitted, I fail to appreciate the objections to its logical application. I may think that an educated man's vote ought by rights to carry more weight than that of a daily labourer whose thoughts are necessarily absorbed in the question of how to-day's food is to be earned. But if Hodge's vote is to count for as much as that of Crœsus, I cannot for my life understand why the value of each vote should depend on arbitrary and accidental circumstances. It is clear that at no distant period we shall have to rearrange the distribution of electoral power so as to make it conform approximately to representation in accordance with population. This being so, there is no reason why Unionists or Conservatives should not identify themselves with the demand for equal electoral districts.

The details of any such redistribution are far too complicated to discuss here. But the broad principle on which redistribution must proceed is obvious enough. According to the last census, the population of the United Kingdom amounted to 38,000,000. The House of Commons consists of 670 members. If, therefore, we are to have one vote one value, each electoral district should by rights comprise a population of some 57,000. Of course absolute mathematical equality is unattainable. But any properly constituted committee of inquiry would have no difficulty in dividing the United Kingdom into electoral districts, in which, either by enlarging, decreasing, or amalgamating existing constituencies, the electorates would, roughly speaking, be numerically equal. If this were done, each elector in the kingdom would possess the same voting power. I need hardly say that no such redistribution could be absolutely permanent so long as the increase or decrease of population does not progress at a uniform rate. It would be necessary, therefore, from time to time to rearrange our electoral districts so as to preserve the equality [illegible] ue. This is done every ten

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years in the United States, where the number of representatives each State is entitled to send to Congress is altered by law in accordance with the proportion the population of each State may bear to the total population of the Republic. A similar system of revision might easily be devised for the United Kingdom.

I need hardly say that in recommending the advocacy of equal electoral districts to the consideration of the Unionist party I am not influenced by any regard for logical symmetry. As long as a system works well, it is a matter of indifference to me whether it does or does not involve an anomaly; and I should never dream of proposing a wholesale redistribution of seats because the electors of one constituency or class of constituencies happened by the accident of an electoral arrangement to possess more or less of voting power than the amount to which they were properly entitled. My object in recommending the change is to redress a very real and practical inequality. Leaving odd fractions out of account, a simple sum of division will show that if the United Kingdom were divided into 670 equal electoral districts, each comprising as near as possible a population of a little over 57,000 souls, the Parliamentary representation of the different kingdoms would stand about as follows:

England	486
Ireland	87
Scotland	71
Wales	26
	670

Thus Ireland would lose sixteen votes, Wales six votes, and Scotland one, all of which under equal electoral districts would go to England, thus increasing the English representation by twenty-three. It may be said that this gain is not a very large one; but from a Unionist point of view the gain would far exceed these not inconsiderable proportions. If seats were redistributed according to population, the great towns in England would gain very largely, at the expense of the small boroughs and of the agricultural counties; while in Ireland the manufacturing and progressive North would have a great augmentation, if not an actual preponderance, of representation in comparison with the agricultural and unprogressive South. In other words, equal electoral districts would, as things are, give the complete command of electoral power to those parts of the United Kingdom which form the strongholds of the Unionist and Conservative party. Neither I nor anyone else can predict the future; and I am perfectly prepared to admit that at some future time representation according to population may possibly prove advantageous to our political opponents. All I contend is that redistribution has got to come within the course of a few years at latest; and that, this being so, the Unionists would do well

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to take the lead in advocating an inevitable reform, which, in the first instance at any rate, must tell in favour of the cause they have at heart.

Our present system of redistribution is logically indefensible. London, with a considerably larger population than that of the whole Sister Kingdom, has only sixty-three representatives, while Ireland has 103. No doubt the last Reform Bill did much to modify the inequalities of the representative system, but it failed to lay down the simple principle that every vote should, practically speaking, be of one value. This uniformity of voting power is simply and solely the logical development of the theory of democratic government, the theory on which our Government is now based. If, therefore, the Unionists meet the demand for modifications in the suffrage designed to advance the interests of the Gladstonian Liberals by a counter-demand for equal electoral districts, their position is unassailable, while their opponents will be placed in a very difficult dilemma. To oppose equal electoral districts is to repudiate the fundamental principles of the Liberal creed. To accept it is to forfeit the support of the Irish alliance. Parnellite and anti-Parnellite alike would refuse to support a Ministry which proposed not only to reduce the electoral power of Ireland to its legitimate proportions, but to support such a redistribution of the power so reduced as to give the loyal and Protestant north its fair share of representation at the cost of the districts which form the strongholds of Nationalism. To do this would be simply to do justice to England, and to do justice to England is an impossibility for any Government which depends for its existence on the Nationalist vote.

My expectation, therefore, is that in the face of this demand for simple justice to England the Government would drop the idea of gerrymandering our electoral system in the interest of Home Rule. If, however, they should persevere in their intention and force a new Reform Bill through the House by a party vote, while refusing to give one vote one value, the Lords could and would reject the bill without any risk of incurring popular hostility by its rejection. Even party malignity could not represent the refusal to accept a measure which established equal justice to England as an offence against the English people.

It is not only the immediate change caused by the distribution of seats in accordance with population which would benefit England. The same causes which have operated to bring about the supremacy of England in numbers and wealth over every other portion of the United Kingdom must continue to operate in the same direction. Each successive year the relative increase in the population of England is pretty well certain to be greater than the increase in the less-favoured portions of the commonwealth. Each ye[illegible]gland in

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virtue of numerical representation would be entitled to a larger share of political power, and in this way, and this way alone, the predominant partner can expect to obtain equal justice and equal rights. Justice to England is, to take the lowest point of view, a good cry with which to appeal to the British public—that is, to the public whose passive opposition to Home Rule has hitherto defeated the efforts of the Separatist party.

We have got to bring home to the British electorate the plain truth that for years past the course of English legislation and English administration has been barred by the Parliamentary influence of the Irish vote. We have got to show, further, that this influence can be materially diminished, if not destroyed, by carrying out logically the principle of democratic government, and by giving England the share of power to which she is legitimately entitled by her superiority in population. We have got to show, finally, that such a redistribution of electoral power as is required to do justice to England may and will be carried by a Unionist Government, but never can be carried so long as the Liberals retain office by the votes of the Irish contingent. Having shown this, we have supplied the want of a positive as well as a negative policy. Under the cry of Justice to England the English constituencies may be called upon to return Unionist candidates not only in order to prevent the further prosecution of a Separatist policy, but in order to secure for England the power justly due to her as the chief partner in the firm of Great Britain and Ireland. Such an appeal is not likely to remain unanswered. England first and Ireland afterwards should be the motto of the Unionist party if they want a cry and a programme which would go home to the English electorate.

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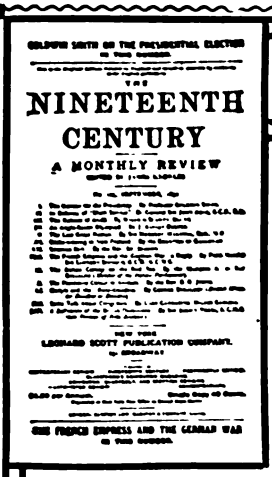

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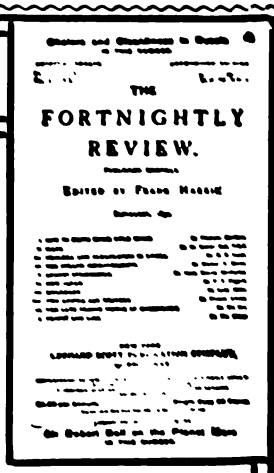

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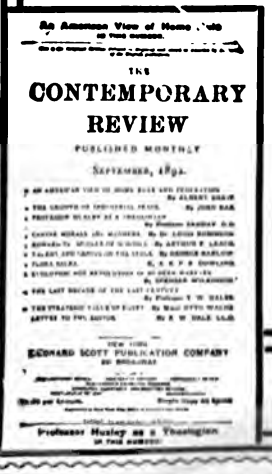

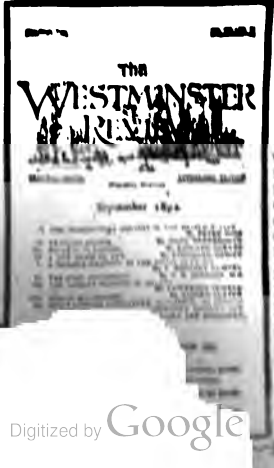

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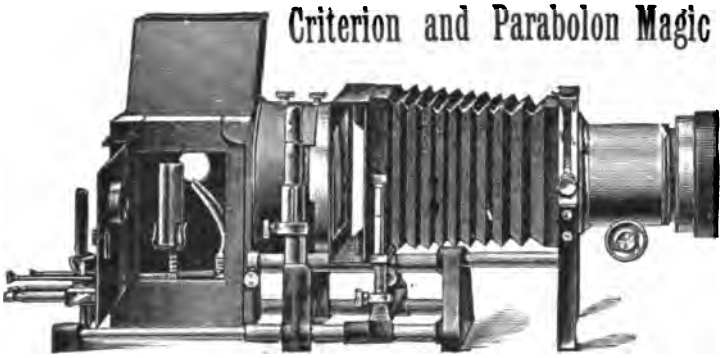

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THE

NINETEENTH CENTURY

No. CCXIV—December 1894

LORD ROSEBERY'S ENTERPRISE AGAINST THE HOUSE OF LORDS

It would be idle to question the gravity of the pronouncement of Lord Rosebery that it is the intention of the Government to introduce, during the next parliamentary session, a resolution declaratory of a policy antagonistic to the House of Lords. At the instance of the Ministers of the Crown, Parliament is to be invited to enter upon the task of fundamentally changing that legislative system which has remained, during the past seven hundred years, organically identical.

Lord Rosebery is singularly—though evidently of set purpose—obscure as to the means by, and the principles on which, the House of Lords is to be deprived of its general equality of status as a legislative Chamber with the House of Commons. The vague declaratory resolution which he announces for next session is but the ceremonial raising of the standard of conflict between the two Houses; the subsequent appeal to the people will, if events prove favourable, result in no more than the formal sanction by them of the principle of that resolution, which, according to the Premier's statement, is in substance to be that the House of Commons, in its partnership with the House of Lords, is 'unmistakably the predominant partner.' If the electorate sanction the resolution, the Government will then proceed to a 'revision of the Constitution'; but, as to its nature and method, Lord Rosebery is silent and apparently intends to remain silent until, if it so happen, the electorate have given their assent to the resolution.

It is, however, inferred from Lord Rosebery's speech that this

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promised revision of the Constitution means what he terms 'the abolition of the veto.'

It is hardly necessary to observe that the word 'veto,' as applied to the legislative functions of the House of Lords in relation to measures that have passed the Commons, is singularly inept. The House of Lords, save in the excepted matter of finance, is the legislative equal of the House of Commons, and if by the term 'veto' it is intended that the Upper House exercises a constitutional function over parliamentary Bills different from that exercised by the Commons the phrase is wholly inaccurate.

Nevertheless, what in substance Lord Rosebery evidently means by 'the abolition of the veto' is that the legislative action of that House is not to proceed further than the power of protest; in other words, the abolition of the House of Lords as a legislative Chamber.

But while all constitutional writers concur that in the theory of our Constitution—save in respect of finance—the House of Lords is the legislative equal of the House of Commons, all, none the less, give general adhesion to the view that the Upper Chamber has, with the progress of society and the development of free institutions, gradually conceded to the Lower House a predominant position. The functions of the modern House of Lords were felicitously described by the late Mr. Bonamy Price:—'To balance and regulate the political movement of the nation . . . to test by temporary resistance the sincerity and strength of the will which demands a change, to make legislation take its stand on the good sense and ultimate judgment, instead of the momentary desire, of the country, and to give continuity and stability to the general policy of the nation.' Quotations from the speeches of distinguished statesmen and the writings of constitutional authorities, abundantly demonstrate that the proper function of the House of Lords is not to initiate legislation, not to offer uncompromising resistance to the measures of the Lower House, but, in the words of Lord Stanley, spoken in 1852, 'to control, amend, and revise, the legislation of the House of Commons.' Further, history clearly proves that although the theory of our Constitution may be otherwise, there has not, since, at least, the days of the Commonwealth existed with us a Second Chamber in the sense in which we understand that institution in the polity of other nations—a Chamber claiming and exercising co-ordinate legislative powers with the popular Assembly.

The general truth of this proposition cannot be impaired by the fact that there have been many measures accepted by the Commons and subsequently rejected by the Lords; but, in every case in which that rejection has so far been final, the House of Commons has not been insistent, and wherever the House of Commons has been insistent, the rejection has not been final—in other words, the House of Lords has often held its gate against the passage of legislation, it has never, in modern times, applied bolts and bars.

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De Tocqueville, commenting in his great work upon the Legislatures of the United States, points out that in those not infrequent conflicts that take place between the Senate and the House of Representatives—Chambers of absolutely co-ordinate legislative powers—the ultimate predominance of the popular Assembly is secured by the same cause that operates in England. 'There is,' he says, 'so irresistible an authority in the legitimate expression of the will of a people that the Senate could offer but a feeble opposition to a vote of the majority of the House of Representatives.' Yet, although the House of Lords has hitherto been little more than a dilatory factor in the work of legislation, there are signs and tokens that the cleavage between the two Houses must, of necessity, grow wider and deeper with each successive Parliament. Mr. Bryce, in his work on the American Commonwealth, justly traces the comparative harmony that exists between their two Chambers to the 'substantial identity of character in the Senate and the House.' 'Both equally represent the people, the whole people, and nothing but the people.' The character of the House of Commons is vastly changed. Less than thirty years ago the members of that House were, for the most part, scions of noble families or landed gentry. Now they have given place to the manufacturer, the merchant, the lawyer, and the journalist; thus, while formerly the intimate personal connections between the members of the two Houses exercised a subtle, yet well-marked, influence in maintaining cordial relations and facilitating the accommodation of difficulties, now, under changed conditions, those relations are formal and constrained, and tend rather in the direction of exasperation than of mutual concession. Further, and above all, the House of Commons is now the facile instrument of that democracy which seeks the subversion of those institutions and interests of which the House of Lords is the representative and custodian.

It is this strongly marked change in the *personnel* and motive force of the House of Commons which tends in the direction of materially altering the constitutional relations between the two Chambers. Lord Salisbury, in his recent reply to Lord Rosebery. although his language was guarded, clearly indicated that henceforth the attitude of the House of Lords would be less complaisant: 'The House of Commons,' he said, 'is becoming less and less fit for the position of solitary domination over the interests of the people of this country.' In these words may be found the key to the future situation; the House of Lords, by prolonging and intensifying their resistance to the legislation of the Commons, will eventually bring about that crisis which Lord Rosebery now seeks to precipitate.

Let it be conceded that the country responds to the appeal of Lord Rosebery and sends back a majority of members pledged to a 'revision of the Constitution.'

Although the Prime Minister speaks in halting and ambiguous

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phrases, yet the most natural inference, and that generally accepted, from his language is that he means 'the abolition of the veto,' that is to say, that the legislative functions of the Upper Chamber are to be confined to an expression of opinion on, or the framing of amendments to, the measures submitted to it, and should that opinion be adverse, or should amendments be framed, the measure will return to the House of Commons, which will exercise its pleasure thereon and, according to that pleasure, the measures, with or without the suggested amendments, will, or will not, become law. This in effect is nothing more nor less than the transformation of the House of Lords into a committee for suggestions and representations—a species of Advisory Board. It is the annihilation of the House of Lords; for it is impossible to conceive that in the event of the hereditary and representative peers being on paper constituted into a consultative Assembly of this character, this Assembly would ever have any corporeal existence. At the present time the peers have a real and effective control over legislation; an authority which, whether in action or in reserve, affords dignity to the Chamber and prestige to its members.

But perhaps Lord Rosebery does not purpose the destruction of the House of Lords, but only its reconstruction or re-organisation. In that policy he may secure the co-operation of the Conservative party, but he will purchase that co-operation at the expense of the support of the preponderating section of his own party.

It would be idle to enter into a disquisition upon the various schemes that have been formulated for the construction of a Second Chamber; not the least remarkable was that which Lord Rosebery submitted to the House of Lords in 1888. His proposed Second Chamber was to consist of: (1) a delegation chosen from and by the existing peers; (2) persons elected by the County and Municipal Councils; (3) colonists of position; and (4) certain persons nominated by the Ministry as their representatives. Such was the remarkable Assembly that Lord Rosebery proposed should control the legislative activity of the House of Commons. His plan was transcended in ingenuity by that of Lord Dunraven, who proposed, in addition to 180 delegated peers from the present Order, that there should be certain life peers—10 for the Colonies, 2 for the Roman Catholics, 2 for Protestant Dissenters, 2 'for science, letters, and sound learning generally,' and 1 for each County Council. The most moderate proposal, entirely free from the fantastic attributes that characterise the schemes above mentioned, was that of Lord Salisbury—it merely provided for the removal of unworthy persons, and that there should be power in the Crown to appoint 50 life peers chosen from men of learning or distinction in the service of their country.

All the above-mentioned schemes of reconstruction, and the many others that have from time to time been formulated, have, be

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it observed, one distinct object to serve, and also entail one inevitable result, namely, the strengthening of the House of Lords and the diminution of the predominance of the House of Commons. It is obvious that a Chamber resting on the popular sanction involved in the formal Act of Parliament so constituting it, composed of men selected for their learning, wisdom, or civic distinction, and, perhaps, participating in the elective element, would stand in an incomparably stronger position in relation to the House of Commons than a Chamber solitary among the Second Chambers of Europe, as exclusively—save and except the four Law Lords—representing the hereditary Baronage of fourteenth century feudalism.

If it were possible to construct a Second Chamber to act with the House of Commons on the terms of common relation to the nation, admirably expressed by Mr. Bryce in his description, already cited, of the American Houses—'both equally representing the people, the whole people, and nothing but the people'—then indeed the Constitution might gain in stability, and legislation proceed on firmer and more consistent principles; but, if that end cannot be compassed, the statesman who sets about the task of destroying the archaic survival of our early civilisation and building up a new Senate, equally unpopular in its instincts, but resting on a higher constitutional sanction, may be likened to the biblical character who swept and garnished his house only to realise results more disastrous.

It is a curious fact that the great majority of modern Legislatures consist of two Chambers, and from that fact constitutional writers have frequently drawn the inference that Second Chambers have been established, by the wisdom of mankind, for the set purpose of securing greater deliberation and consistency in their legislative and administrative policy. So far as the more ancient Legislatures of Europe are concerned, that theory will not stand the test of historical examination. The true origin of the majority of European Second Chambers may be illustrated by the history of those of France and England. In England, as is well known, the two Chambers owe their origin to the distinct principles upon which the barons and prelates and the *communitates* were taxed—they separately voted their taxes, and thus not unnaturally drifted into two Chambers, though originally the three orders, clergy, nobles and commons, collectively met. In the same way the three orders of les Etats Généraux, in 1302 gathered together in Notre-Dame; 'la noblesse tient le premier rang et les princes du sang font corps avec elle.' After the Chancellor gives out the royal message asking for advice and aids, 'les trois corps se séparèrent pour en délibérer.' It will be remembered that, after being in abeyance for 175 years, the three orders of les Etats Généraux met in 1789, and that the third estate, on the withdrawal of the two other estates, constituted itself into a single legislative Chamber. The subsequent Legislatures of 1795 and 1799

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were divided into two Chambers, partly from the traditions of les Etats Généraux and partly from the example afforded by other European nationalities.

In the case of modern Legislatures there is little doubt that the example of England was not an immaterial factor in causing the institution of Second Chambers. Undoubtedly such was the case with respect to our Colonies; although in the United States it may be that the principal reason for establishing two Chambers was that the Senate represented the individual States making up the Union, and the House of Representatives the whole Union.

The advocates of a Second Chamber contend that it operates as a check upon hasty and ill-considered legislation, and prevents permanent evil consequences resulting from a merely transient phase of popular opinion. Their contention is not without weight; although, on the other hand, it would be difficult to indicate instances where the riper judgment of the nation has justified the action of the House of Lords in rejecting measures which have been passed by the Commons, or where such action has resulted in more than unprofitable delay. The vital issue of Local Government for Ireland is still *coram populo*, and no final inference can therefore be drawn therefrom. It is, moreover, certain that the individual responsibility of members of the Lower House is much weakened by the fact that their legislative decision is not final; it is of no uncommon occurrence for a member to permit his better judgment to yield to party pressure or the clamour of an importunate section of his constituents, encouraged to do so by the comforting reflection that by means of a Second Chamber, without personal hurt to himself, that better judgment will ultimately prevail.

It may, however, be granted that a Second Chamber, identical in political and social sympathies with the Lower Chamber, but free from the immediate influence of passing waves of popular excitement, might exist with advantage to the State—in a partial degree such an institution exists in Norway. Their representatives are elected to the Storthing, but the Storthing, on its election, divides itself into two Houses, the Lagthing the larger, and the Odelsthing the smaller body, and legislation has, on the same principle as in this country, to pass through both Houses, but in event of persistent disagreement the two Houses become merged, and the vote of the majority prevails, but this is not a method of restraining the power of Democracy, or of maintaining the influence of the aristocracy, it is merely a plan more effective than the standing orders of a single Chamber for securing greater deliberation in procedure.

A Second Chamber, resting on an aristocratic basis and effectively exercising co-ordinate powers with the representative body, cannot continue in a country where the representative Chamber is purely democratic. Prior to 1832 the control of the State was with the

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aristocracy; from 1832 to 1885 it was with the aristocracy and the middle class, with a leaven of Democracy; since 1885 the sovereign power is the Democracy.

But if it be the abolition of the House of Lords that Lord Rosebery intends, how is that end to be compassed? Lord Rosebery indicates two possible means, namely: (*a*) a great act of renunciation of their powers in obedience to the definitely expressed will of the Commons; (*b*) revolution—by which term he appears to mean submission by the Lords, through fear of the application of force. Lord Salisbury accepts this view of the situation, but the former seems even more sceptical than the latter as to the probability of success, for he says: 'No such Bill as the abolition of the House of Lords, or the limitation of the veto of the Lords'—and he admits the two are identical—'would ever pass the House of Lords . . . unless you overawe the House of Lords. . . . Of course you may get the House of Lords to surrender as you get a fortress to surrender, by making it clear that it is encompassed and besieged beyond all hope of deliverance, but that in itself is not an easy task.' It is certainly not with high hopes of a speedy deliverance that Lord Rosebery invites the Liberal party to stake their fortunes upon this venture, but he clearly recognises and frankly declares that it is only by the revolutionary method that he can hope to succeed.

It will be well to inquire what are the conditions under which Lord Rosebery embarks on his enterprise. He tells us he counts for the success of his appeal to the country upon what he describes as 'a feeling of subdued but persistent resentment against the House of Lords.' The phrase is felicitous, but probably the situation might more accurately be described by saying that there is a general conviction on the part of the public that law-making power by way of inheritance is an irrational anachronism. Profound, however, as that conviction may be, it is not by itself adequate to submerge those multitudinous issues which constitute the battle-field of a parliamentary election. Issues, not indeed so large, but of more immediate interest, captivate the electorate, and in the name of Home Rule, Disestablishment of Churches, the Liquor Traffic *et hoc genus omne*, the electorate are sectionally appropriated by one or the other party. At intervals in our political history some issue appears transcending all others. Such occasions were the Reform elections of 1830–31; the struggle for the repeal of the Corn Laws, and, in later times, the agitation for the Disestablishment of the Irish Church; but now, in the absence of one definite and all-absorbing issue, the electorate is distracted by the confusion of tongues clamouring over the manifold items of a Newcastle programme.

It may be that, between now and the general election, the Peers may outrage the susceptibilities of the people and relegate their fate as a definite and unobscu[illegible] [illegible]gment of an indignant

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electorate; but the parliamentary programme of the approaching session seems to afford scant hope of that consummation. On the other hand, if Lord Rosebery is to rely—as indeed he declares—upon their misdeeds during the past session, his case is not formidable. They rejected Home Rule, but in so doing they obeyed the electorate of England, by whose adverse verdict he can alone secure their condemnation; they threw out the Evicted Tenants Bill, but that can hardly be regarded as a measure of capital importance, and at any rate it stands in *pari passu* with Home Rule; they sought to amend the Employers' Liability Bill, but therein they had the support of no insignificant section of Liberal members of the Commons, and working-class opinion was at least divided thereon. This, so far as the last session was concerned, is the 'head and front of their offending.'

If, therefore, the attack upon the House of Lords cannot be successfully founded upon the record of the present Parliament, neither can it be justified by their action during the preceding Parliament, 1886–1892; for then, during the Conservative administration, it was the complaisant ally of the Lower House. Its delinquencies must therefore be traced to a period before 1886. But what was the opinion of the most advanced section of the Radical party in the autumn of 1885? In that year appeared a series of treatises entitled 'The Radical Programme.' Its preface was written by Mr. Chamberlain, then the *enfant terrible* of the Conservative, the idol of the new Liberal. It is no exaggeration to say that this little book was the text-book from which political inspiration was drawn by Liberal and Radical candidates during the election of 1885. The book contains little concerning the House of Lords, but the following extract sufficiently indicates its attitude towards that Chamber: 'No one now menaces the Peers with disestablishment, because they have acquiesced in the national will.' If, then, the course of contemporary politics does not on its surface afford an explanation, to what cause or causes are we to trace this unexpected declaration of war by the leader of the Liberal party? The pressure of Mr. Labouchere and the resolution of the Leeds Conference may have precipitated the event, but the true reason is probably to be found in the intolerable position which the Liberal party occupies in relation to the House of Lords. The Upper House has become the ally of the Conservative, the antagonist of the Liberal party. This is not a temporary but a permanent condition; it is not so much the outcome of the Irish policy, as of the Reform Bills of 1867 and 1885, which have resulted in the identification of the Liberal party with those advanced political and social reforms which menace the interests and outrage the sentiments of the landed aristocracy. Prior to 1885, the Liberal party, though in a considerable minority, enjoyed an effective share in the deliberative and legislative activity of the Upper Chamber, now it is an insignificant fraction, and it may justly be said

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that although Lord Salisbury does not possess the titular rank of Premier, for all legislative purposes he is as much the Prime Minister of England as Lord Rosebery. It is obvious that the Liberal party cannot continue to quietly submit to a situation which places their legislative achievements at the absolute and unchecked discretion of their political antagonists, and operates as a helpful factor to a Conservative Ministry by facilitating their legislative and administrative work.

It is however a grave question whether, in the interests of his party, Lord Rosebery is warranted in jeopardising their political fortunes upon so perilous an enterprise. The House of Lords cannot be destroyed by the mandate of an imperious Minister, nor at the dictation of a political party. Its destruction can only be compassed by the national will responsive to a profound sentiment of popular indignation. It was thus the House of Lords fell during the Commonwealth; it was thus the Parlement de Paris perished, and the Third Estate of les États Généraux became, in 1789, the Legislative Assembly of France. If Lord Rosebery can arouse a like national sentiment, if even he can induce those who profess the Liberal creed to lay aside the narrow and selfish interests of faction and address themselves to the realisation of the ideal of a perfected democracy, then, though the struggle may be arduous, ultimate success will attend his efforts; but if at the coming election the verdict of the country, be it through indifference to the issue raised or greater regard to other and more immediate issues, result in the rejection of Lord Rosebery's policy, while the House of Lords will gain in prestige and receive encouragement to assertion of a larger authority, on the other hand the democratic principle of government will sustain a shock of which the Liberal party will be at once the author and the victim.

L. A. Atherley Jones.

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IF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS WERE ABOLISHED?

An Act to abolish the Commons House of Parliament is scarcely within the scope of practical politics, and a man who could seriously propose such a measure would probably be regarded as a lunatic. Certainly no one in his senses would voluntarily attempt so great a revolution as that of removing from the Constitution the most imposing and conspicuous portion of its machinery.

But institutions are apt to lose their real power and working efficiency long before anybody would think of taking active steps to do away with them. It is generally felt that the House of Commons has not increased in dignity and authority of late years; but it is not, perhaps, recognised that the lower chamber of Parliament now performs functions of government, legislation, and administration considerably less important and valuable than those with which it is credited, not merely in the vague theory of the Constitution, but also in the opinion of most Englishmen.

Ask any person of fair intelligence what the House of Commons is and what it does, and his answer, given without much thought of the matter, would probably be to the effect that it was the real, if not the nominal, sovereign body in the Empire; that it made our laws, chose our Ministers, and controlled the Executive in the daily conduct of affairs; that it was the supreme custodian and steward of the nation's purse; that it was the great arena for the discussion of national business, and the main instrument for the redress of all public grievances. This is the view of the House of Commons to which Englishmen have been accustomed from childhood, and they accept it mechanically. But a little close consideration of the subject would show that of all the great functions commonly attributed to the House of Commons there is scarcely one which is now performed satisfactorily by that assembly, or which is not performed quite as efficiently by some other agency. One may go further, and say that, shattering as the blow to our sense of settled order and stability would be if the House could suddenly be destroyed, its destruction would not necessarily produce absolute chaos. The

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extinction of the Commons, supposing that by some miracle it could be accomplished quietly, quickly, and painlessly, without disorder, revolution, or violent perturbations, would not necessarily bring the Constitution to a standstill. With a little modification and adaptation of existing practices it would be found that matters might go on, in effect, very much as they do at present. The main difference would be that we should then recognise the real character of our system of government, as it has developed itself in comparatively recent years, instead of concentrating our attention on the cumbrous and antiquated House of Commons vesture which hides the structure and true anatomy from our eyes.

Take the chief nominal and ostensible functions of the House of Commons, and consider how far the House does actually perform them at present. The most important of these functions, according to all the text-books and theories of the Constitution, are these:

(1) Legislation.
(2) Administration and executive control.
(3) Financial policy and management.
(4) The discussion of abuses and the redress of grievances.
(5) The appointment of Ministers.
(6) The testing and selecting of public men in debate.

It is impossible to maintain that the House of Commons still retains its old and theoretical supremacy and efficiency in all these matters, or indeed in any of them. The Cabinet in the first place, the Caucus in the second, the Platform, the Press, Public Opinion, Society, and other powers and influences, have encroached on the dominion of Parliament, and more particularly on that of the Lower Chamber, in one or other province, till now there is none in which the control of the House of Commons is absolute, and scarcely one in which it has not largely abandoned the real, though not the formal, authority and effective force to other hands. Let us take the points mentioned in their order.

The House of Commons as a Legislative Body

The law-making function is, if not the oldest, at any rate the most dignified, showy, and conspicuous attribute of Parliament, and the one that strikes the popular imagination with the liveliest force. It has so far dwarfed the other powers and duties of the great national councils that we commonly talk of the two Houses, and sometimes of the Lower House alone, as the Legislature. But can anyone really affirm that the members of the House of Commons do now make the laws of these realms? To do so would exhibit either a hardy disregard of facts, or else a comprehensive ignorance of the conditions under which the public affairs of the nation are conducted. Every member of Parliament, [illegible] tion of about six or eight who sit on the

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front bench to the right of the Speaker's chair, would admit, if he spoke the truth, that he had little more real power to make laws than the writer of these lines. Like him, the M.P. has a right to criticise, to object, to suggest; but that is all. The 'legislator,' it is true, may utter his criticisms, his objections, or his suggestions in a way that appears to give them a certain air of authority, and may help to secure them some necessary degree of publicity; though even then it is much to be doubted whether a seat on the floor of the House, where it slopes away to the mountainous and unregarded solitudes below the side galleries, has any advantage over the position I am permitted to occupy in this Review; or whether the orator who addresses an attenuated House in a speech of half an hour's duration (neatly summarised in five lines of the *Times* the next morning) can be said to exercise an effective influence over the legislative projects of Ministers greater than that possessed by anybody else who has the opportunity of addressing his countrymen by writing or by word of mouth. Certainly I should be surprised to hear any thoughtful person seriously maintain that such men as the late Cardinal Manning or the present Archbishop Vaughan, or such as Mr. Herbert Spencer, Mr. Auberon Herbert, Mr. Charles Booth, Mr. Frederic Harrison, the Rev. Samuel Barnett, Professor Huxley, Mr. Stead, or Mr. Tom Mann, none of whom is or was in Parliament, would not have as much direct power to get measures accepted or rejected as most members of the House of Commons. But, indeed, what power has any member of the House to shape legislation, except the few who compose the inner ring of the Cabinet for the time being? Mr. Balfour is one of the most powerful and influential men now alive; he has behind him the enthusiastic devotion and respect of a constituency which is numbered by millions; he is accepted, with unquestioning satisfaction and sincerity, as the representative of their political opinions, by nearly one-half the inhabitants of a great country. His position, even if supported by less brilliant ability, renders him a critic of legislation whose lightest words are listened to with attention; nor do I deny that such attention is bestowed upon him by Ministers, or assert that they can afford to disregard his arguments or his proposals. Nevertheless, in the present Parliament, and until a general election has changed the position of parties, Mr. Balfour can neither legislate nor—as far as the House of Commons is concerned—prevent legislation on any subject of a controversial nature: that is to say, on any subject which is of sufficient importance to excite widespread interest. No doubt if Mr. Balfour chose to bring in some harmless or colourless measure—an amendment of the Dental Acts, let us say, or a bill to regulate the placing of street letter-boxes—he would have a good chance of carrying it into law; but even then that would only be because the Minister whose department it touched might be disposed to take a favourable view of it. Mr. Balfour's position and personal influence

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would cause the suggestion to come before the Ministerial mind with greater weight than if it had been made by a writer in a newspaper; but beyond this Mr. Balfour has really not much more power to get even an administrative reform carried than any casual correspondent of the *Times*. If the department, through the Minister temporarily at the head of it, decides that the Dental Acts do not need amendment, or that street letter-boxes are suitably placed already, Mr. Balfour would know very well that he is powerless to do much more than the correspondents or editors of newspapers—that is, to protest, to educate opinion on the matter, to rouse public interest in it, to demand action upon it at some future time. Some of this work he would probably accomplish from his place in Parliament; but he could do it quite as effectually, and very probably might even find it more convenient and desirable to do it, on the platform, in the Press, and through the magazines. In Parliament he has no more real control over legislation than he has outside. If he chooses to insist upon his opinion and to divide the House against the Ministry, he will do it only to emphasise his protest; he would know quite well that he cannot prevail upon the Chamber to give effect to his views. For the moment that the leader of the Opposition announces that he proposes to divide against the Government on the Pillar-box Bill, that bill would become a party question; the Ministry would stand or fall by it; the majority would vote one way, the minority would vote the other; and as the Ministry, from the nature of the case, represents the majority and the leader of the Opposition the minority, the latter, of course, must be, and always is, beaten wherever the subject of the fight is of sufficient importance for the parties to muster their forces. So, to begin with, nearly one-half of the members at the House are not legislators at all, or only legislators on sufferance and on matters of no moment. They can neither make laws nor prevent laws being made. They can, it is true, talk about them while they are in the process of making; but so can anybody else. I do not undervalue the splendid ability and skill with which the Opposition leaders of both sections raked the Home Rule Bill with their eloquence on its passage through the House. But for all the practical effect these superb speeches had on the fortunes of the Bill in the House itself, they might as well have been delivered in St. James's Hall. The Bill was brought in to be carried by the full Gladstonian majority, and carried it was by practically that majority, as it would have been if it had been twice as long and twice as mischievous, and twice as unpopular out-of-doors. This is not to say that the arguments and rhetoric of the Conservative and Liberal Unionist champions were wasted. Quite the contrary. I believe they were of the greatest possible value in training, enlightening, and directing the public mind. But I am speaking now of their effect on the House of Commons. And here they could do nothing except settle the

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convictions of Mr. T. H. Bolton, and disturb those of Dr. Wallace and Mr. William Saunders—a result which, however gratifying in itself, was hardly adequate to the expenditure of time and energy needed to secure it. Mr. Balfour and Mr. Chamberlain did not turn votes, nor would Cicero and Demosthenes under like conditions. It is of the essence of our existing parliamentary system, as it has developed in recent years, that votes are not turned. A man is elected to vote for a particular Ministry or to vote against it; to say ditto to Mr. Gladstone or ditto to Lord Salisbury. The M.P. is the delegate of his constituents, or rather of that active political section of his constituents which for convenience may be called the Caucus. 'Your representative,' said Burke to the electors of Bristol, 'owes you not his industry only, but his judgment, and he betrays instead of serving you if he sacrifices it to your opinion. I maintained your interests against your opinions, with a constancy that became me. I knew you chose me to be a pillar of the State, and not a weathercock on the top of the edifice.' But that is not at all the view of a representative's functions taken by the members of a modern Liberal Six Hundred or Conservative Association. They do not send him to Parliament to exercise his independence; they would be particularly annoyed and irritated if he did; and they scrutinise his votes with jealous care, in order that they may take him to task speedily, and with no superfluous delicacy or reserve, if he shows any dangerous tendency in that direction. And the modern M.P. understands the conditions of his political existence so well that, in point of fact, he hardly ever (for practical purposes one may say never) does vote against his party on any party issue, especially when his own side is in office. Rare indeed are the cases during the last twenty years in which a Ministry has been beaten in a party division by the defection of its own supporters. One of these, the defeat of the Gladstone Government in 1885, on Mr. Childers's Budget Bill, was partly an accident, if it was not, as many people thought, produced by the connivance of Ministers themselves, engaged in the process known as 'riding for a fall'; while the defeat of the Government, in 1886, on the first Home Rule Bill was not so much a revolt against the Ministry as the result of civil war within that body—a mutiny in the camp, with several of the generals at its head. In practice, then, we may take it that, whatever the theory of the Constitution may be, a Ministry once put into office by the vote of the electorate can count on the votes of the whole body of its supporters, for any legislative project whatsoever, until it chooses, or is compelled, to dissolve Parliament.

The Cabinet and the Caucus:[1] these are the real, efficient, working parts of the political machine. So far as law-making goes, there is

[1] I use this word with no opprobrious or contemptuous connotation, but simply as a convenient mode of designating the political associations and party organisations in the constituencies.

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no room for the House of Commons between those upper and nether millstones. As for the Opposition, it has been shown that it can be eliminated; it does not count, except here and there by the contemptuous, or the courteous, acquiescence of members of the administrative oligarchy for the time being in power. Nor is the case of the member of the Ministerial side outside the Ministry itself much better. He is not in any true sense a legislator; he has in reality no power to make new laws or to prevent them being made, or to amend old ones. He is not consulted, any more than the members of the Opposition, on bills which Ministers propose to introduce; he sees them only when they come from the printers'; and then he knows that, whether he likes them or not, he will have to support them in the Lobby, or, at any rate, such parts of them as are vital, if his leaders choose to insist upon them. Lord Salisbury, in his Edinburgh speech on the 30th of October, uttered a few pregnant words on this subject:—

> There is an enormous change in the House of Commons as I recollect it, and that evolution is going on still; and we have reached this point—that discussion of a measure is possible in the Cabinet, but for any effective or useful purpose, it is rapidly becoming an impossibility in the House of Commons.

It is all very well to say that a private member can bring pressure to bear upon his chiefs by declaring that he will not vote for the Bill unless it is altered here or there. Ministers know, and he knows, and everybody knows, that he will not carry out his threat; he would no more vote against a Government measure on the second reading, or against what Mr. Gladstone has called an 'organic detail' in Committee, than a player in a football team would turn over to the other side because he disapproved of the manner in which the captain had placed his forwards. The athletes in our parliamentary ring have to play the game; and the game is that you go with your party. The member who did anything else would ruin his political career, and be considered by his constituents to have committed a moral breach of trust. Anyone who wants to understand what the British Constitution is in practice, as distinguished from what it is in the text-books, must grasp this point. Governments may be, and are, defeated in the constituencies; they are no longer—accidents and chance divisions apart—defeated in the House. Once placed in office, a Ministry can do, within reasonable limits, pretty much as it pleases, till either a fresh general election occurs by efflux of time, or till it is warned by the results of the by-elections that it will be prudent to venture a dissolution. How little real control members of the Commons, on either side, can exercise over the legislation proposed by Ministers, was strikingly, and even startlingly, illustrated in the Session of 1893, when a measure so controversial as the Home Rule Bill, one on which it is inconceivable that all the members of the majority—to say nothing of the Opposition—could have seen absolutely eye to eye, was voted

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through, at the call of the Cabinet, with more than two-thirds of its clauses not so much as discussed in Committee. The rank and file of the predominant party can be content without even looking at the Acts they are asked to make into law for all time. It is enough that the Ministers are the chosen of the constituents who have sent *them* to Westminster. Their task is simple. 'Theirs not to reason why, theirs not to make reply'; but only to vote—straight. The Caucus and the Cabinet system combined have made the ideal of the member of Parliament approximate to that of the soldier, in whose code of duty the first word is Obedience.

Let us assume for a moment that, by some such silent and miraculous revolution as I have hinted at above, the House of Commons had been swept out of existence, while the other parts of our Constitution were left standing. I suggest that in all essentials the progress of events in regard to the Home Rule Bill would have been little different from what it was. The function fulfilled by the House of Commons, though it looked all-important, was in reality almost otiose. Suppose that Mr. Gladstone and his colleagues had been elected by the direct choice of the constituencies, instead of by a process of secondary election through the Houses of Parliament. Instead of sending a number of respectable, mediocre, or distinguished political items to London, to support Mr. Gladstone until he resigned or dissolved, the Home Rule majority of the three kingdoms might just as well have cast their vote at once for Mr. Gladstone and such colleagues as he desired to assist him in the government of the country. Suppose the Ministry thus chosen had 'tabled' its Home Rule Bill before the nation on the first of February, by means of the Queen's printers, and had announced that, by the last day of July, that bill, with such alterations as Ministers themselves might incline to make in it, should be sent up to the House of Lords? I ask what difference in the general result this would have produced. The bill would have been before the country for six months; it would have been discussed, criticised, turned inside out, defended by its supporters, riddled and bombarded by its opponents, in the newspapers, in the magazines, and on the platform. The fine speeches of the front Opposition bench would have had quite as much effect on the mind of the nation and on the minds of Ministers if they had been delivered at public meetings; and scores of other members who never got a chance of speaking on the measure in the House would have had leisure and opportunity to talk about it to the country. Publicists like Professor Dicey, whose criticism of the two Home Rule Bills had probably as much influence as that of most M.P.'s, would still have had their say. If there might have been rather less speaking, because the shutters were down over the 'talking-shop' at Westminster, there would have been a little more writing about the Bill; and considering that most men write with rather greater care and

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thought than they speak, that would have been no disadvantage. In the space that intervened between the first and third readings of the Home Rule Bill, the measure, it is true, was altered a good deal by its authors, and in parts almost recast; but that alteration was not due to adverse votes in the House of Commons. It was the effect of searching criticism and of the conviction brought home to the minds of Ministers that some parts of their bill would not 'work.' But the criticism would have been as acute and as potent in producing its results if it had been delivered anywhere else but on the floor of the House. Once admit that all the oratory of Westminster will not turn half a dozen votes one way or the other, except on an issue for which nobody cares, and the chief theoretical function of the debates disappears. The House is not a legislating Chamber; it is a machine for discussing the legislative projects of Ministers, and as such it has no great superiority over the various other instruments by which political discussion is in these days carried on.

The House of Commons as the Controller of the Executive

What has been said of legislation applies largely to administration. The House of Commons no longer controls the Executive; on the contrary, the Executive controls the House of Commons. The theory is (see the text-books) that the Ministers must justify their several measures before the representatives of the nation; once they fail to do that, the representatives will turn them out. This is quite admirable as a theory, and up till a comparatively recent time it corresponded, more or less, to the facts; but it certainly does not do so at present. The modern practice is that the Cabinet is not turned out of office by Parliament *whatever it does*. It is quite understood now that on a vote of confidence, or on anything which it chooses to treat as a vote of confidence, the Prime Minister can always count upon practically his majority. A member, disgusted or unconvinced, may perhaps invent an excuse or a parliamentary attack of illness in order to stay away from the division; but to vote against his party would be regarded by his constituents as a serious breach of faith, and even too frequent abstention would not be tolerated. And this is so clearly recognised that nobody would now divide the House upon an act of the Executive with any hope of forcing the Ministry to resign; it is simply done to impress the country, and to call attention, in a striking manner, to the criticisms and arguments directed against the Government. Under the circumstances, the control of the House of Commons over the Executive is little greater than that of the United States Congress. It is often dwelt upon by English writers as a blot on the American system that the representatives of the constituencies have no real power to supervise the Administration. They cannot displace the President, who, therefore,

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during his four years' tenure of office, can do what he pleases, subject only to the consideration that, if he does anything very unpopular or very unwise, his party is not likely to come in again at the next election. But that is very nearly the case of an English Premier, with this main difference, that his command of office and unlimited power is not a fixed term of four years, but some indefinite period (less than seven years), the limits to which will be set by himself, after consultation with the party whips and due consideration of the by-elections and the reading of the political barometer in the constituencies. You cannot tell beforehand how long Lord Salisbury or Lord Rosebery will choose to hold office when he comes in; but you may take it as practically certain that till he goes out he will be allowed to carry on the administration, subject, indeed, to unmeasured criticism in the House of Commons, but not subject to the practical and effectual check of an adverse vote in that Assembly. The real check upon a too gross and salient misuse of Ministerial power is, no doubt, the salutary fear of public opinion; but this is a restraint that would be pretty nearly as operative without the assistance of the House of Commons, which does not respond to it except after a general election. The country may change its politics in consequence of the acts or omissions of the Executive, but the rank and file of the House do not. If they do, we should find members constantly, or at any rate occasionally, voting with the Opposition; but that does not happen. The custom of voting with the party has solidified into a rule; and that rule established, the control of Parliament disappears. How can the Executive be controlled by a body the majority of which is certain to support it whatever it does? And if I am told that I am assuming too much, and that Parliament has not abandoned its right to censure or punish an unwise Executive, I again point to the witness of contemporary history. I ask how often has a Government been beaten by a hostile vote of the House of Commons, during the last twenty years, on any point involving administrative action of real importance, and whether in those twenty years it is not to be supposed that the Ministers of both parties have not done some things which deserved condemnation? But condemned they have not been; and how could they be condemned by their own followers, who are sent to Westminster, not as statesmen and legislators, but as delegates of a party Caucus, to support a party combination? So far, then, as administration is concerned, I say that if the House of Commons could 'softly and silently vanish away,' like the people in Lewis Carroll's poem who had seen the Boojum, its disappearance would make no essential difference in the practical conduct of our affairs. Ministers would devise the big-drum, high-sounding measures of State policy—as they do now; departmental officers would quietly carry on the humdrum, every-day details of national business—as they do now; the former would be fiercely criticised in the open,

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and not reversed unless their authors themselves could be induced to believe, chiefly by the press and the platform, that they were inexpedient—which is the case at present; and the latter would be untouched, save here and there by some expert, whose best chance would still be that of convincing the official hierarchy, through its nominal chiefs in Parliament, that they were wrong on some practical details. The nation's business would probably be done no better and no worse if the House of Commons formally abrogated that theoretical control of the Executive which it has so long abandoned in practice.

The House as a Guardian of the National Finances

On this point there is no need to dwell. If what has been said above is correct, it applies to the management of finance, which is partly administration and partly legislation, and in either character, as I have endeavoured to show, is beyond the effectual control of non-Ministerial members of Parliament. The Budget, the Naval Estimates, the Civil Service Votes, are part of the general policy of the Government; as such, according to the now established principle, they are bound to be accepted by the majority. They may be altered in detail with the acquiescence of their authors; not otherwise. The province of private members in regard to them is limited to criticism, and there are special reasons why in these cases their criticism, as a rule, is particularly inefficacious. The details of these subjects are often highly technical, and the House is a miscellaneous body of amateurs, overburdened with work, and—so far as the majority of its members are concerned—extremely ignorant of the complicated questions which arise in connection with the financial and departmental measures presented to it. The consequence is that debate on these subjects is almost abandoned to the handful of experts, who are too few in numbers and too little influential with the outside public to be able to force their views on unwilling Ministers. Who is not familiar with the farce of a debate on the Army or the Navy in Committee of Supply? Millions are voted away, vital questions of Imperial importance are discussed and disposed of in the presence of a Minister and an under-secretary or two, an ex-First Lord, a couple of thoughtful hobbyists, and a dozen or so of growling colonels and grumbling admirals. The bulk of the House—busy, fatigued, bored, and idle—is out at dinner, or on the terrace, or in the smoking-room; its members will come and vote if required, but otherwise will know no more of the debate than the general public, who will glance languidly the next morning over the array of unintelligible figures and unfamiliar names. Here, again, the function of the House of Commons is no longer active. Other organs could, and in point of fact do, supply its place. Which would command the more attention:

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a speech by Lord Charles Beresford, or Sir Charles Dilke, or Mr. Arnold Forster, on some military or naval topic, in Committee of the House of Commons; or a letter in large type in the *Times* by any one of these authorities? No one who follows public affairs can have any doubt as to the answer to this question. Several times in recent years it has been shown that it is far easier to compel a Government to change its naval policy as the result of a 'scare' or an agitation got up in the newspapers, than by means of votes or speeches in Parliament.

The House as a Ventilating Chamber

That Parliament is still used to call attention to abuses and to demand the redress of public grievances no one will deny. Yet even here it has been largely superseded. No doubt a question in the House of Commons is one way of giving publicity to a subject. But it is only one way. There are plenty of others, and some of them are equally effectual. The value of the question asked or the resolution moved, and its influence on the public mind, depend not so much on the fact that it is put in the House, as on the personal weight of the member who brings it forward. The time has gone by when anybody can be greatly impressed by the mere mention of a matter in Parliament. All that is secured is the certainty of a report in the newspapers. But the man of weight in affairs can 'get into the papers,' and so reach the ear of the public, by other methods if he pleases. In any case we have to come back to our two great powers—the Cabinet and the Caucus. The object of the question or the motion is to impress the Ministry directly or the electorate indirectly. No one supposes that it is possible by any action inside the House to get the Government to do anything which it is unwilling to do. And this is so far assumed that the ventilating process now more and more tends to be carried on without the assistance of Parliament at all. If you want an administrative evil remedied, or a new project accepted, you may write to the papers about it; or you may get up a public meeting and make speeches upon it; or you may instruct the member for your division to be good enough to ask a question in the House about it. But if you are really anxious to draw the maximum of attention to your subject, you will probably induce some persons of influence to go in deputation and talk to one of the Ministers about it. Thereby you serve a double object. In the first place, you may perhaps bring over to your views the temporarily omnipotent individual who can, if he chooses, give effect to them; and, if you do not succeed in that, you have at any rate brought the matter before the notice of the public in what may be called a formal and official manner. Everybody must have noticed how this practice of deputationising Ministers on all sorts of questions has increased of late

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years; but perhaps everybody has not realised that the custom is a tacit recognition of the growing importance of the Cabinet and the declining weight of Parliament. Persuade the Minister, if you can; that done, you need not trouble to persuade the House of Commons.

The House of Commons as a Maker of Ministers

Admit all the arguments suggested above, and it will be said that there is one function remaining to the House of Commons which is of supreme importance. Bagehot and Hearn and other writers on the Constitution have insisted that neither law-making, nor administrative control, nor the care of the public purse, nor the redress of grievances, is the highest and most difficult task of the representative Chamber. Besides and beyond all this it is the Grand Elector, or rather the grand selector; it is its business to nominate and appoint that committee of persons who for the time being rule the Empire. Modern constitutionalists, recognising how largely the powers of Government and legislation have been absorbed by the body which we call the Cabinet, rightly attach the greatest possible weight to this function of the Commons. The House, they point out, is the great training ground and testing laboratory for public men; here they have the opportunity of showing their mettle, and displaying those qualities of mind and character which distinguish the sheep from the shepherds and the rulers from the ruled; here, by a long process of reversed gravitation, the larger intellects gradually, through years of friction and contest, rise to the surface, while the lighter and smaller men settle down in the obscurer depths; and it is by the results of this elaborate competitive examination that the House chooses its prize-winners and leaders. Powerful as the Ministers may be, they are, at least, the creatures of the people's representatives. But are they? I would suggest that even here the House has lost its ancient monopoly. No doubt, if a man is to obtain a position of dignity, influence, and emolument above his fellow-citizens, it is expected that he either be somebody or have 'done' something. The former arrangement is, on the whole, the easier, though it unhappily is not for everybody to bring about. If you are born the son of a duke, or are closely connected with a great territorial and political family, or even if you are a wealthy banker with large local influence, you may slip into the Ministry without being much of a personality in the House of Commons. If you are favoured by no such advantages, there are various ways in which you can endeavour to prove that you are worthy to be ranked among the Somebodies. You may, no doubt, get yourself elected to the House of Commons, and then you may eventually rise to the front bench by ability in debate and knowledge of public affairs. But that course is slow, and not specially to be recommended. It is far better to be a big man before you get into Parliament. In the

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House itself your chances may be long in coming; for the Assembly is very much overdone with work and speeches, and as there is not nearly time for everybody to speak, it prefers to listen to those of whom it knows something. The young and obscure member, even if he have ability, may wait several sessions before he can get the opportunity to make his mark. Long before you have come through the ranks of that *difficile* and awkwardly managed Chamber, you could have made a name and a following for yourself outside; you might have become mayor of a great municipality, like Mr. Chamberlain; or a leader of political thought, like Mr. Morley; or gained a reputation at the bar and on the platform, like Mr. Asquith; or engineered a successful 'Labour' movement, and got the trade union thousands to back you up, like Mr. John Burns. How long would it have taken any one of these gentlemen to rise to their present positions of influence in the House of Commons if they had begun their careers in the House itself, unknown and unreputed?

However, one may admit freely that the Westminster Debating Society, with its perpetual clash and conflict of character and intellect, is still not a bad winnowing ground, and does do much to sift out wheat from chaff. But, however this may be, the facts will not support the proposition that it carries the process further, and actually chooses and stacks the good grain, and casts the husks into the fire. The selecting is only partially done by the House, whatever the theorists may say. No one who fairly considers the history of the Cabinets of the last ten years can contend that it is. It is somewhat invidious to mention names; but one may point the moral without offence by a few examples drawn from both sides. Take the remarkable series of transactions which were connected with the formation of the Conservative Administrations of 1885 and 1886. How can it be said that it was the House of Commons which chose Lord Salisbury to be Prime Minister, the late Lord Iddesleigh to be Foreign Secretary, or Lord Randolph Churchill to be Chancellor of the Exchequer? The selection may have been perfectly right and judicious; but the House of Commons had nothing to do with it. It was settled, as these things are settled, in a few meetings in West-end drawing-rooms, libraries, and clubs, and the House had only to accept the result. Or take an even better and more recent instance. Did the House of Commons select Lord Rosebery to be Prime Minister? Lord Rosebery's appointment shows how little the testing-ground theory amounts to in practice; for Lord Rosebery was never in the House of Commons, and his reputation has been gained outside it—in the Lords, in the *salons*, in the Foreign Office, in the County Council, in places where men take their dinner and make speeches afterwards. In favour of this statesman, undoubtedly distinguished and eminent, but of a distinction and eminence not of the House of Commons and not gained in it, there

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was passed over the most able and influential politician in that Assembly on the Ministerial side, a man who had fought his way up by years of hard service on the green benches, who had acquired a commanding influence in debate, and was unquestionably popular with the rank and file of his party, whatever may have been the feelings entertained towards him by his colleagues. The supersession of Sir William Harcourt, and in a less degree that of Lord Iddesleigh, are standing proofs that the opinion of the House of Commons is not sufficient to choose our rulers for us; for it is highly probable that if the views and wishes of the House of Commons had alone to be consulted, Sir Stafford Northcote would have been Chancellor of the Exchequer, if not Premier, in 1885, and almost certain that Sir William Harcourt would have been Prime Minister in 1894. Or look at some of the minor lights in the political firmament. The House had as little to do with the choice of Mr. Asquith for Home Secretary in 1892 as the German Reichstag with the choice of Count von Caprivi to succeed Prince Bismarck. The one owed his appointment to Mr. Gladstone quite as much as the other owed his to the German Emperor. The selection, as it has turned out, has been thoroughly justified by the event, and has proved eminently creditable to the late Premier's foresight and judgment; but it is safe to say that not ten private members of the House of Commons in the summer of 1892 would have predicted that Mr. Asquith would become a Secretary of State; and not twenty, if these posts were really conferred by the vote in the Chamber, would have declared in favour of an able lawyer and clever speaker who had then done nothing to place himself conspicuously in the front rank of the parliamentary army. Again, did the House of Commons make Mr. Herbert Gardner Minister of Agriculture, or Mr. Acland Minister of Education? Did it make Lord George Hamilton First Lord of the Admiralty, or Mr. Jackson Secretary for Ireland? There is nothing to be alleged against the ability and character of any of these gentlemen, and I have no doubt they have one and all administered their departments with conscientious industry and general success. But it may be said without offence or disrespect that there is not one of them who had such a position that his selection for high Ministerial office would have seemed inevitable to the House, and not one who, if the appointment had been settled by ballot at Westminster, would have had a much better chance than some two score or so of other M.P.'s of recognised capacity and experience. The House acquiesces in the selection of Ministers; it does not itself select them.

By whom, then, are these momentous nominations made? Looking at the facts, and not at forms and fictions, one would say that the efficient influences are two: first, 'the country,' and, secondly, certain managing political cliques in London society. There are some few public men of such commanding weight and influence that

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they are independent alike of the House of Commons and of the party managers. The electorate—that is, of course, their moiety of the electorate—will have them, and their claims cannot be denied. In such cases the election is practically a vote for or against one or two of them; as in 1880, when the real question was whether the electors desired Lord Beaconsfield to continue in office or not; in 1892, when the alternative practically was for or against Mr. Gladstone; or as it will be at the next general election, when everybody will be asking himself whether he wants Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour to come in or to stay out. In these cases 'the voice of England is the choice of England,' understanding by the voice of England the voice of Scotland, Ireland, and Wales as well. You cannot say that the House of Commons has much to do with the matter; it does not choose the successful party leader who comes in on the top of the wave, and it could not reject him if it would. Could the House have made anybody but Mr. Gladstone Premier in 1892, whether it wanted him or not? In 1880 the majority of the Liberal members probably did not want him, and would have preferred Lord Hartington; but they had to take him all the same. And if the House of Commons were abolished, the *plébiscite* could be held and the country elect its Prime Minister, with much the same essential result. Here, again, is a case where the functions of the House of Commons are a great deal larger in appearance than they are in reality.

The choosing of the Ministers of the second rank, who are not of sufficient prestige and weight to be called to office by the popular voice, is a different matter. The House of Commons is not consulted in Cabinet-making, and most of its members know nothing of the process till it is over. Then they learn, as the general public does, that such-and-such noblemen, gentlemen, and lawyers have been appointed to various greater and minor offices of State. The selection formally rests with the Crown; in reality with the Prime Minister, acting in consultation with his court or private cabinet of advisers on party affairs. An English Premier is usually either a great nobleman, or a commoner of advanced years, distinguished eminence, and close personal relations with the aristocratic, territorial, and wealthy classes. In either case his associations are constantly with the more select members of that miscellaneous, but tolerably well-defined, collection of individuals and family groups, living during a considerable portion of the year in the West-end streets and squares, who make up what is called 'Society.' These are the people of whom the Cabinet-maker knows most, the only people with whom he is likely to be in frequent contact; and consequently, when he is selecting his Ministry he looks for its members, as a rule, in these circles. But he does not usually look for them himself. He is probably too busy, or too important, or too much a *grand seigneur* to be very well posted in the personalities of the world and of politics; he

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is dependent, like other kings, princes, and presidents, on his court and his chancellery. The plain fact is that, under this democratic dispensation of ours, a person has very small chance, as a rule, of attracting the notice of the great man, or of the group which surrounds the great man in club, *salon*, or country house, if he cannot find his way into the governing and managing cliques which 'work' party politics through and by society. There are various ways of getting into the inner ring. A man may be born in it—in which case, with decent abilities, there is no reason why he should not be an under-secretary at seven-and-twenty; or he may be accepted because he is very rich; or even sometimes, though rarely, because he is very clever; or because he is a person of influence in local politics, and would be likely to do good service to the party. And the chief advantage to the ambitious local politician of being elected to the House of Commons is that he has thereby a chance—at least, if he is also wealthy, sociable, and a good entertainer—of working his way into one or other of the ruling oligarchies. The House itself can do little for him directly, unless he be a person of the most exceptional ability and force of character; but indirectly, if he also possesses the necessary qualifications of wealth, manners, and hospitality, it can help him to get his footing in the right set. Once firmly established there, he is as eligible as another for nomination to office. He may talk to the party chiefs and impress them with his personal ability; and he will, at any rate, have the opportunity of becoming acquainted with the ladies and gentlemen who meet the Premier and the members of his closet-council at dinners and luncheons, who stay with them at country houses, and are married to their sisters, brothers, aunts, and cousins. Thus, when the time comes, he may find himself a junior lord or an under-secretary, or even a Minister at the head of one of the great departments; and the House of Commons, it may be with a little mild surprise, acquiesces—partly because it cannot help itself; partly because the oligarchies, with that excellent good sense and self-command which have always distinguished the English governing classes, do not, as a rule, make flagrantly bad appointments. If the subordinate members of the Cabinet and the Ministry generally are not much above the average of members of Parliament, they are not often below it.

This explanation of the mode in which Ministries are made is not exactly orthodox. Neither the popular *plébiscite* nor the influence of London society is recognised by the writers of the text-books. But these elements are at work all the same; and anyone who takes the trouble to consider the composition of some recent Ministries will find it somewhat difficult to find a more plausible explanation of the presence in them of several noblemen and gentlemen who could be named. For our present purpose it is sufficient, at least, to suggest how little the House of Commons has to do with the matter.

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With some modification in the details, the present system of government and appointing governors could go on, in essentials the same, if the House of Commons were abolished.

The Ballot in the Commons: A Suggestion

If there is any force in what has been said here, it will be seen that the comparative weakness and inutility of the House of Commons is due mainly to the increased power of the Cabinet, and to the position of members of Parliament as delegates directed to vote with the party according to the orders of the Caucus, rather than as representatives able to exercise an independent judgment. Space will not permit me to go into the question of the means by which the system could be altered, even if it were desirable to alter it. A good many people would be inclined to say that it is not. They would, perhaps, hold that the growth of the Cabinet on the one hand, and the larger control of the electors over their members on the other, represent a natural and healthy development; and that if the result is that Parliament has more of the show than the reality of power, the arrangement, nevertheless, works satisfactorily enough. However this may be, there is an obvious method by which the Commons could effectually regain control of the Executive and become independent of the Caucus. It would only be necessary to add to the Rules a Standing Order prescribing that divisions in the House should be taken by ballot. It will be seen what an enormous difference the adoption of this simple expedient would make. If the votes in the House were taken by ballot, no one, of course, could know how each individual voted. Every member would be left free to exercise his own private judgment on the question before him, untroubled by the fear either of the party whip or the local wire-pullers; and though he would, no doubt, still usually vote with his leaders, he could, at any rate, safely vote against them when he thought them wrong. Under these conditions Ministers would have to convince where they now command; and the speeches in debate, instead of being an empty form, would actually be intended to persuade the audience to which they were delivered. The 'mechanical majority' would disappear; and a Government could not venture to bring in a bill which it knew very well was regarded with dislike and suspicion by a third of its supporters, if it also knew that those supporters could, if they pleased, give effect to their convictions at the ballot-box. A Minister, challenged on some point of administration, would have to defend himself in earnest and vindicate his action successfully, instead of merely calling upon the whips to muster their forces for a party division. In one word, the House of Commons would be, in fact, a Sovereign Assembly, and become, what it is not now, the real ruling element in the Constitution. But such a change is probably not one that could

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now be carried into effect. The electors have shown no disposition to tolerate any arrangements which would deprive them of their power to control and supervise their parliamentary delegates; nor, perhaps, if the question were seriously put to them, would they regard with approval an innovation which, while it tended to weaken the Cabinet and almost to paralyse the Caucus, would make the Commons far stronger than either.

SIDNEY LOW.

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ABOUT THAT SKELETON

OLD-FASHIONED people and children, frivolous, fairy-loving, story-craving children of fifty years and upwards—few younger ones survive—are beginning to inquire when the tyranny of the 'problem play' will be overpast. Not in scorn or anger do they ask the question: a long course of 'unflinching realism' has brought them too low for any such masterful emotions. Rather it is in the pleading tone that befits the oppressed and helpless, and with the pathetic look of the dumb animal in pain. That they have borne their burden with exemplary patience, not even their hardest taskmaster could deny. It must be quite five years since the admirers of an elderly Norwegian gentleman who is doing penance for a youth of romanticism in the hair-shirt of the realist brought over the 'problem play' to this country, and, ever since then, the English playgoer has been invited at intervals of every two or three months to consider 'the case' of some fresh conjugal couple or pair of lovers, some new brace of unmarried affinities or married antipathies, and to deduce a more or less gloomy future for them from a more or less shady past.

The happy woman—or she at least who is happy with the happiness of the nation that 'has no history'—has disappeared from the scene. The latest dramatic heroine is all 'history;' it is the most important thing about the play—that, and the hero's lack of historical information, on which a good deal sometimes turns. It has been said that everybody in real life has a skeleton in his closet; but in the stage life of the last few years no one has. The skeleton has almost always got out of the closet before the play begins; in no case, at any rate, is the curtain up many minutes before we hear the rap of his bony knuckles on the closet door. Once he is out, and, as I have said, he is out at once, or almost immediately, the whole plot of the play begins, and continues, to revolve about him. The husband and wife or the pair of lovers sit down and discuss him in all his repulsive bearings.

'What (they ask) is to be done with him?'

'Is it possible to live with him at all?'

'If yes, then on what terms?'

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'Shall we lock him up in the closet again and deny him to visitors—if we cannot do so, alas! to ourselves?'

'Or shall we leave him at large, but endeavour to explain him away?'

'Or shall we simply brazen him out? Have him in to afternoon tea? Introduce him to our friends? Persuade the vicar to call upon him?'

The white bear and Mr. Shandy's relations to him were not more searchingly examined.

Sometimes (when it is the married couple who are in question) the skeleton leads to domestic complications, and becomes the cause of a three or four-act matrimonial quarrel, arising out of the question of original proprietorship and consequent responsibility for his presence at the conjugal hearth. In some cases he has come in as part of the wife's paraphernalia; in others, it is the husband who has brought the grisly anatomy over with him from his bachelor chambers with the rest of his celibate effects. And then—indeed, in either of these cases—the 'problem' becomes painfully acute, and its investigation more than ever like the ingenious Shandian method of enlarging the conceptions by allowing the mind to play freely round the auxiliary verbs.

A skeleton: very well. Had I one when I married? Might I have had one? Did I say I had one? Ought I to have said I had one?

Would that I had had one, as he has (for how can I imagine it?).

If I had told him (or her) that I had one, what would he (or she) have said? If he (or she) had told me that he (or she) had one, what should I have said?

Was the skeleton worth concealing?

Was there any sin in it?

Is a man's skeleton as compromising as a woman's? If not, why not? Ought it not to be? Shall it continue not to be? Should we not insist that it shall be?

So for a series of years—for all that period, in fact, which divides Mr. Pinero's *The Profligate* from Mr. Haddon Chambers's *John-a-Dreams*—we have gone on revolving round this same dreary subject. And whenever we have ventured to ask why, the answer has been that this is real life; that in real life everybody has a skeleton in his closet, and therefore it is the business of Unflinching Realism to 'trot him out.' If we have no taste for this sort of drama, the reason probably is—our realists point out to us with kindly contempt—that we are wanting in 'high seriousness,' and in the courage to look facts in the face. We ought to have lived (as some of us indeed have done) a generation ago in a less sincere and more artificial age.

Still we cannot on the whole complain of our treatment. The New Critic deals leniently as a rule with the Old-fashioned Playgoer and his belated buzzings. 'Poor devil!' he seems to say in the words of a famous apostrophe, 'why should I harm thee? The world is large

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enough for thee and me. London abounds with theatres, melodrama is not yet dead, even the old impossible comedy is occasionally revived. Seek some of that dramatic infant's-food which alone your apparently feeble stomach is capable of digesting; leave us to our strong Norwegian meat, and get thee gone.' Wherewith the New Critic puts the Old-fashioned Playgoer figuratively out of the window with a recommendation to go and see *Money* at the Garrick Theatre.

Many of us have taken his advice; some few of those many, renewing thus an acquaintance with the comedy which began at its first production; others reviving recollections of it which date from more than thirty years ago. And the experience has undoubtedly been a curious and instructive one. There is no denying the magnitude of the change which has taken place in the manners—I will not say of society, lest I should seem to be assuming what I know will be disputed, but—of the stage. Thalia, to begin with, speaks a language of which no trace now remains. Nothing, for instance, could be less like Mr. Pinero's or Mr. Henry Arthur Jones's 'lines' than this passage:

Sir J. You see this fine house, our fine servants, our fine plate, our fine dinners? Everyone thinks Sir John Vesey a rich man.

Geo. And are you not, papa?

Sir J. Not a bit of it; all humbug, child, all humbug, upon my soul. There are two rules in life. First, men are valued not for what they are, but what they *seem* to be. Secondly, if you have merits or money of your own, you must trade on the merits and money of other people. My father got the title by services in the army and died penniless. On the strength of his services I got a pension of 400*l.* a year; on the strength of 400*l.* a year I took credit for 800*l.*; on the strength of 800*l.* a year I married your mother with 10,000*l.*; on the strength of 10,000*l.* I took credit for 40,000*l.*, and paid Dicky Gossip three guineas a week to go about everywhere calling me 'Stingy Jack.'

Geo. Ha! ha! A disagreeable nickname.

Sir J. But a valuable reputation. When a man is called stingy it is as much as calling him rich; and when a man's called rich, why, he's a man universally respected. On the strength of my respectability I wheedled a constituency, changed my politics, resigned my seat to a minister who to a man of such stake in the country could offer nothing less in return than a patent office of 2,000*l.* a year. That's the way to succeed in life. Humbug, my dear! All humbug, upon my soul!

It is quite an extinct dramatic tongue, and I frankly own that the scene from which I have quoted it does not exactly 'palpitate with actuality.' In fact, since I am in the way of making magnanimous admissions, I will go so far as to confess that there are few if any 'moments' in the play at which the spectator can imagine, even for the briefest space of time, that he is witnessing the acts and listening to the words of real living people whom he might meet any day outside the theatre, or can forget that he is merely watching Mr. Hare, Mrs. Bancroft, Mr. Forbes Robertson, Mr. Arthur Cecil, and other accomplished actors and actresses giving a delightful exhibition of their art. Admirable too as that art is, it is of a kind

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which does not lend itself, in a play like *Money*, to the production and sustainment of illusion. Actors and actresses alike have all been trained in the realistic school of comedy; their leader may perhaps be regarded as the foremost representative of that school in England. Mr. Hare has furnished us with a whole gallery of stage portraits of worthy—and unworthy—old men, excellently discriminated each from each, and resembling one another only in a common and lifelike fidelity to the contemporary types from which they have been studied. They more than satisfy the condition which has just been referred to as unfulfilled in the case of Lord Lytton's play. You feel not only that you might meet any one of them any day outside the theatre, but that you have already met them, and are certain to meet them again and again in actual life. A histrionic method which produces effects like these, under the actor's habitual employment of it, is evidently far from being the best suited to the rendering of a part like Sir John Vesey, or to the evolution of the intrigue in which he plays so prominent a part. It tended to emphasise the unreality of the comedy, and made one feel it to be hardly a paradox to say that the play would have seemed more natural if the actor had been less so.

In short, to an educated audience of our own day, this comic 'masterpiece' of little more than fifty years ago, as it would then and for long after and without a suspicion of irony have been called, appears removed from him not by mere generations but by centuries. Its fable and characterisation have all the *naïveté* of the Jacobean masque—nay, almost of the older morality-play itself. 'Enter Cupidity with an open wallet' might be the stage direction for the coming on of 'Stingy Jack.' Graves is simply labelled Melancholy, and Mirth incarnate proclaims itself—at any rate when Mrs. Bancroft plays the part—in Lady Franklin's rippling laughter and looks out of her merry eyes. The 'Dance of Mirth and Melancholy' in the third act would be quite in the old allegorical taste. On the whole there is no denying that you come away from a representation of *Money* at the Garrick Theatre with much the same feelings as would have accompanied you home (you imagine) from a performance of some new and choice fantasy of Ben Jonson's at the Middle Temple Hall with the poetry left out.

And of course this gives occasion to the enemy to blaspheme. The New Critic is naturally ready with his gibe, and there is a world of malice in the tone in which he asks the Old-fashioned Playgoer how he has enjoyed his evening's entertainment. It will hardly do to reply that you feel as much refreshed as a contemporary of Ben's in the circumstances above supposed. 'Because, you know, you did not *go* to see a masque,' would be your critic's retort; and you would have to confess that that was in fact the case; that unquestionably you did go to see, not a masque or a morality-play, but a comedy of manners. Whereupon, of course pursuing his advantage, he proceeds

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to rally you on the crudity of your tastes. Is it possible, he asks, that you can accept that so-called picture of early Victorian manners for a truthful one? Times have changed, no doubt, since the early 'forties, but the language and demeanour of private life, the 'ways' of good society, could never have been really as the author of *Money* represents them. Was there ever a time when the relations, near and distant, of a dead man met after the funeral to hear the family lawyer read a comic will, or when the disappointed expectants among them received their disappointment with loud utterances of indecent disgust, to be themselves received with almost equally indecent jeers? Were money-hunting baronets, anxious to marry their daughters to rich men, in the habit of 'giving themselves away' in the meantime with the appalling cynicism of Sir John Vesey's conversation with Georgina? Was Graves a possible figure in an early Victorian drawing-room, and did the walls of that apartment ever listen to the lingo of Alfred Evelyn?

To all which questions you are of course bound to reply that, to the best of your knowledge and belief, these things never could have been so. But you go on of course to add that they were never supposed to have been so, even among the dramatist's contemporaries. The comedy ought not to be criticised as a realistic picture of bygone manners, but as an example of an obsolete stage convention—of an extinct species of theatrical make-believe. Sir Edward Lytton Bulwer's audiences no more imagined that baronets, their daughters, their friends, and their private secretaries were in the least likely to talk and act in real life as they are made to do in this comedy, than Meyerbeer's audiences imagined it probable that a Huguenot cavalier and a Catholic countess would declare their love for each other in a passionate duet, more than half an hour long, while the massacre of St. Bartholomew was, to the knowledge of the parties, imminent. But the theatrical audience were no more shocked at the one improbability than the operatic audience were, or, for that matter, to this day are by the other. All that has happened is that one convention has perished while the other has survived. The make-believe of the opera house has remained substantially, at any rate, unchanged during the last fifty years; the make-believe of the playhouse has within the same period been totally transformed.

But when we have got thus far, we 'let in' the New Critic in triumph with what he considers his winning card. 'Transformed do you say, my venerable friend? Exactly. That is just your benighted mistake. If you had watched the progress of English dramatic art with any other eye than that of the fogy, you would never have used that word. It is a question not of transformation but of abolition. Know, old man, that it is the glory of the modern dramatic Realist to have practically done away with stage convention altogether—to have reduced the demands of make-believe upon audi-

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ences to so absolute a minimum as to be virtually unfelt.' And then perhaps, condescending to our ignorance, he will go on to explain to us how few and how easy to concede are the postulates which the realistic drama finds sufficient for its work. As for instance:—

I. Let it be granted that the auditorium of a theatre constitutes 'the fourth wall' of the room represented in the scene, and that the audience are unobserved hearers and spectators of what is said and done therein.

II. Let it be granted that the personages represented may occasionally think aloud, and that some of their observations, though obviously audible to the other characters on the stage, may be treated as though unheard by them.

With these and a few other demands as modest (and let it be observed that less and less use is being made every year of the 'soliloquy' and 'aside,' to which the second demand has reference) the contemporary dramatist is satisfied. Upon the basis of such simple postulates he can build you up the most intricate and agonising 'problem play' that any wearied brain in quest of a couple of hours' refreshment can desire. Further or otherwise than as above set forth, there is absolutely no make-believe. Everything (says the New Critic) happens exactly as it does in real life. The people of the stage talk the same language, express the same ideas and emotions, act in the same way upon the same motives, as the people of the stalls. So says the New Critic, and without any make-believe on his own part. He does actually and seriously believe it!

And apparently it is because he believes it that he is not careful to answer the charge of forcing that skeleton too persistently upon our notice. What matters whether we like it or not? We must all recognise it as, *Hibernicè loqui*, true to life. The ugly secret or the uglier revelation on which he is so fond of founding his plots is the concealment or disclosure of a fact which everybody knows to be within the experience of the life we live to-day. Impossible crimes, incredible misfortunes, improbable incidents, sensational adventures have been resigned to still lingering but plainly moribund melodrama, and serious Realism confines itself to the evolution of those catastrophes which, if somewhat ignoble and unheroic—and it is of these qualities in them that the romantic old fogy is understood to complain—are at any rate catastrophes of actual occurrence in the world around us.

What is more, our realist goes on to contend, their truth to reality is beginning to be recognised by the great body of the playgoing public. Let the fogy lament, as he may, the dramatic 'fairy tales' of the past; they are gone beyond recall. A new generation, which will never again tolerate them, has sprung up—a generation more serious, more sincere in their dramatic tastes than their forefathers—a generation enamoured of truth, athirst for actuality, craving for

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the representation of things as they are, eager to 'see life steadily and see it whole.'

Undoubtedly it is an impressive if not a very lively picture of the modern playgoing public; but does it correspond with the facts? Is the so-called realistic drama which this public is said to have accepted with such universal enthusiasm so unreservedly dedicated to the service of the literal truth as our realists would have us believe? Or has the dramatist of to-day, like his forerunner of half a century ago, created an ideal world of his own, and merely exchanged one set of stage conventions for another? That is a question which neither he nor his admirers, so far as I am aware, have ever condescended to consider, but which I would venture to submit to them as one well worthy of their consideration.

That the language of contemporary comedy is far more closely modelled upon the drawing-room conversation of real life may readily be conceded. But drama is the Greek for 'action,' not for 'dialogue;' and it avails little that the people of the stage should talk like the people of the drawing-room if the action that goes on on one side of the footlights differs in important particulars from what takes place on the other. Should the New Critic, scandalised at the bare suggestion, ask indignantly whether the action of the realistic drama does so differ, the answer is that it not only does but must; that, if it did not, even the most solemnly priggish of playgoers who ever went to a theatre for the purpose of 'improving himself' would be able to stand the entertainment. You can write a masterpiece of fiction if, according to the old jest, 'you have the mind' wherein, without straying a hair's breadth from the dreariest regions of reality, you shall enchain the interest of the reader from the first page of your narrative to the last. But you cannot perform that feat in a stage play and keep your audience awake to the end of it. A so-called comedy, the plot of which should evolve itself by precisely the same processes to precisely the same results as could be safely predicted from similar data in real life, would seem a marvel of ineffectiveness and inanity; and when our masters of the new drama are also, as they are usually, skilled playwrights, no one knows this better than they. There is simply no such thing as the Unflinching Realism of which the New Critic is wont to speak with bated breath. Modern dramatic realism does not, indeed, flinch from the ugly and the painful; but it flinches very violently—and small blame to it—from the commonplace. That it avoids, and is compelled to avoid at all costs and on all occasions; and obviously, therefore, to the extent of its coercion by this necessity, it deviates from that literality of truth to which it professes unwavering allegiance, and it sets up a new convention, a new make-believe of its own.

It is in witnessing the abundant proofs of this fact, which an evening at the theatre never fails to furnish, that we Old-fashioned

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Playgoers have our mild revenge on the New Critic.
malicious triumph comes as we watch the New Criti
young pessimist in the stalls, assisting at the pro
'comedy' with an intensely tragic *dénouement*, and
we write the New Critic's next morning's or next
criticism for him, full of praises of the high ser
dramatist's work, and its absolute fidelity to the f
'sincere' this, and its 'unflinching' that, and its 'r
There is often more genuine comedy in such reflecti
than in what is going forward on the stage. Be
at nearly every critical point of the action, and certai
at which the dramatist has recognised the necessity of
the earnest young pessimist in the stalls is really lo
seriousness at a fairy tale. Not, of course, at a fair
fashioned kind with a happy ending, but none the
for that. The godmother may have taken to best
gifts; the awakened Beauty may resent the kiss of th
he has 'a past;' Cinderella herself may have devel
Woman; but it is a fairy tale, if a tale of bad fairies,
the unflinching, the relentless realist tells us—whene
a competent playwright—all the same. 'People don'
exclaims one of Ibsen's young women, incredulous
suicide which has brought one of his dreary sto
pessimism to a welcome end. The dramatist wrote t
with satirical intent, and by way of reflection on the l
average conventional mind. But the lady was quit
don't. Except on the stage or—what amounts to
thing—when they want to get into the newspap
destroy themselves for Ibsenian motives to self-dest
Gabler is Norwegian *féerie*—an intensely squalid
no doubt, but undeniably possessing a grim interest
is just because, and precisely to the extent to which
défroqué idealises upon the hideous banality of hi
Scandinavian bourgeoisie, that he is tolerable. W
realist and confines himself to the actual truth ab
word and act—why, then it is not the characters i
find their thoughts wandering in the direction of sui

The 'Case of Neurotic Hedda,' if I may take the
the play a more informing title than its author
affords an illustration of the New Critic's delusion, w
preferable to any English example. Because, if on
that earnest young pessimist in the stalls that the
self is not the impossible realist he supposes him,
stage convention and theatrical make-believe, it wo
sary to press the point further. But if an Eng
required, let me take that unflinchingest of all piece

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realism, *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray*—a play of the greatest interest and power, admirable alike in construction, characterisation, and dialogue, and the immense success of which has about it only this element of the regrettable, that it threatens us with a long line of Mrs. Tanquerays stretching out—not, one would fain hope, to the crack of doom, but, as one cannot but fear, to the nth term of a series of married Magdalens, personally conducted across the stage by hands less skilful than those of Mr. Pinero. Yet what is the truth about this indisputably fine and moving play? Paula Tanqueray, let it be granted, is, so far as concerns her character and much of her action, reality itself. But Aubrey Tanqueray, marrying her as he does, and from the particular high-flying and altruistic motives by which he is actuated, surely borders closely on the fairy prince; and as to the *dénouement*—the powerful and justly praised *dénouement*—I make bold to say that, from the first appearance upon the scene of the inconvenient young man who has 'come back into Paula's life,' the play itself becomes unadulterated fairy tale. Its tragic end is brought about by both husband and wife—two out of the three characters on whose combined action everything turns—behaving precisely as people so situated would *not* behave in the real world, and rejecting the counsels of the third, the inconvenient young man, who vainly endeavours to persuade them to behave as people in that world *would* behave. And what has here been said of *The Second Mrs. Tanqueray* applies equally, but more forcibly of course where there is less than Mr. Pinero's *ars celandi artem*, to the whole series of skeleton pieces which it has suggested. In each and all of them realism only prevails to the extent of creating the skeleton and letting him out of the closet. As soon as it comes to disposing of him realism at once gives way to idealism, with a marked preference for disagreeable ideals. The skeleton of the stage is allowed or encouraged to execute a dance of death among the *dramatis personæ*, dealing destruction with every caper of his fleshless limbs. The skeleton of real life is invariably locked up in the closet again with all possible despatch.

Let me not for a moment be understood to complain of the stage treatment of him. If he must be introduced, let us by all means get what interest and excitement we can out of him, even if it be of a tragic or melodramatic kind. Far be it from me to treat it as a matter of reproach to the unflinching realist that he flinches from reality where reality would be uninteresting. He does well to flinch from it; he would not, to my thinking, be an artist if he did not. It would be highly uninteresting to lock up the skeleton in the closet again with all possible despatch, as we do in real life; and his realistic inventor does well, therefore, to turn idealist in the last act, and to make him execute his dance of death among the *dramatis personæ*. He does well, I hold, to adopt what is in the

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strictest etymological sense of the term a 'convention' of his own, or, in other words, to assume a tacit understanding between himself and his audience, whereby they agree to make believe that a certain unreal line of conduct on the part of his characters is real.

But if and in so far as he does this, he 'gives away' the New Critic, and covers the earnest young pessimist in the stalls with confusion as with a garment. For the dramatic realist at once descends from the position in which these two mistaken admirers have placed him; he ceases to be a prophet of the absolute truth of things, charged with a discouraging message to mankind, and with no choice but, however reluctantly, to deliver it; and he becomes a story-teller, like another. Instead of being dynamically inspired to state certain disagreeable facts about life and little else, because in his prophetic soul and conscience he believes that there is little else to state, he is shown to have been simply making our flesh creep in response to no loftier impulse than that which operated on the Fat Boy in *Pickwick*. But if this is so—if in causing the skeleton to execute the dance of death instead of locking him up again in the closet, he is acting in obedience, not to an inexorable law of truth, but to a mere principle of artistic selection, then how can he evade the awkward question—Is it so imperatively necessary to introduce a skeleton at all?

And is it? Have we not had about enough of him, and may not he and his 'practicable' closet be stowed away, for a time at any rate, in the 'property room'? Would it not conduce to the general health and happiness if he were granted a well-earned leave of absence, and we could read of him in the theatrical newspapers as 'resting'? That the great body of the playgoing public insist upon his presence I do not believe. A certain limited section of that public may possibly crave for him; that body of devout devil-worshippers who sit prayerfully through a performance of *Ghosts* might conceivably miss him. But if we may trust the evidence supplied by the most signal theatrical success of the past season and the experience of the most popular of contemporary playwrights, it is to a very different sort of appeal that the 'great heart' of the playgoing public most enthusiastically responds. Mr. Henry Arthur Jones is a serious dramatist if ever there was one, and no one would accuse him of taking too frivolous a view of the scope and mission of his art. Yet though, in choice and treatment of subject, in plot, in characterisation, in construction, he is realist enough to satisfy anybody, it is by his frank and daring idealism that he wins and holds his audiences. And although I learnt with respectful amusement from the reviews of the New Critic that he and his earnest young disciple in the stalls regard *The Masqueraders* as a work of 'unflinching realism,' there were old fogies sitting behind them who

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thought, and still think, that what took the audience by storm in Mr. Jones's clever and interesting play was that delightfully audacious excursion into melodramatic fairyland wherein the hero and the villain cut the cards against each other, 'best out of three,' with the heroine for the prize.

H. D. TRAILL.

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CRIMINAL AND PRISON REFORM

To 'begin at the beginning' of the subject of criminal and prison reformation, the length of the sentences inflicted upon prisoners comes up for first consideration. There has been some improvement in recent years (except in political cases of treason-felony) in the matter of shortening terms of imprisonment. Much praise is due to Mr. Recorder Hopwood, M.P., for his courageous example in this respect. It may be that in some instances there has been a tendency to make a breach of the law appear a trivial matter by the infliction of a mere nominal penalty, but law tempered with enlightened mercy is certain to earn more respect from the casual criminal classes in the end than law garbed in vindictiveness and enforced by sentences of vengeful length. To give a man twenty-four hours for a drunken assault or other street row may be erring on the side of leniency, but to inflict the savage punishment of five years' penal servitude upon a criminal for stealing a few pounds' worth of property is a far greater outrage of justice. Seven years for attempting to rob a safe compared with three months for battering in a woman's face is only an illustration of how more precious property is in the eye of the law than 'the human form divine.' I am convinced that if the judges of the land could form an accurate conception of all that has to be endured in a sentence of penal servitude, there would be an end to the truly monstrous sentences of ten, fifteen, and twenty years for offences against property. There is scarcely a crime known to our age of civilisation, short of that of murder, which ought not to be expiated in a sentence of seven years of this scientific system of refined torture. Incorrigible criminality demands special consideration, though even with re-convicted criminals it is a question whether long sentences are the best remedy. It is certain that deterrence has not been finally secured beyond the length of sentence by means of prolonged detention. Special treatment rather than long imprisonment is what the grave evil of recidivism requires. The indeterminate sentence would afford the best possible incentive to reformatory conduct in all prisoners not hopelessly criminal. Under the existing system good conduct offers little, if any, test of the influences for moral reform which punitive justice exercises upon criminal character. The

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'model' prisoner is, as a rule, the 'old lag,' the experienced thief and rogue, who knows the rules better than the governor; who can quote Scripture with the chaplain; who has no repugnances of feeling, religious, moral, or personal—who, in a word, would no more commit a breach of the rules knowingly than he would throw away his dinner. This is the gentleman who manages by exemplary behaviour to save himself from tasks of labour requiring much physical exertion by imposing upon the prison doctor, and who succeeds ultimately in getting a berth in the bakehouse or kitchen, or similar 'billet,' reserved for well-conducted convicts. For hopeless cases of this kind there ought to be a severe, but not a vindictive, sentence; with no remission for observance of rules, with no berths or billets in any stage of the sentence, but an increased gratuity on discharge for steady performance of some useful work-task in labour association with men of his class.

The indeterminate sentence, with release on parole on the recommendation of governor, chaplain, and prison doctor for first timers in penal servitude, coupled with the forfeiture of privileges if again re-convicted, would be calculated to encourage greater reformation than the present plan of remission by marks followed by ticket of leave. But I fear such a proposed change in the treatment of criminals is not likely to find much support with the prison authorities of our time. The day will come, however, when a more humane and more enlightened spirit will discover that imprisonment based upon industrialism, and tempered with a human sympathy that shall be guided by a deeper knowledge of comparative criminality, will be made more effective for reformatory ends than the dehumanising system which at present obtains. Meantime shorter sentences all worked out; with rational classification; with freedom to speak when at work and at Sunday exercise; with the privilege of a pipe of tobacco or some equivalent relaxation on Sunday for all whose conduct was deserving of this 'luxury' on attaining third class; better food in late stages of the sentence, and a few pounds more gratuity on discharge—these are changes which, if carried out, would remove from the existing heartless, speechless, unnatural plan of sterile treatment the reproach of cruelty and failure.

The ticket of leave is, in most instances, only a means to compel the unfortunate ex-prisoner to give facilities to the police to throw obstacles in the way of obtaining honest employment. These obstacles may not be intentionally created by the police. In some cases the reporting of the ex-convict may enable those whose duty it is to keep an eye upon his movements to prevent a hopeless thief from palming himself off for purposes of theft upon some unsuspecting employer. In a very large number of cases, however, it means that men who have been in a convict prison only once, and who may have found their way there owing to untoward circumstances, intemperance, or

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temptation, and not through calculated crime, are prevented by this police surveillance from obtaining fair play in their endeavour to throw off all trace and suspicion of their past crime and prison experience. Where the 'ticket' penalty saves one employer from the risk of harbouring an old gaol-bird in the guise of an honest worker, it prevents twenty men who may be honestly bent upon better ways from obtaining the employment which would make them independent of criminal practices.

The substitution of short sentences for long terms on the marks and 'ticket' system would likewise be more economical. The average cost of a convict's detention is about 30*l.* a year. Surveillance over ticket-of-leave men costs the State more money. Reducing sentences and abolishing the need for this extra police duty would represent a considerable saving in the administration of prisons, even after providing for the extra gratuities on discharge and the better food and few small luxuries which are recommended as a strong and far more humane inducement to reform during imprisonment than the plan of unnatural silence, semi-starvation, and animal-like submission which is the essence of Sir Edmund Du Cane's plan of reclaiming erring men from crime.

The classification of prisoners in convict prisons is regulated more for mere routine reasons than for reformatory ends. The custom has prevailed of locating men in accordance with the time they have served, or the religious creed which they may profess, rather than for any other intelligible purpose; and so the custom continues to obtain. For instance, an incorrigible pickpocket, a young offender (having one or two county gaol records against him), a country labourer sentenced for some crime for the first time perhaps, a man-beast convicted for some unnatural offence, a clerk who has committed forgery through the evil influences of horse-betting or stock-gambling, and a noted cracksman of a burglar may all be tried and sentenced together, and, if the examining doctor, during probation, so decides, may all go from separate confinement together to a public works prison. Assuming, still, that these six convicts are able-bodied, they may not alone be located together in the same part of their new quarters, but they may also work together at whatever daily occupation it may please the prison authority to put them to. This is the kind of classification which obtained during my nine years' experience of Sir Edmund Du Cane's penal system. It may not be in vogue any longer. Possibly a change in a rational and reformatory direction has been made since I left Portland prison in 1882. I hope so. There is no common-sense reason why there should not be a classification according to the general character of the crimes committed and the number of convictions recorded. Young could easily be located apart from old offenders; first from second and third timers; confirmed, hopeless recidivists be kept away from all of whom some

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chance or hope of amendment might reasonably be entertained, while a similar rule should govern the detention of those prisoners whose crimes will not bear description. A classification of this kind ought to make for, rather than tell against, the interests of prison discipline. Rival criminal 'ambitions,' the conflict of ingrained criminality with inexperience in crime, the boasting of old hands over the little 'fame' achieved by 'gouks' (country simpletons), and various other antagonising influences are at work, under promiscuous classification, to provoke breaches of the rules every day. The better arrangement for reformatory purposes would also tend to serve the ends of disciplinary regulations; and if the only argument against such a change is that it would disturb the routine plans which have been adhered to under existing rules, it is a ridiculously weak and insufficient objection to a proposed change which appeals for approval to both experience and common sense.

The method by which the evils of association among prisoners have been sought to be remedied under the present system is nothing short of barbarous. Perhaps I ought not imply a censure by comparison upon uncivilised peoples by the term 'barbarous.' 'Inhuman' will more accurately describe the practice of prohibiting speech among prisoners throughout their entire sentence, long or short. By what authority Sir Edmund Du Cane has been empowered to add this unnatural punishment to that which the law has inflicted I know not. Possibly there is some wide latitude allowed to the central prison authority in the measuring out of punishment to criminals under its charge, and that it was under this discretionary power this plan of needless torture was added by this head official to all the other pains and penalties of imprisonment. Be that as it may, there is no earthly justification for this extra suffering and humiliation, unless it be found in a desire to add the element of vindictiveness to the long category of prison hardships embraced in a sentence of penal servitude.

The penalising of speech begets seventy or eighty per cent. of prison offences, but produces absolutely nothing of a counterbalancing reformatory or moral effect which could not be better obtained by more humane and rational regulations. No prisoner is so depraved by crime as to feel that there is any the least moral or legal warrant for depriving him of the right to say 'good morning' to a fellow unfortunate. Liberty, he will admit, he has lost through his crime; the right to inflict the ordinary degradation of convict life upon him he will concede, with a protest against length of sentence or harshness of treatment; but not all the reasoning in the world can obtain from him the admission that the judge who sentenced him to ten years' imprisonment meant to include in that terrible penalty the deprivation of the right to speak to his companions in misfortune during the whole of that period. Nor will all the terrors of bread and water and punishment cells stop him from trying to exercise this natural right.

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Here, then, we have a fruitful source of prison disorder germinated by a rule as fruitless of good as it is inhuman in nature and purpose. Nay, it can be truly said that this infliction of the dumb torture must inevitably keep alive all the propensities to trickery, deception, and subterfuge which are the most prominent features of criminal character. These cunning faculties are kept in hourly exercise throughout long and short sentences by the very rule which was instituted with the object of keeping them in check! Surely this is, to say the least, 'how not to do' the work of moral reform in the prison treatment of the criminal classes. To argue, as the apologists of this cruel rule do, that it only adds to the other penalties of an imprisonment which is society's retaliatory measure for crime, and that it tends to deter those who have to undergo this experience from repeating their offences, is to make a far stronger case for the reinstitution of the rack and the 'alderman's daughter' than for our less brutal, but by far more refined, system of mental torture.

To what extent a real reformation of criminals can be hoped for from the legal chastisement of penal servitude is a wide question. We could only arrive at a more or less accurate conclusion on this point if the social, industrial, and educational condition of the classes from which criminals are recruited had remained what they were, say, when a sheep-stealer was hanged for appropriating forty or fifty shillings' worth of mutton, or when a woman was burned in Newgate so late as a hundred years or so ago for passing counterfeit coin. Severity of punishment did not erect a successful barrier against crime in those times, nor does it do so now, nor will it ever do so. There is but one kind of criminal in these countries who is prevented from committing the most heinous of all crimes by the fear of the particular penalty attached to murder, and that is the 'bouncing bruiser,' a compound of Bill Sykes and a prowling thief, who would kill the policeman who arrests him, or the unfortunate woman upon whom he lives, if it were not for the fear of being hanged. This type of civilised savage seldom or never commits murder. It rarely happens that other habitual criminals do either. But they will not be deterred by sentences long or short, few or many, from indulging in their criminal propensities wherever or whenever they see a chance of so doing; and it is the kind of treatment which this class of irreclaimable thief merit when they land themselves within the penal realm in which Sir Edmund Du Cane holds absolute sway that is made to determine the extra punishments, deprivations, and disciplinary regulations that are meted out to every other class of prisoner. Instead of putting these and kindred perverted creatures in a prison by themselves, or in a separate wing of a prison, apart from those less inoculated with criminality, they are scattered among all kinds of convicts, who are thus made to suffer the added penalties which the central prison authorities deem it necessary to inflict upon the very worst type of criminal.

Separate cellular sleeping accommodation is about the only part

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of the existing system with which there is an all-round agreement among upholders and critics of imprisonment as it is now carried on. It is charged against the London county gaols that the number of prisoners therein incarcerated frequently overtops the number of cells in such prisons. This, if true, is a grave evil, as the practice of placing two or more prisoners in the same sleeping cell is reprehensible in every way. The objection to association at night ought not, however, to obtain in the matter of daily labour. Given always a suitable classification of prisoners, according to crime and the number of convictions, and the question of convicts working out their daily labour tasks in company, under proper supervision, ought not to be subject for objection on the ground of possible contamination. The objection to association in work-tasks is carrying the idea of isolation to ridiculous and to inhuman lengths. To shut men up in pen-like cells, where they are doomed to sleep, and eat, and work, with one or two hours' open-air exercise only each day, is simply reducing them to the level of untamed beasts. As a system of mere punishment, apart from all other considerations, it leaves nothing to be desired. It tramples upon every instinct and inclination of human nature, and penalises every faculty by which man is distinguished from a tiger or a dog. To speak, sing, whistle, or walk; to attempt to ornament the cell; to offer to, or take from, a neighbour an ounce of bread; to exchange a book; to possess a needle or a pin; to stitch a button upon a garment without permission; to look out of the cell-window into the prison-yard; to protest against bad or light-weight food; to refuse to strip naked whenever the warder requires this to be done for the purpose of searching the prisoner—all this, with a hundred other nameless, irritating, ceaseless, mind-killing worries and degradations, is what separate cellular life and work means to a prisoner undergoing 'reformation' by the Du Cane plan. How, in the name of all that is rational, can men be reclaimed by means which are directly meant to deaden every one of the common, not to speak of the higher, qualities of man? As a method of punishment I grant it goes far. How much further it could be made to go in the way of making sentences more savage and vindictive it would be difficult to say. But, if imprisonment is intended to reform as well as to punish, the advocates of this system of complete isolation are unconsciously upholding a plan which deters by incarceration only, but which buys this strictly limited deterrence at the price of re-conviction and insanity to the extent testified to in each year's report of our prison administration.

The one remedy which will combine the essential ends of reform and punishment is Industrialism—work, not of the abasing, but of the useful, kind; productive labour, instead of treadmills, 'wind-sawing,' and oakum-picking. Mere mechanical 'work,' such as 'walking' a treadmill, turning a crank, or separating strands of tar-rope,

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gives no occupation to the mind, engages no moral or mental faculty that will help the prisoner to take his thoughts away from present surroundings or evil reminiscences. It is the animal-like brooding of men of limited intellect, incapable of enjoying any of the higher pleasures of the imagination, which stereotypes habits of animalism and criminal disposition, and makes the twenty minutes' morning religious discourse and the chaplain's casual visit to the convict cell as ineffective in promoting true moral reformation in the prisoner as to attempt to sweeten the water of the Thames by dropping a basketful of lime over London Bridge once a day. If, on the other hand, a prisoner's daily task were to consist of some rational occupation—engaged at or learning some remunerative work; doing something of some value to himself or to the State; 'something attempted, something done' every twenty-four hours, in the way of producing articles of value, or making some ornament or toy—there would be a far different soil for the labours of chaplain and schoolmaster to work upon, and far greater moral results to show at the end of a sentence of imprisonment.

One of the favourite objections against allowing remunerative employment to prisoners is that the Trade Unions have frequently protested against it. I think such opposition arises more from mere prejudice than from any substantial ground for a grievance. The amount of trade that could be diverted from outside industry by a few thousand convicts and casual prisoners in county gaols—assuming that all these would be employed in regular trade occupations—would be very trifling. Probably not 20 per cent. of such prisoners would actually compete with, say, shoemakers, tailors, or mat-makers in their respective crafts, while the influence of Parliament could easily be invoked at any time by Trade-Unionist M.P.'s to prevent anything like unfair competition between the produce of prison labour and that of Trade-Union industry. In places like Dartmoor most of the prison labour can be devoted to land reclamation; while Portland and one or two other convict depôts have industries peculiar to the place, which in no way interfere with the interests of liberty labour. The objection would tell more against county than against convict prisons, but even among the larger casual population of the latter there could be no real rivalry that could justify this narrow-minded opposition.

We are all only too familiar with articles marked 'Made in Germany,' Austria, or other Continental countries. The demand for these is increasing rather than diminishing. Almost all the children's toys sold in Dublin are made, I am told, in villages along the Rhine. Doubtless it is the same with respect to a large percentage of similar goods in demand throughout Great Britain. These are articles which could be easily made in British and Irish prisons by prisoners who are now engaged in turning treadmills, cranks, and similar useless, demoralis-

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ing 'work.' There could not well be much objection on the part of Trade Unionist bodies to the giving of such useful labour to prisons as would offer only a minimum of competitive opposition to those workers who are fortunate enough not to know what an amount of mental suffering is involved in months of silent, detestable 'labour' punishment. Anyhow a short-sighted, prejudiced opposition, having little, if any, substantial ground to go upon, ought not to be permitted to place obstacles in the way of substituting rational work for the methods now employed of making work in prison hateful to those who are expected to resort to industry instead of crime when once again restored to the outside world. A too selfish policy is frequently an unwise one, and it does not look creditable to Trade Unionism to show hostility to such humane regulations of imprisonment as those in question at a time when all parties, persons, and papers are expected to join in obtaining justice and considerate treatment for all who toil and spin in the freedom of organised industry.

No amount of comparison between the present and the old, or pre-Howard, system of prison punishment can justify such inflictions as years of speechless existence, crank-winding, treadmills, and kindred methods of making life a burden, and labour detestable in forms which deprive industry of all reformative efficacy. The system of punishment by 'labour' which produces nothing is, of course, more in vogue in county than in convict prisons, and more related to short than to long sentences. Still, this is no rational ground for its adoption as a part of what is meant to be a reformatory treatment of criminals. Anything which makes labour hateful can never become an effective means of reforming men belonging to the working classes. It is the violation of one, if not the first, of nature's laws. Labour we know to be corrective of many moral, and of not a few physical, ills. Productive labour teaches, as well, lessons of self-dependence, which would surely be of use in the task of curing young offenders of the moral evils which non-industrial lives have begotten. But it seems good to the prison authorities to ignore all this, or most of it, in their treatment of offenders, young and old, by making manual labour a chief instrument of the most degrading form of punishment—'sawing the wind,' as it is not inappropriately called in prison slang.

This ignorance—or shall I say defiance?—of the teaching of natural laws in the treatment of prisoners is only equalled by the, to me, unintelligible blindness with which the most notorious dispositions of habitual criminals are ignored by the prison authorities in repeating the one unchangeable method of treatment in these cases. An old gaol-bird's punishment grows less severe in proportion to the number of sentences which he undergoes. This is, unconsciously, a humane arrangement, paradoxical as it appears. He gets accustomed to the

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nature of the thing. He 'knows the ropes,' as the saying is, and fares much better on this account on his third or fourth sentence than does the first-timer, who has to face and endure, to him, a completely reversed rule of human existence. There is nothing in the meaning of the term penal servitude which the irreclaimable thief dreads so much as real manual labour, requiring average physical exertion. A spade or a barrow, a pick-axe or a cart-collar, has the same effect upon the habitual criminal's mind, nerves, and imagination as a similar means of earning a living in the outside world would have upon the pride or caste of an aristocrat. He will malinger in order to escape 'hard graft.' He will swallow pieces of ground-glass, so as to spit blood; put bits of copper wire in his flesh, to provoke dangerous inflammation; sham madness, and resort to scores of other devices in order to save himself from the dreaded infliction of a barrow or a spade. Crank-tasks he does not mind half as much as rational labour, and yet it is to indulge this perverted creature's ingrained objection to 'blooming work' that punishment by irrational, useless, demoralising treadmills and wind-sawing has been developed to such 'perfection' under the Du Cane dispensation.

The recidivist is also the pet of the nine months' separate silent cell practice in the probationary period of penal servitude. He is the one man in prison who cares least about it. There is no 'hard graft' associated with this part of the sentence. Oakum-picking is an art in which he is a past master. He gets through his regulation daily quantity in one-fourth the time occupied by the less experienced first offender. Comparative idleness is the ideal life of the old-timer, and the trivial or useless tasks of the separate cell, which represent the most unbearable form of punishment to the prisoner who has done some kind of work for a living outside, are the merest pastime to the re-sentenced thief. Yet it is in the expectation of reclaiming this type of criminal by the ministrations of prison chaplains, in probationary separate cells, that dooms every other erring or unfortunate mortal who enters the portals of penal servitude to undergo that part of its penalty which induces most of the insanity and other mental maladies among prisoners—a dehumanising rule, which condemns a man to pass twenty-three out of twenty-four hours of the day during a period of nine months to the silence of a whitewashed cell, measuring seven or eight feet by twelve.

This part of penal servitude should either be totally abolished, or so altered that the period passed in preparatory prisons should be divided between the commencement and the termination of the sentence. To send the habitual criminal away to a public works prison immediately after sentence (provided he has to perform real labour when he gets there) would be inflicting upon him, in his own estimation, the maximum amount of punishment and suffering that an unpropitious fate could possible afflict him with. In marked contrast to the

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old gaol-bird's indifference to cellular and fruitless labour is the first-timer's and young convict's suffering during this part of the sentence. The smallness of the cell, the absolute silence imposed, the penalties attaching to all movements of the body, except those required to pick oakum or coir, the horrible mockery of the noises of liberty beyond the prison boundary, the eye torture of the four whitewashed walls, with their tomb-like atmosphere and embrace, the watchings and worrying of the warder, make up a daily endurance of mental and bodily suffering which no language can adequately describe. The champions of this mode of punishment have to admit that the larger number of the cases of insanity which occur during imprisonment are referable to 'the early part of the sentences.' In other words, separate cellular punishment induces madness, while there is no contra account of reformatory results to be shown for this pet part of the present system of penal servitude. 'It prevents contamination through intercourse.' So would the amputation of the tongue or the infliction of the death sentence, only more so. Contamination can be prevented by rational classification. Separate the old from the young criminals, the professional thief from the offender who has given way to the suggestions of intemperate habits, the temptations of poverty, or the solicitation of ostentatiously displayed wealth, and every reformatory advantage claimed for cellular punishment can be reaped without the evils engendered through the mental and bodily sufferings of solitude.

It is urged, in defence of this probationary nine months' close confinement, that it 'prepares' the prisoner for his subsequent punishment in penal servitude, breaks his spirit, makes him docile and more manageable. I doubt whether it produces a single one (except, to some extent, the first) of these results, any more than it works the boasted moral wonders which it was expected to beget through the facilities it is supposed to offer for the religious and other ministering cares that are believed to be lavished upon convicts passing through this probation. This nine months of separate cell punishment makes men more irritable, injures health, and encourages mental disease. The religious teaching and schooling operations carried on during this period are more of a mockery than a reality. A visit once a month from a chaplain, once a week from a schoolmaster, and occasionally by a Scripture-reader, together with an hour's tuition each week for illiterate convicts, comprise (with twenty minutes of a religious service for all prisoners every morning) the whole of the spiritual and moral labours bestowed upon prisoners during probation. It is only just and fair to remark, in this connection, that Catholic chaplains, though paid very much lower salaries than those of the Church of England, give more time and attention to prisoners under their ministrations, to which fact is due the circumstance that there are numerous 'conversions,' such as they are,

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from the Protestant to the Catholic faith on the part of certain classes of convicts.

A system of separate cell punishment, which would give the prisoner trade or useful employment with leave to ornament his cell, that would break the monotony of his solitude with visits every day from those who would really interest themselves in his reformation—visitors, for instance, like the Redemptorist Fathers, who have daily access to the cells of many continental prisons, or by select officers of the Salvation Army; visitors who would teach him some useful occupation, and give him daily proof of a kindly human interest in his moral reclamation and after-welfare—such a system could not fail in producing good results. But a treatment of this kind would be the very reverse of the present cruel and callous method of 'preparing' the newly sentenced prisoner for the after-experience of penal servitude, and there is little, if any, hope of its finding approval with existing prison authority. Useful labour should be substituted for this useless waste of human energy after a month or two of preparatory punishment in separate confinement. If work will not reclaim all that is reclaimable in young offenders and casual criminals, no amount of unnatural punishment will. Work is the punishment which the hardened offender dreads most. It is the punishment which will be healthiest for the morals, mind, and body of those who are not hopelessly impregnated with criminal disposition. Work is more humane than the torture of comparative idleness in solitude, and more in keeping with the ends which an enlightened law should seek to serve through the infliction of its penalties for offences against society.

The existing prison system is altogether too centralised. Possibly the one to which Sir Edmund Du Cane's régime is the successor may have erred in the opposite extreme. Local control, however, possessed features of flexibility and adaptiveness to which the system under discussion is an absolute stranger. There was independent inspection, more discretionary power rested with governors, far more humane regulations and treatment of prisoners obtained, while there was more local initiative and more of the civil element on prison staffs than in the case of the costly and elaborate substitute over which one official in London now presides. It is true, Sir Edmund Du Cane claims that the number of convicted criminals has decreased since centralised control superseded the régime of local administration. But is this diminution due to the efficacy of centralisation as a successful reformative and deterrent system, or to such external agencies as the spread of education, the increase in opportunities of employment among the poorer working classes, together with the operations of reformatory and industrial schools? It is unquestionably to these latter educational, social, and moral agencies that the credit of decreasing criminality belongs. Influences working for good beyond the bounds of prison walls have lessened crime; but what effect has

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the new system of treating the inmates on the other side of these walls had upon the reformation of the criminal classes? This is, I think, the fair way to test the success or failure of the Du Cane methods, and not by claiming for them the credit which belongs to the general progress of society towards a higher social and moral standard of citizenship in the individual. The question to which a straight answer is required is, whether the prevailing system has materially reduced the percentage of re-convictions, and upon the reply which unbiassed facts and figures give to this question will, in the main, depend the verdict which the Commission now sitting will give for or against the demands for reform.

The growth or decline of recidivism is the standard by which a fair judgment can be come to in this matter, and in this respect the evidence against the present rule of prisons and treatment of prisoners is very strong. In the declining years of the old plan of local management the percentage of re-committals was under thirty-five, while during the past ten years of the present centralised system it has been near fifty, per cent. If this indictment can be sustained in the evidence which will be given before the Commission, there will be in this one fact alone an unanswerable argument for a change which will make for a reform back towards the old or more forward, towards a more effective, system than either. When, however, the imperfect plan of identifying criminals has to be considered, the figure of fifty per cent. becomes manifestly an under-statement of the case against the Du Cane methods. It is now acknowledged all round that the Bertillon plan of identification would, if in operation, make it practically impossible for old offenders to escape from judge and jury as first-timers, as has happened frequently in the past. It is no exaggeration, therefore, to assert that the percentage of re-commitals has increased to at least thirty per cent. since the whole care of prisoners and control of the prisons of the country were made over to a practically irresponsible single official in London. 'Shorter sentences' may be blamed by upholders of this centralised rule for part of the increase of re-convictions, but the case against the system which includes sentences that are in reality outrageously long as part of its media in the work of deterrence will be found to be much stronger when the present inquiry brings forth the evidence on both sides.

One of the grounds on which a demand for reform is based is the too military character of the present prison administration. It is claimed that the faults and comparative failure of the existing centralised régime is due to military directors, military inspectors, military deputy-governors, and military warders, who have got hold of the entire corpus of this branch of civil administration. What particular qualification men trained in arms have for the unwarlike work of reforming criminals it is not easy to conjecture. These

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military men have many excellent qualities, no doubt; but these qualities would not suffice to make them, without training or experience, safe medical advisers, say, for people in need of a doctor's skill and special knowledge. Why should they be deemed to be the best class of men to be found in society for the work of curing moral maladies? Personal qualifications, which include education and character, are not monopolised by colonels, captains, and lieutenants. They are indispensable qualities, of course, for prison directors and governors, but they are to be found in civilians also, and they stand the chance of being associated there with such training, experience, and disposition as would render a non-military head of a prison a better administrator and a more broad-minded ruler of the criminals under his charge than a man of military ideas and training. Anyhow, the prison service forms so important a part of the general government of these countries that some special training for tasks so onerous, delicate, and responsible ought to be a part of any reform which the present Commission may recommend. Such a change has, I believe, been introduced in the prison administration of one or two continental countries. A demand for special fitness in prison officers of all grades will necessarily beget the best qualifications in men who will be induced to join such a service; and why there should not be such a trained qualification demanded for the highly responsible duties appertaining to the management of prisons and prisoners is simply incomprehensible.

Another change which would be sure to meet with public approval is that of independent inspection. At present the inspectors of prisons are appointed and paid by the head of the system. They are, of course, practically all soldiers. How can it be expected that men who look to Sir Edmund Du Cane as their chief will criticise, disparage, or condemn the working of his administration? In fact, the head of the system is virtually his own inspector; and were he ever so able and experienced a public servant, the power to sit in judgment upon himself in the management of the prisons of the country is carrying the principle of centralisation to lengths as ridiculous as they are unwise.

The changes which, in my judgment, would make for more reformation among criminals and for the better management of prisons are:

In the treatment of juvenile offenders there ought to be some approximation between industrial and criminal law. Boys under fourteen should not be sent to prison. It is reflection and meditation, along with punitive justice, which will tend to deter from crime. It is absurd to suppose that a boy of fourteen has his moral or intellectual faculties so developed as to profit by the penal lesson of a prison.

Imprisonment, even between the ages of fourteen and eighteen, ought to be made as rare as possible. The reformatory school is the

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right place for the juvenile criminal, and the limit of age could with advantage be extended from eighteen to twenty-one in the matter of retention within these institutions.

Shorter sentences, all worked out, for first and second convictions, with opportunities allowed for earning, at useful labour, a larger gratuity on discharge, and some small luxuries, such as better food and a pipe of tobacco on Sunday (allowed to first and second-timers only), on reaching third class. More visits from relatives and more privilege for writing home to be also permitted as rewards for labour proficiency.

Third and fourth convictions for fresh crimes to be considered as evidence of ingrained criminality requiring special treatment and classification. Remission, however, to be recommended by the governor if, in his judgment, the general record and disposition of the prisoner offer any hope that he may not return again to crime on discharge. The ticket-of-leave to be reserved for this class of criminal only.

All prisoners to be employed at useful and remunerative work and trained in habits of industry. More useful books to be allowed and 'more schoolmaster' provided, with, say, Sunday evening lectures to prisoners on reaching first class, and within a year of discharge, on industrial, reformatory, sanitary, or kindred subjects, by chaplain, schoolmaster, doctor, or others approved of by governors.

Classification of prisoners to be according to character of crime and known degree of criminality. Youthful prisoners to be located apart from old offenders, and first-timers to be dissociated from re-convicted men.

Separate cell sleeping accommodation for all prisoners; but work in association to be allowed, subject to the classification specified, and to proper supervision.

The probationary period of nine months in separate cells after sentence of penal servitude to be abolished for all re-convicted prisoners, who should be sent at once to public works prisons, and put to such manual labour as the doctor shall certify will not be injurious to health. For first offenders, it should be reduced to one or two months at the beginning and at the end of the sentence.

In the matter of prison offences, the rule against speaking should be either completely abolished, or should allow the privilege of conversation at work or at exercise to be one that can be earned or lost by the standard of general character and conduct. The barbarous prohibition of all speech now leads, as I have already said, to numerous breaches of discipline and to a multiplication of punishments. The limitation of this penalty of enforced silence, or its total abolition, would be sure to make for a diminution of prison offences.

Punishment by semi-darkened penal cells for breaches of prison

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discipline should be abolished for young prisoners and a deprivation of privileges substituted.

In the management of prisons there ought to be much more of the civil than the military element engaged. A special training should be instituted for this branch of the Civil Service, and among the qualifications that should be insisted upon is a practical knowledge of industrial and trade avocations. No warder should be employed who could not undergo an examination in practical industry of some kind or character. The hours of duty for a warder should be reduced to eight per day, while night duty ought to command extra remuneration.

The status of the prison schoolmaster should be raised, his services should be more generally employed than at present, and better salaries should be made to invite the best men to engage in what ought to be, and which could be made to be, one of the best reformatory influences operating within a prison.

More initiative should be allowed to governors and more responsibility be thrown upon them in the general work of treating prisoners and managing prisons. Cases put back for a director ought, except when the offence is very serious, to be disposed of by the governor, who knows (or ought to know) far more about the character, circumstances or provocation, of the breach of rules than an official from London. In serious cases of assault or attempts to escape, a prisoner ought to have the option of requiring the presence of a justice of the peace along with the visiting director when the offence is to be adjudicated upon.

Finally, there ought to be a thoroughly independent system of inspection of all prisons, local or convict; and all judges, magistrates, and members of Parliament should be allowed free access to such places at all times, and to have the right to forward direct to the Home Secretary such reports, comments, or complaints as they might deem fit and proper to make with regard to the treatment of criminals or the management of such prisons.

MICHAEL DAVITT.

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WHY I AM NOT AN AGNOSTIC

When I was lately asked to take part in a Symposium in the *Agnostic Annual* on the question 'Why live a Moral Life?' I felt it an honour to join a company of thinkers and writers so eminent, each in his own subject, as the supporters of that Journal. But I felt bound at the same time to declare that I had really no right to claim the title of Agnostic. If, as we have been told, Agnosticism implied no more than a negation of Gnosticism, and if by Gnosticism were meant the teaching of such philosophers as Cerinthus or Valentinus or Marcion, I believe I might say that I do not hold their opinions, that I am certainly not a Gnostic, although I strongly sympathise with what was meant originally by Gnosis, as distinc from Pistis.

But this merely negative definition of Agnosticism would hardly be satisfactory to the leading Agnostics of our time. For though Agnosticism excluded Alexandrian Gnosticism, it might include ever so many views of the universe, opposed to each other on many points, though agreeing in a common renunciation of Gnosticism.

Agnosticism, however, as now understood, seems to mean something very different. It has been explained to mean 'that a man shall not say he knows or believes that which he has no scientific grounds for professing to know or believe.' Perhaps this, too, is an article which few men would object to sign, though it leaves the door open to a good deal of controversy as to what is meant by 'scientific grounds.' Some astronomers held that the earth formed the centre of the world, others denied it; both, as they thought, on scientific grounds. The opponents of Galileo produced what they considered scientific grounds for their opinions; Galileo produced scientific grounds for his own conviction, and no one would wish that the two parties should have confined themselves to mere Agnosticism, to a profession of ignorance of the true position of the earth or the sun in our planetary system—should have shrugged their shoulders and said, 'Who knows?'

We enter into a new atmosphere of thought if, as Agnostics, we are asked 'to confess that we know nothing of what may be beyond phenomena.' But this, too, if properly interpreted, is an article which few who can see through the meaning of words would decline

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to accept, while people accustomed to philosophical terminology might possibly consider such a statement as almost tautological. What may be, or even what is, beyond phenomena is the same as what we call transcendent; that is, what transcends or lies beyond the horizon of our knowledge, and therefore leaves us ignorant or Agnostics. Phenomenal means what appears to be, in distinction from what is, and if knowledge were restricted to what is, then what only appears to be could not possibly claim to produce real knowledge.

But if all these propositions are so self-evident as to make controversy almost impossible, it may seem strange that Agnosticism, not only the name, but the thing itself, should of late have been represented as the peculiar property of the nineteenth century. The whole history of philosophy forms but one continuous commentary on the fact that there are things which we can, and others which we cannot, know; nay, it is the chief object of all critical philosophy to draw a sharp line between the two. If we begin the history of systematic philosophy with Socrates, as represented to us by his disciples, we know that Socrates, though declared the wisest of men by the Oracle of Delphi, declared that he knew one thing only, and that was that he knew nothing. This has been thought by some to be a mere expression of excessive humility on the part of Socrates, just as when, in the *Hippias Minor*, p. 372, he says, 'My deficiency is proved to me by the fact that when I meet one of you who are famous for wisdom, and to whose wisdom all the Hellenes are witnesses, I am found out to know nothing.' But there was really a much deeper meaning in his confession of ignorance, for he claimed this knowledge of his ignorance as a proof of his wisdom. He can only have meant, therefore, that he knew all human knowledge to be concerned with phenomena only, and that he knew nothing of what may be beyond phenomena. If this was the beginning of all philosophy, the end of all philosophy was to find out how we know even this; how we know that we are ignorant, and why we must be ignorant, of everything beyond what is phenomenal.

That question had to wait for its final answer till Kant wrote his *Kritik der reinen Vernunft*, and gave a scientific demonstration of the inherent limits of human knowledge. In the meantime the confession of our ignorance, the true philosophical Agnosticism, had found utterance again and again from the lips of all the most eminent philosophers. They did not call it Agnosticism, because that word, as seeming to exclude Gnosticism only, would have conveyed a too narrow and therefore a false idea. Greek philosophers called it with a technical name, *Agnoia*,[1] or, if they wished to express the proper attitude of the mind towards transcendental questions, they called it *Epoche*, *i.e.* suspense of judgment. During the middle ages exactly the same idea which now goes by the name of Agnosticism was well

[1] M. M., *Natural Religion*, p. 225

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known as *Docta Ignorantia*, *i.e.* the ignorance founded on the knowledge of our ignorance or of our impotence to grasp anything beyond what is phenomenal.

In both these senses, therefore, *i.e.* in the sense of not being a follower of the Alexandrian Gnostics, and in that of admitting that all the objects of our knowledge are *ipso facto* phenomenal, I should not hesitate to call myself an Agnostic. And yet I cannot do so for two reasons: (1) because I strongly sympathise with the objects which in the beginning Alexandrian Gnosticism and Neoplatonism had in view, and (2) because I hold that the human mind in its highest functions is not confined to a knowledge of phenomena only.

To begin with the second point, I need hardly say that the very name phenomenal or apparent implies that there is something that appears, something of which we can therefore predicate that it appears, something that seems to be, that is relative to us, and so far, but so far only, known to us. That which appears is, before it appears, unknown to us, but it becomes known to us in the only way in which it can be known, that is by its appearance, by its phenomenal manifestation, by its becoming an object of human knowledge. It is known to us as that without which the phenomenal would be impossible, nay, unthinkable. That without which the phenomenal would be unthinkable is sometimes called the noumenal, the real, the absolute, and if we call its absence unthinkable, we imply that there are certain forms of our thought from which our phenomenal knowledge cannot escape, the well-known Kantian forms of intuition and understanding. These, as Kant has shown, cannot be the mere result of phenomenal experience because they possess a character of necessity which no phenomenal experience can ever claim. To take a very simple case. It is well known that we never see more than one side of the moon. Yet such are the powers both of our sensuous intuition (*Anschauungsformen*) and of the categories of our understanding, that we know with perfect certainty, a certainty such as no experience, if repeated a thousand times, could ever give us, that there must be another side which on this earth we shall never see, but which to our consciousness is as real as the side which we do see. These forms of sensuous intuition admit of no exception. The rule that every material body must have more than one side is absolute. In the same way, if we think at all, we must submit to the law of causality, a category of our understanding, without which even the simplest phenomenal knowledge would be impossible. We never see a horse, we are only aware of certain states of our own consciousness, produced through our senses; but that these affections presuppose a cause, or, as we call it, an object outside us, is due to that law of causality within us which we must obey, whether we like it or not.

If, then, we have to recognise in every single object of our phenomenal knowledge a something or a power which manifests itself in it, and

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which we know, and can only know, through its phenomenal manifestation, we have also to acknowledge a power that manifests itself in the whole universe. We may call that power unknown or inscrutable, but we may also call it the best known, because all our knowledge is derived from a scrutiny of its phenomenal manifestations. That it is, we know; what it is by itself, that is, out of relation to us or unknown by us, of course we cannot know, as little as we can eat our cake and have it; but we do know that without it the manifest or phenomenal universe would be impossible.

This is the first step which carries us beyond the limits of Agnoia, and by which I am afraid I should forfeit at once the right of calling myself an Agnostic. But another and even more fatal step is to follow, which, I fear, will deprive me altogether of any claim to that title. I cannot help discovering in the universe an all-pervading causality or a reason for everything; for, even when in my phenomenal ignorance I do not yet know a reason for this or that, I am forced to admit that there exists some such reason; I feel bound to admit it, because to a mind like ours nothing can exist without a sufficient reason. But how do I know that? Here is the point where I cease to be an Agnostic. I do not know it from experience, and yet I know it with a certainty greater than any which experience could give. This also is not a new discovery. The first step towards it was made at a very early time by the Greek philosophers when they turned from the observation of outward nature to higher spheres of thought, and recognised in nature the working of a mind or Νοῦς, which pervades the universe. Anaxagoras, who was the first to postulate such a Νοῦς in nature, ascribed to it not much more than the first impulse to the interaction of his Homoiomeries. But even his Νοῦς was soon perceived to be more than a mere *Primum mobile*; more than the κινοῦν ἀκινητόν. We ourselves, after thousands of years of physical and metaphysical research, can say no more than that there is Νοῦς, that there is mind and reason in nature. *Sa Majesté le Hasard* has long been dethroned in all scientific studies, and neither Natural Selection, nor Struggle for Life, nor the influence of environment or any other *aliases* of it, will account for the *Logos*, the thought, which with its thousand eyes looks at us through the transparent curtain of nature and calls for thoughtful recognition from the *Logos* within us. If any philosopher can persuade himself that the true and well-ordered *genera* of nature are the result of mechanical causes, whatever name he may give them, he moves in a world altogether different from my own. He belongs to a period of thought antecedent to Anaxagoras. To Plato these genera were ideas; to the Peripatetics they were words or *Logoi*; to both they were manifestations of thought. Unless these thoughts had existed previous to their manifestation or individualisation in the phenomenal world, the human mind could never have discovered them there and named them. We ought not to say any

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longer in the language of the childhood of our race, 'In the beginning God created Heaven and Earth.' As Christians we have to say in the language of St. John and his Platonic and Gnostic predecessors, 'In the beginning there was the *Logos*.' If we call that *Logos* the Son, and if we speak of a Father whom no one knows but the Son, the so-called *Deus ante intellectum*, we are using human language, but if we know that all human language is metaphorical we shall never attempt to force these words into a narrow literal meaning. To do so is to create mythology, and with it all its concomitant dangers. What lies behind the curtain of these words is, in fact, the legitimate realm of Agnoia or Agnosticism. But all that lies on this side of the curtain is our domain, the domain of language and afterwards of science, which in the chaos of phenomena has discovered, and with every new generation of Aristotles, Bacons, and Darwins is bent on discovering more and more, a hidden Kosmos, or the reflex of that *Logos*, without which Nature would be illogical, irrational, chaotic, and existing by accident only, not by the will of a rational Power. Call that Power the Father, or call it a Person, and you neither gain nor lose anything, for these words also are metaphorical only, and what constitutes the personal element in man or any other living being is as unknown to us as what constitutes the personal element in the author, the thinker, the speaker, or creator of the *logoi*. All I maintain is, that if we ever speak of a *Logos* and of *logoi*, and understand clearly what we mean by these words, we can no longer say that in the beginning there was protoplasm, and that the whole world was evolved from it by purely mechanical or external agencies. If we have once recognised in all the genera or generations of the natural world, not simply the unknown, or a substance and power that is inscrutable, but the thoughts and will of a mind, that mind, so far from being inscrutable, undergoes a constant scrutiny in its endless manifestations at the hand of human science. It is in fact the one subject of all our knowledge, from the first attempts at roughly grouping and naming it to the latest efforts of scientific research, intended to classify, to comprehend and understand it. The whole of our knowledge of nature becomes thus a recognition of the *logoi* of nature by the *Logos* of ourselves. Each genus becomes a *logos*, an eternal thought or an eternal word; nay, it seems to follow from this that there is in nature no room for anything but genera; no room for species or εἴδη in the proper sense of these terms. Here we see how the Science of Language becomes the Science of Thought. If it is unity of origin that constitutes a genus, true science knows indeed of individuals which represent a genus, but not of species, though for practical purposes the human mind may give that name to varieties in their more or less inheritable and permanent form; such varieties being in reality no more than the necessary consequence of individualisation and manifoldness. If each individnal differs, and must differ,

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by something from all other individuals of the same genus, the accumulation of these differentiating somethings leads naturally to the formation of what is called a species. We may then speak, for instance, of different varieties or even species of horses, including the three-toed hipparion; but there is but one ἱππότης, if we have but the eye to see it, as Plato used to say.

I hardly venture to say whether I know all this, or whether I only believe it. I cannot help seeing order, law, reason or *Logos* in the world, and I cannot account for it by merely *ex post* events, call them what you like—survival of the fittest, natural selection, or anything else. Anyhow, this Gnosis is to me irresistible, and I dare not therefore enter the camp of the Agnostics under false colours. I am not aware that on my way to this Gnosis I have availed myself of anything but the facts of our direct consciousness, and the conclusions that can be logically deduced from them. Without these two authorities I do not feel bound to accept any testimony, whether revealed or unrevealed. It is history alone which can tell us how these ideas arose and how they grew from century to century. What I have tried to do, however imperfectly, is to discover the causes which in the history of the world have led men to accept what, according to some philosophers, rested neither on the evidence of their senses nor on the logical conclusions of their reason. I have lately attempted to trace these causes and their historical progress in my Gifford lectures, more particularly in the last volume, called *Theosophy* or *Psychological Religion*. In one sense I hope I am, and always have been, an Agnostic, that is, in relying on nothing but historical facts and in following reason as far as it will take us in matters of the intellect, and in never pretending that conclusions are certain which are not demonstrated or demonstrable. This attitude of the mind has always been recognised as the *conditio sine qua non* of all philosophy. If, in future, it is to be called Agnosticism, then I am a true Agnostic; but if Agnosticism excludes a recognition of an eternal reason pervading the natural and the moral world, if to postulate a rational cause for a rational universe is called Gnosticism, then I am a Gnostic, and a humble follower of the greatest thinkers of our race from Plato and the author of the Fourth Gospel to Kant and Hegel.

F. MAX MÜLLER

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THE ESTATE DUTY AND THE ROAD ROUND IT

THE sweeping provisions of the Finance Act of 1894 affect so seriously the prospects and property of so large a number of people that it becomes a matter of importance to ascertain with accuracy how far it is now possible for a man to transmit his property to those who are the intended objects of his bounty without allowing them to be liable to pay the heavy Estate Duties imposed by the Act.

Of the numerous methods of evading the Act I do not propose to treat, but only of some of those means of dealing with property which will without doubt stand the test of litigation when all the facts are known to the Court.

In the first place, a man may, by investing his money in land abroad or in the Colonies, escape the duty altogether, whether on the land itself or on legacies charged thereon; for the second subsection of the second section of the Act provides that:

> Property passing on the death of the deceased when situate out of the United Kingdom shall be included only if, under the law in force before the passing of this Act, legacy or succession duty is payable in respect thereof, or would be so payable but for the relationship of the person to whom it passes.

This method of investment is not likely, however, to commend itself to many Englishmen, though colonists domiciled in England (a large and increasing body) will probably use it to a great extent in preference to reinvestment in English land or securities.

In the second place, he may avoid the duty by conveying (more than twelve months before his death) the property, or any part of it, to some other person absolutely. To this method there is the obvious objection that, if the person to whom the property is conveyed dies first, the Estate Duty will become payable even sooner than it would otherwise have done, although it may very probably be at a lower rate, since the object of the bounty is, in the majority of cases, likely to leave a smaller property than the person giving the property would have left had he retained everything in his own hands.

In the third place, he may avoid the duty to a limited extent only by settling the property, reserving a life interest to himself. In this

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case Estate Duty and a further duty of one per cent. become payable on his death; but section 5 subsection 2 in effect provides that thereafter no duty shall be payable until the various life interests under the settlement are exhausted. The subsection is as follows:

> If Estate Duty has already been paid in respect of any settled property since the date of the settlement, the Estate Duty shall not, nor shall any of the duties mentioned in the fifth paragraph of the first schedule to this Act, be payable in respect thereof until the death of a person who was at the time of his death, or had been at any time during the continuance of the settlement, competent to dispose of such property.

And the duties referred to as the duties mentioned in the fifth paragraph of the first schedule to the Act are the 1 per cent. legacy and succession duties.

This method will no doubt be adopted by many people, but it does not wholly, or nearly wholly, avoid the heavy Estate Duty; and I come now to a method of dealing with property which I have not yet heard suggested by any one, but which will, without the slightest doubt, remove the property dealt with by it from any possibility of liability to any existing duty of any kind for very many years, in some cases possibly for as many as sixty or seventy years.

I arrive at my method in this way: The scheme of all the Death Duty Acts is, and ever has been, to deal with property the passing of which is regulated by the time of a death. It is only necessary to adopt a method by which property shall never pass on a death, but only upon some other event, to render the property altogether free from death duties.

For the accident of death I substitute a change of intention on the part of the settlor, or on the part of those whom he selects to succeed him, not in the ownership, but only in the distribution of the property.

I create what we lawyers call a discretionary trust. Of such a trust the settlor himself can be one of the trustees, or even the sole trustee; for the third subsection of section 2 is as follows:

> Property passing on the death of the deceased shall not be deemed to include property held by the deceased as trustee for another person, under a disposition not made by the deceased, or under a disposition made by the deceased more than twelve months before his death, where possession and enjoyment of the property was *bonâ fide* assumed by the beneficiary immediately upon the creation of the trust, and thenceforward retained to the entire exclusion of the deceased or of any benefit to him by contract or otherwise.

By the trust deed (which must be executed twelve months before the death of the settlor) the settlor vests the property to be settled in the names of trustees and directs them to receive the income, and, in their absolute discretion, either to accumulate it from time to time (within the limits allowed by law), or to pay it, in such

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proportions as they think right, from time to time to any one or more of certain named persons.

It is, perhaps, more easy to explain precisely what I mean by the aid of an example. A.B., aged seventy, has a wife aged sixty, some children aged from thirty to forty, and some young grandchildren. He has also, perhaps, a brother and a cousin or two, and he has a million of money to dispose of. The money, being invested at an average of, say, 3½ per cent., yields him an income of 35,000*l.* a year. The Estate Duty would be 80,000*l.*, or more than two years' income of the property. Now, for a sum of 260,000*l.* he can buy himself a Government annuity of 35,000*l.* a year, and this he does. The remainder of his property (740,000*l.*) then yields, at 3½ per cent., 25,900*l.* a year. A.B. being aged seventy, his expectation of life is, as nearly as possible, eight and a half years; and if this 25,900*l.* a year is accumulated at compound interest during the remainder of the period at 3½ per cent., the result will be about 246,000*l.* So that, at the time of his death, the capital of 1,000,000*l.* will remain intact but for the small deficiency of 14,000*l.*, and he will have enjoyed a sum equivalent to the full income during his life.

It remains to show how this scheme can be carried out without incurring any liability for Estate Duty. A.B. first sells out his 260,000*l.*, and purchases for himself a Government annuity of 35,000*l.* a year. Having done this, he has, so far as he is concerned, secured to himself for life the income which he has always enjoyed. He then vests in trustees the whole of the remaining 740,000*l.* upon trust in their absolute discretion, either to accumulate the money at compound interest, or to pay the income in such shares and proportions as they, in their absolute discretion, shall think fit to any one or more of the persons named in the settlement. The persons named in the settlement will be the wife, the children, the grandchildren, the brother, and the cousins, and all the children of every one of these. On the decease of the last survivor of the wife, the children, the grandchildren, the brother, and the cousins, the capital moneys will be payable in such shares as the trustees think best among the children of all these persons. By this scheme no person takes any vested interest in the trust funds, and no duty can become payable until the wife, children, grandchildren, brother, and cousins are all dead.

It would be necessary to choose the trustees with extreme care and discretion; but so long as they had the full legal power to exercise their discretion, there is nothing to prevent the settlor (A.B.) from indicating to them in what manner he would like them to dispose of the money; and, in effect, with trustworthy persons, all the advantages of a legal trust would be obtained, with the additional advantage that no beneficiary's income could ever be seized by creditors, because he would have no actual right to it. Of course, also, the trustees would be under no legal obligation to accumulate the income during A.B.'s

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life, but they would doubtless obey his wishes; and he could, as I have shown, be one of the trustees, or, indeed, the sole trustee.

If A.B. lived beyond the average expectation of life, the estate would profit the more, while the contingency of his dying sooner could be provided against in many ways.

I have perforce illustrated my scheme with arbitrary figures, but much the same result would, with certain limits, be obtained with a different age and different rates of interest. It is not a scheme likely to be adopted by a young man; and, if it were, the annuity might be cheapened by making an annuity to be paid only in the event of his surviving his wife, by whom a first life interest under the settlement would in effect, though not in law, be taken.

On the figures as shown by me, a duty of 80,000*l.* would be saved at an expense of only 14,000*l.*, an economy sufficient, I imagine, to tempt even the poor millionaire, much more the man of large wealth.

The method is, of course, equally applicable to parts of a property, and by reducing a large property the heavy duties arrived at by aggregation are avoided. Some modifications of my method will naturally suggest themselves in dealing with various kinds of property, but the underlying principle of a discretionary trust is, I am convinced, an admirable one. Often and often have I seen the ruin which a man's follies or misfortunes would otherwise have brought upon him avoided by one of these simple and excellent trusts, and the sweeping provisions of the new Finance Act provide this trusty friend with yet another use.

A. H. HASTIE.

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THE MUSIC OF JAPAN

THERE is scarcely any art, custom, or social usage amongst the Japanese that we have not, at some time or other, censured as barbarian or scoffed at as grotesque. A few years ago, no one dreamt of praising their art; their drawings were laughed at, as the pitiful imaginings of a people devoid of the rudiments of form; their colouring was deemed crude; their dress droll enough to tempt the masquerader; their semi-shaven heads and tightly twisted little knots of hair convulsed the rest of the world; their paper pocket-handkerchiefs met with derision; and every custom, indeed every act, of these far-Eastern natives was weighed in the scales of Western civilisation and found wanting.

To-day Japan and the Japanese are in the ascendant; the art amateur covers his walls with the *Kakemenos* which erstwhile were so despised; the robes and drapery worn in this Land of the Rising Sun are eagerly purchased by wealthy people, who believe them to be indispensable in the matter of decoration; the pocket-handkerchief has been acknowledged to be a more sensible institution than our linen ones, since it requires no washing, incurs no initial outlay. We have not, so far, adopted the *coiffure* nor copied the tonsured cranium, but we have come to a more just appreciation of many of these quaint customs, and, in some instances, to something like a genuine admiration of them.

Of the music of Japan we are still woefully, I am afraid wilfully, ignorant; we are content to call it hideous, inharmonious, inartistic, and monotonous. Amongst many writers on the subject, only three or four can be found to praise it. Comparison between such music as the Japanese and that of European countries is obviously unfair, and sympathetically inartistic. On the one side, we have the best that a highly developed æstheticism can command; we have organs of powerful grandeur, orchestras of almost phenomenal strength, our stringed instruments are fashioned either by the experts of musical Italy, or replicad from those which have served the greatest musicians the world has known. In material, in form, in tone, in veneer, they are unsurpassed; our pianos seem as though they had reached even the stretched limits of perfection, and of teaching and criticism we touch the highest latitudes.

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On the other, we have a few paltry string and percussion instruments, made by those who are unlearned in sound-producing properties; no literature of harmony, since it would be useless, the blind being the principal musicians in Japan; no grand masterpieces of musical history; no striving to touch, by means of the divine art, the deepest sentiments in the human mind; for this light-hearted nation are not likely to be moved by anything which can measure its existence by longer time-beats than the mere evanescence of momentary pleasure. In Japan, music serves to bring the smile to the cheek of the maiden, to preface the banquets of the Japanese nobility, and to accompany the mazes of the dance.

It is, in fact, a record of the trivialities of the daily routine, and perhaps the inferior position which music occupies in Japan is best shown by the fact that its chief, and until quite recently only exponents, are women, and women in this country are still treated as an infinitely lower sex than the men. Most men would consider that they were making themselves ridiculous by playing or singing in society. As against this accumulation of adverse criticism on the music of Mikadoland we must set one or two strong points in its favour. To begin with, it reflects in many ways the quaintness and the national grace of its promoters, it is, therefore, characteristic and individual; then again, Nature in Japan is a silent teacher, singing-birds are rare, the most frequently heard being the unmusical crow, the air and the water seem motionless, and the result of this wan and weirdly-peaceful environment is a peculiarly calm and monotonous style of music.

If the Japanese are so particularly unmusical as we would have them be believed, how is it that the 'Koto,' the most difficult instrument under the sun to tune and to keep in tune, is managed by them with faultless accuracy? There are thirteen moveable bridges to the Koto, and yet it is the rarest thing for a player to make a mistake; the tuning testifies to a most sensitive ear, and the playing to a painstaking and alert intelligence.

It must be conceded that the instrumental music surpasses vocal, the voice being rough and strangely unmelodious. Mr. Pigott says:

> Words would fail me were I to attempt to do justice to its peculiarities. It is mere horrid sound, disfigured by excruciating quarter tones. Nor have I ever found a Japanese express any admiration for it. It is accepted and tolerated. But again there comes uppermost that perplexing query, how the curious mixture of sweet and unsweet sounds has been suffered to endure.

Other writers on the Japanese fully endorse Mr. Pigott's statement, some expressing their opinion in even more candid terms.

Sir Edwin Arnold, who has ever a kind word for these people of Nipponland, says:

> As for Japanese music, there is not much to praise in it. The Samisen twangles everywhere; but its effects are terribly meagre. The airs played are sadly mono-

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tonous; the only time is common time; there is no harmony; and though Japanese women have delightful voices, rendering their language always musical, the style of singing which they adopt is forced, nasal, and unnatural.

However, we are speaking of the music of Japan, not of the voices of its people; as Hazlitt says, 'After all, the only things which last here below are words.'

The charming legend which tells of the origin of music in Japan is worthy of mention in even a fragmentary appreciation of these far-Orient melodies. Briefly, then, the sun-goddess Amater Asu, in resentment of the violence of an ill-disposed brother, retired into a cave leaving the universe in anarchy and darkness. Eight million deities came to persuade her to reconsider her cruel decision. She remained, however, obdurate; until one god, apparently more endowed with subtlety and a knowledge of the emotional nature of the *déesse incomprise*, took six long bows and bound them together, twanging their strings to attract the attention of the self-imprisoned and unreasonable Amater Asu; then he retired to seek the lovely Amé No Adsumé, who approached the cave's mouth and waved some bamboo branches; gradually she began to sing and dance to the rhythmical movement of the branches, and out came the angry goddess. To insure the benefit of sunshine to the future generations, Amatsumora, the ironsmith, made a magic mirror which he hung at the entrance to the cave, so that Amater Asu could never hide her face again. This is the incantation which fell from Amé No Adsumé whilst waving the branches:

Hito, futa miyo,
It su, Muyu, nano;
Ya, kokono, tari,
Momo, chi, yorodsu.

Gods, watch the entrance.
Here is Her Majesty—the goddess.
Shall not joy fill our hearts
When my charms shall have proved all-powerful?

To trace from the beneficent Amé No Adsumé the history of Japanese music would prove an impossible task in a limited space. Suffice it to say that it is an art borrowed almost without exception from the Chinese, grafted on to Japanese civilisation and here and there improved by flashes of the national daintiness which is so alien to the celestial's nature. It is an endless source of pleasure to the natives, and although we find it so lacking in much that our more scientific culture deems an integral part of a musical system, to them it is satisfying and convincing.

We are taught to note cadences unfamiliar to us, and tones which we must label new present themselves for our instruction in

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these songs of the 'Great August Country'; hence, should we not be grateful?

In speaking of modern Japanese music it would be quite impossible to overrate the importance of the Biwa, or, as it is often called, the 'Hei-Ké-Biwa.' Briefly, the history of the Biwa runs thus. It was imported from China about A.D. 935; in its original form it was ponderous and rich in tone, but once under Japanese fingers it changed its form if not its tone, it became graceful, refined, and lighter. It was first naturalised in Satsuma, and thus it is frequently spoken of as Satsuma-Biwa. It is essentially a harmonic instrument, and is well suited to the burden of songs dealing with love and war which are in such vogue amongst the Japanese. Many of the modern songs now set to the Samisen owe their origin to the Biwa.

The Shakuliachi, also a Chinese instrument, came to Mikadoland early in the fourteenth century, and save as an occasional accompaniment to the Samisen, which is the instrument of the people, it is always considered a solo instrument. It is peculiarly sweet and soft in tone, and may be classed as the musical antithesis of the Hichiriki. The pipes of the Shō give forth also some strangely delicate notes. The drums and the gongs are full and sonorous in tone, and if only Japanese orchestras were not composed of so many different-sounding organs, we might find more to commend them to Western ears.

The Koto music may perhaps stand as synonymous with modern Japanese. Koto-Uta are songs for the Koto; the Koto seems to have freed the national music from the burden of Chinese influence, it is more definite in tone, purer in *timbre*, and aptly interprets the graceful, if somewhat quaint ideas of the natives.

That most admirable authority on Japanese music, Mr. F. T. Pigott says of these modern or Koto songs:

> Among the popular songs, the point which seems to me of interest is that there is so much in them which not only is easily retained by Western memory, but which distinctly satisfies the canons of Western taste. Many are the little haunting melodies one hears tinkled in the street; many a one even commends itself to the whistling Briton. Is not this indeed, as one has somewhere said, one of the tests of the true inwardness of music?

But there are also classical compositions set to the Koto as well as those of lighter vein. These are of high quality, requiring attention from the listener, and some musical knowledge. These compositions are often performed as an interlude to a feast, and therefore the opportunity for more practical appreciation on the part of the stranger is not a timely one.

For a very interesting study of the Koto and its music reference should be made to Mr. Pigott's work on 'The Music of the Japanese.'

Two very favourite songs for the Samisen should enable amateurs to judge of this most popular type of drawing-room music in Japan.

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No. 1

O - ma - i to - - - na - ra-

ba do - ko ma - de mo, O - ya wo su - te sa - i

Kat - chi - ha - ra no na - ka ma - de mo, Kot - schya

Ka - mai ya se - nu, Ka - mai ya se - nu.

No. 2

Wa - ga Ko - i wa.

su - mi -

yo schi - - u ra - no y - u (n) ge - schi

ki ta da a - e a - o ta ma-

zu ba - ka ri ma-

su wa u - i mo - no zu - ra i - - - i mo - no.

Some fragments of the songs which the Japanese troops are singing on their way to meet their foes of the Celestial Empire reach us from time to time. To the uninitiated Western they seem strange productions, but, doubtless, they create the animus they are intended

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to do, and, in any case, by their roughness and uncouth rhythm bear the impress of being genuine war songs.

Like most nations, the Japanese have had their war songs from the time they had any existence as a people, but we are told that the lyrics which were used by the soldiers in the time of the first great Emperor of Japan, Jimmu Tenno, 660 B.C., were particularly rhythmical and finished. Japanese songs, with the exception of the heroic or historical ones, are all short, and when these are sung in times of peace they are set to the Koto.

The first of these up-to-date martial songs is entitled:

Gallant Warriors.

If warriors go to war by land, the turf shall receive the bodies of the slain. If warriors go to war by sea, the ocean shall receive the bodies of the slain. From time immemorial our gallant warriors have gone forth in swarms. Human life lasts but for fifty years; who would wish to purchase a few miserable years of life at the cost of dishonour? March and fire as long as breath remains, for our lives are at the disposal of the Sovereign, our bodies are to be sacrificed to the glory of the country; let soldiers die with all their wounds in front. The souls of those who thus defy Death shall be through the ages to come the guardian angels of Oriental tranquillity. So, go forth, go forth, ye warriors; warriors, go forth!

The second battle song, which is distinctly of very recent date, is:

To Pekin.

China is a country where in bygone days teachings of sages prevailed; but as time rolled on the country has become retrogressive. It boasts of itself as the Celestial Kingdom, but its heart is barbarous and is the very reverse of celestial. Till its ignorance is dispelled the sky of the Orient must ever be dark. Now is the time to plant the flag of the Rising Sun on the walls of Pekin, and to illuminate its darkness. This is the duty of our glorious Empire, the Land of the Rising Sun. Go forth, go forth, Imperial Army! March in emulation till Pekin is taken!

Like many other old customs and institutions in Japan, the barbaric instruments which were used in battle have fallen into desuetude, owing to the rapid strides made in Western civilisation. They used to have a number of hollow drums and extraordinary trumpets, shaped like univalve shells. They were used to summon the troops and to lead them on to battle; the metal gong and drum whilst in camp, and another kind of drum and shell trumpet when on the march.

The modern band attached to the regiment is modelled on that of France, where drums preponderate and where the trumpet is an important factor. The Japanese bandsmen are adepts at this kind of music, and the troops strive to keep time to their tunes whilst marching.

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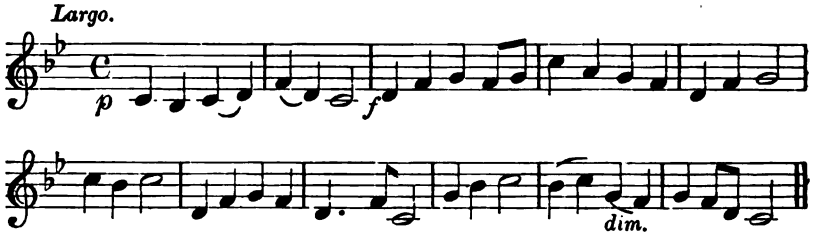
Japanese National Anthem.

'Kimi-Ga-Yo' (Reign of my Sovereign).



Translation.

May our Emperor's reign endure,
Stand increasingly secure.
True and fast shall it last
Till a million years have past.
Thus shall he praised be to eternity.

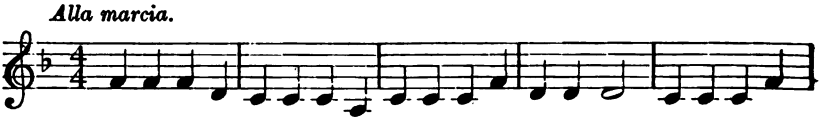
Just as leaves by autumn sown
Red and fair to earth are blown,
Just as these never cease
Year by year to shed their peace,
Thus shall he reign to see eternity.

Although 'Kimi-Ga-Yo' is not always looked upon as a war song, still it should be noted that it was composed during the seventh century, to stimulate the Japanese armies. The English translation, which is given here is by Mrs. Antonia Williams, and is to be found in 'Miyako-Dori'—Japanese melodies collected by Paul Bevan, M.A., the Hon. Treasurer of the Japan Society in London. It was composed by an emperor and written by an empress, and is the official air of Japan, being frequently heard at functions where the Japanese element is represented.

By kind permission of Mr. Bevan, I am able to give the War Song of the Imperial Army of Japan, 'Miya Sama,' to which the troops of the Emperor went to victory in A.D. 1868, when the struggle which for some time had convulsed the country, terminated in the restoration of the Imperial power, and inaugurated the dawn of New Japan.

Sir Arthur Sullivan has rendered the air familiar to most of us in the *Mikado* (Act ii. No. 5):

Miya Sama.



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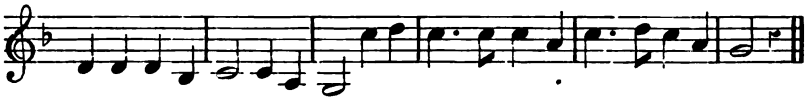
Chorus.



Miya Sama, Miya Sama,
O-Umano mayeni
Pira Pira Suro nowa
Nan jaina?

Chorus:

Toko tonia, re tonia a rena.

Are wa choteki.
Seibats seyo tono.
Nishiki no mihata
Wo Shiranaika?

Chorus:

Toko tonia, re tonia a rena.

Prose Translation.

O my Prince! O my Prince!
What is that fluttering in the wind
Before your Imperial Horse?

Chorus:

To-koto-nya, Re-tonya, rena.

This is the signal for chastising the Rebels.
Know ye not
Those three Standards of Brocade?

Chorus:

To-koto-nya, Re-tonya, rena.

To go back to those feuds of the Gengi and the Heiké which are often spoken of as the Japanese 'Wars of the Roses,' and which date from the twelfth century, we find some evidences of song being used to animate the troops amongst the literature of those martial times. For instance, the following was composed by a Japanese warrior named Take-da Daï-zeu-no Daï-bu Haru-nobu A-son, who lived in the reigns of Nara the Second and of Oko-ki-Matsi, under the sway of the Imperial Gengi. The short title to this abbreviated song is

The Man

Man is the true fortress,
Man is the wall;
Man is the rampart.
Good deeds are friendship;
Evil deeds are enmity.

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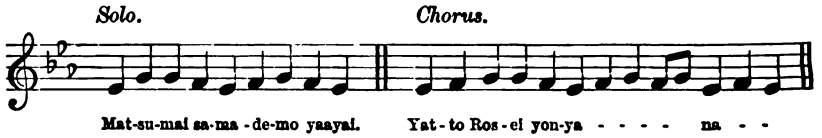
Another branch of song which merits a place amongst the national lyrics of a country is that peculiar to the sailors and the fishing population. Like most sailors, the Japanese seem to take take great pride in handing down to posterity the noble deeds of their compatriots, and the bravery of the chieftains who ruled the land in feudal times forms the theme of many of their sea songs. These are mostly in very slow time, and set in a minor key—that is with few exceptions. They are, as a rule, formed of chromatic passages, with but scant variation. Occasionally, the lowering or the raising of a tone is unexpectedly introduced; in some there is a continued series of shakes and trills, producing an extraordinarily weird effect, more especially as the minor key is adopted.

Apparently, the fact of being sung by the sailors of one particular port is quite sufficient to insure a sort of local importance to any song, or, as we should call it, 'chanty.' Now and again, the Japanese bluejackets carry these songs with them to far-distant seas, and their popularity is consequently disseminated. But in one or two harbours, the prerogative of singing them is retained.

The harbour of Matsumai is responsible for the following chanty, which is used by the men when lifting heavy cargo. Matsumai is the name of a great feudal chieftain of enormous strength and such daring that no one could rival him. While the solo is being sung, the chorus hold themselves in readiness either to pull the ropes or to heave, as the case may be.

Matsumai (Sailors' Song).



Leader. Matsumai, sama, demo,
Nindzu-niya Kanawanu yoitana.
Chorus. Ariya, ariya, yoitoko, yoitoko, riya, riya, riya.
Leader. Medeta, medetano yo-a-yei.
Chorus. Yatukosei yomyamà!
Leader. Medeta, medetano, wakamatù.
Chorus. Ariya, ariya, riya, riya, riya.

The same notes are used during each stanza.

Quite peculiar to the marines of Mikadoland is a song sung during a calm at sea, when work is, for the time being, suspended. As this may be said to be a lyric of leisure rather than a chant of labour, it is given entirely by the chorus, only such songs as accompany heavy work being in the form of alternate soli and chorus. Probably such a composition as 'Nagareyma' would appear to us very monotonous,

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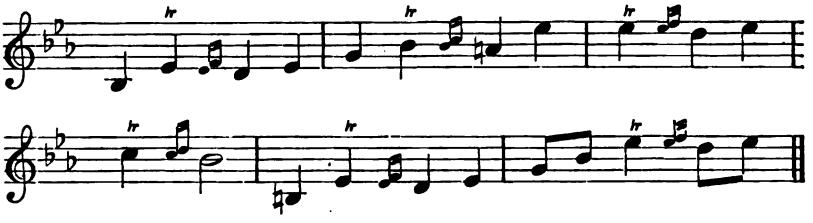
there are so many verses and only a very slender chain of melody to bear them.

Nagareyma.



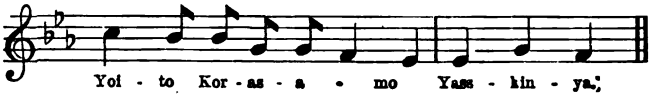
Nagareyma, naggarete ritaka,
Nagareyma, nagaretewo ronai,
Murano nadesoya
Medetaimonowa ofunadama,
Asa, oroshi banniwa, Koganeo
Isumifuruiso.

Nagareyma is a place celebrated for its wine, and the song describes the sailors taking this wine away to distant countries, and bringing back in exchange for it gold and treasures. In the same song an allusion is made to a very quaint custom which they have in Japan of placing, when the ship is launched, some maiden-hair fern and rice close to the masts; the former is, of course, almost regarded as sacred in Japan, and rice takes the place of bread in England, therefore they choose these as omens of good luck, or as 'gods of the ship.'

The monotonous cry which comes next is sung in chorus when holystoning the decks. I believe that it is the only one of the kind which is heard amongst the Japanese.

Holystoning Chorus.

Chorus.



Amongst the most pleasing of the songs of this interesting people are those of the oarsmen. These are principally sung on the *sampans* those partially triangular-shaped boats, not unlike the salmon-fishers' punts used on some of our rivers. The *sampan* is sculled, not rowed, by two or four men with very heavy oars, and they stand up using their thighs to rest them upon. As I have only taken down these few notes from a Japanese waterman, who appeared to be unable to give the same tune, if such it may be called, twice in succession, it is not possible to be quite accurate in it. As to the meaning of the words, a very distinguished member of the Japanese Naval College, perfectly cognisant of English, assures me that they have none. The chorus is to give emphasis to certain strokes, and it is repeated alternately with the solo, without change of either words or air.

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Rowing Song.

Solo. *Chorus.*

Hou - ra Hoi sa - - - no San - ya - - - Hou - yei - ya.

It is only on board of the merchant vessels that singing is permitted; the Japanese navy not allowing the practice on the men-of-war, a band takes the place of the chanty.

Barcarolle.

f.

ff Più mosso. *Dolce.*

The two following lyrics are excellent specimens of Japanese songs, the first being especially popular with the almond-eyed Mousmee, with whose charms Sir Edwin Arnold has made us so familiar:

Yes! eager is my longing
To look upon thy face,
With thee some words to speak!
But this I must renounce;
For should it in my dwelling
Once chance to be divulged
That I with thee had spoken,
Then grievous were the trouble
Would surely light on me:
For certain my good name
Were lost for evermore.

Song.

Upright in heart be thou and pure,
So shall the blessing of God
Through eternity be upon thee.
Clamorous prayers shall not avail,
But truly a clear conscience,
That worships and fears in silence.

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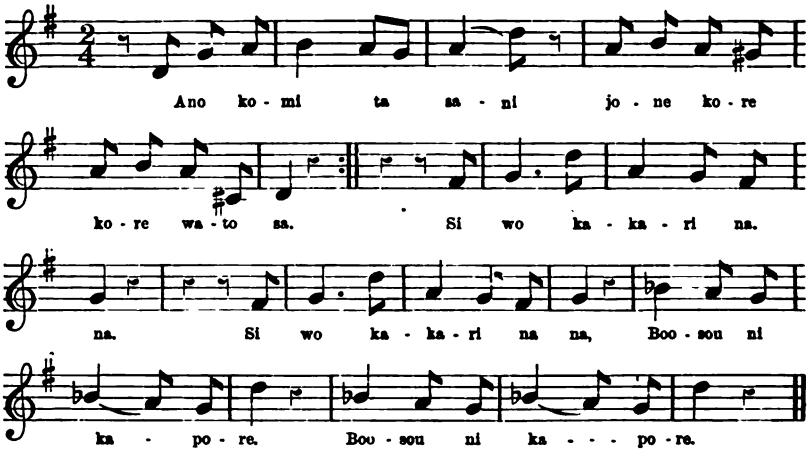
The charming songlet which is so popular amongst the young people in the empire, known as 'The Flower or the Maiden,' runs thus:

Last night the peach-blossom was watered by the rain;
At dawn the pretty girl arose and left her chamber.
She plucked a peach-flower, and placed herself in front of her mirror,
To dispute the palm of beauty with it.
She asked a young man which of the two he deemed the more lovely,
The flower or the humble maiden?
The young man replied:
'The beauty of the flower is incomparable.'
The young girl, hearing this, became angry;
She crushed the flower between her hands,
Throwing it at his feet:
'I do not think this dead flower can be compared to a living person.
However, seigneur, if you wish to appreciate the charms of this flower,
I advise you to take her as your mistress.'

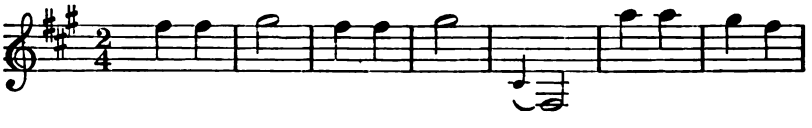
Monsieur Aimé Humbert quotes the next specimen as a type of song much in favour amongst the Japanese:

Popular Japanese Song.



The two selections which follow, 'Saita-Sakurai' and 'M'me wa saitaka,' are amongst the simplest and earliest tunes which the embryo Japanese musician learns. They are played either on the Koto or Samisen. Familiarity from their childhood upwards renders these airs particularly favourite ones in Japan, and they are as well known as the strains of the National Anthem itself.

Saita-Sakurai.



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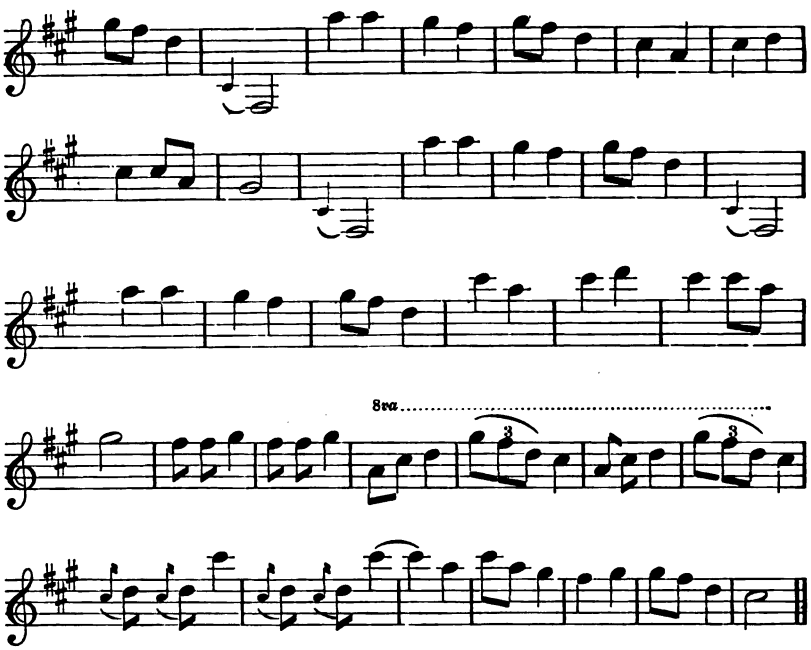
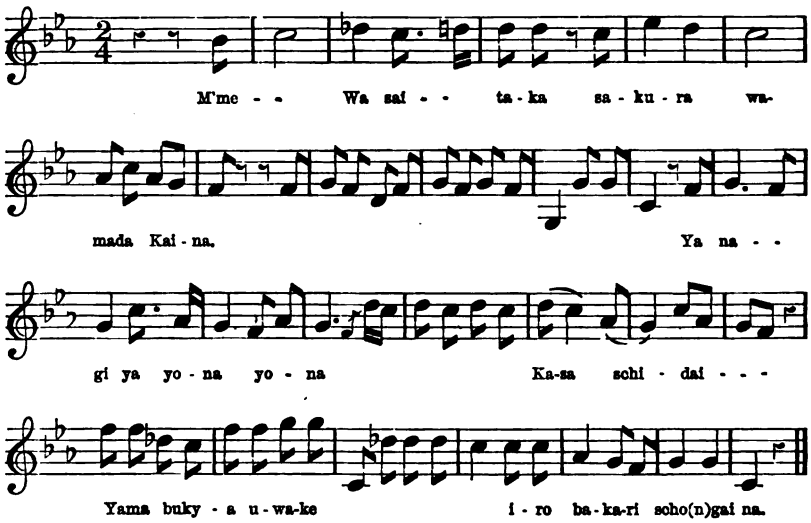


M'me wa saitaka.



Monsieur Léon de Rosny, in his *Anthologie Japonaise*, 'Si-ka-zen-yô,' gives some charming examples of the national poetry, and amongst them a few which are set to popular melodies. The little song which follows I quote from his collection, with apologies for so brusque a translation as I have made from his dainty French rendering.

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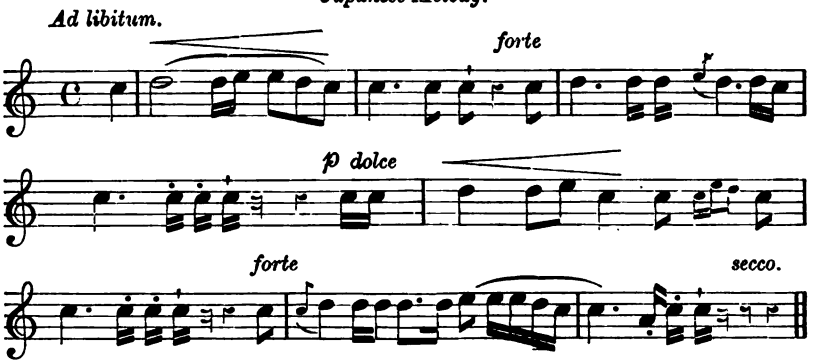
The Invitation.

Japanese Melody.



Kiu-siu daï-itsi-no mûme,
Kou-ya Kimi-ga tame-ni hiraku.
Hána-no sim-gi-wo siran-to hosseba,
San-kô tsŭki-wo funde kitare.

Seigneur, this night for you shall open
The first flower of the plumtree of the Isle of Kiousiou.
If you would wish to have all the beauties of this flower revealed to you,
Come, singing to the moon, at the hour of the third watch.

Monsieur de Rosny says that the word 'moon' in Japanese and Chinese poetry nearly always contains some idea of love.

The words are by a courtesan of Nagaski.

Mr. Stoddart, an American poet, has versified the following song, which is a general favourite with the Japanese of all classes.

The Flown Bird.

The maple leaves are whirled away,
  The depths of the great pines are stirred,
Night settles on the sullen day
  As in its nest the mountain bird.
My wandering feet go up and down
And back and forth from town to town,
Through the lone woods and by the sea,
To find the bird that fled from me.
I followed, and I follow yet;
I have forgotten to forget.

My heart goes back, but I go on
  Through summer heat and winter snow.
Poor heart, we are no longer one;
  We are divided by our woe!
Go to the nest I built, and call—
She may be hiding after all—
The empty nest, if that remains,
And leave me in the long, long rains.
My sleeves with tears are always wet;
I have forgotten to forget.

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Men know my story, but not me,
  For such fidelity, they say,
Exists not; such a man as he
  Exists not in the world to-day!
If his light bird had flown the nest,
She is no worse than all the rest.
Constant they are not—only good
To bill and coo and hatch the brood;
He has but one thing to regret—
He has forgotten to regret.

All day I see the ravens fly,
  I hear the seabirds scream all night;
The moon goes up and down the sky,
  And the sun comes in in ghostly light.
Leaves whirl, snowflakes about me blow:
Are they spring blossoms, or the snow?
Only my hair! Good-bye, my heart,
The time has come for us to part;
Be still! you will be happy yet,
For death remembers to forget.

The pretty ideas which Nature seems to unfold to the Japanese are charmingly exemplified in these lines. Some people have a theory that the Japs are inclined to travesty Nature, to make light of her most grandiose attributes, painting ridiculous landscapes with dwarfed trees, hillocks for mountains, and infinitesimal pools for lakes, all within the narrow limits of a cottage garden, but it is only because they love her, and feel as though they could treat her as they would an indulgent and beneficent mother. Familiarity in this instance is very far removed from contempt. The Japanese are much too artistic in the senses of colour and of form to be unappreciative of the greatest harmonist the world knows.

The song which follows was taken down from some young medical students who were visiting America, and with whom it was a great favourite. There is a rattling chorus, into which the Japanese threw extraordinary vigour and enthusiasm, and which was sung in unison. I give the opening stanza, with its English equivalent, of the song, which treats of the different months of the year, each month having its own particular stanza.

Song of the Seasons.

He to tsu to yah,
He to yo a ka deba,
Nekhee ya kadé,
Nekhee ya kadé,
Ka za du ta té ta ru,
Matzu ka zadu,
Matzu ka zadu!

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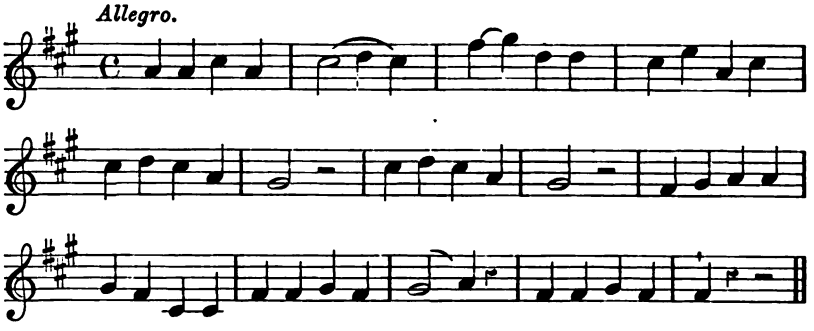
Translation.

First Month.—The last night of the year has passed. To-morrow crowds will assemble for the holiday. Let us erect before our doors the beautiful fir-tree.[1]

Japanese Song of the Seasons.



The next are chansonnettes sung to the Samisen, which I quote from *Japonica*, Sir Edwin Arnold's charming collection of scenes from Nippon:

Haori Kakush te
Sodé hiki-tomète
Dô demo Kiyo wa
Ii tsutsu tatté
Renji mado.
Shoji wo hoso-mé ni hiké-aketé
Are miya san sé
Kono yuki ni!

She hid his coat,
She plucked his sleeve:
'To-day you cannot go!
To-day, at least, you will not leave
The heart that loves you so!'
The Mado she undid
And back the Shoji slid,
And, clinging, cried, 'Dear Lord, perceive—
The whole white world is snow!'

Here also is a fragment of a love song:

Shote wa jôdan
Nakagora giri de
Ima ja tagai no
Jitsu to jitsu.

First 'twas all a jest,
Then 'twas daily duty;
Now 'tis at its best
True faith, tender beauty—
Both quite love possessed.

[1] The display of fir-trees and bushes before the threshold of a Japanese household is a feature of the New Year's festivities in the land of the cherry-blossom.

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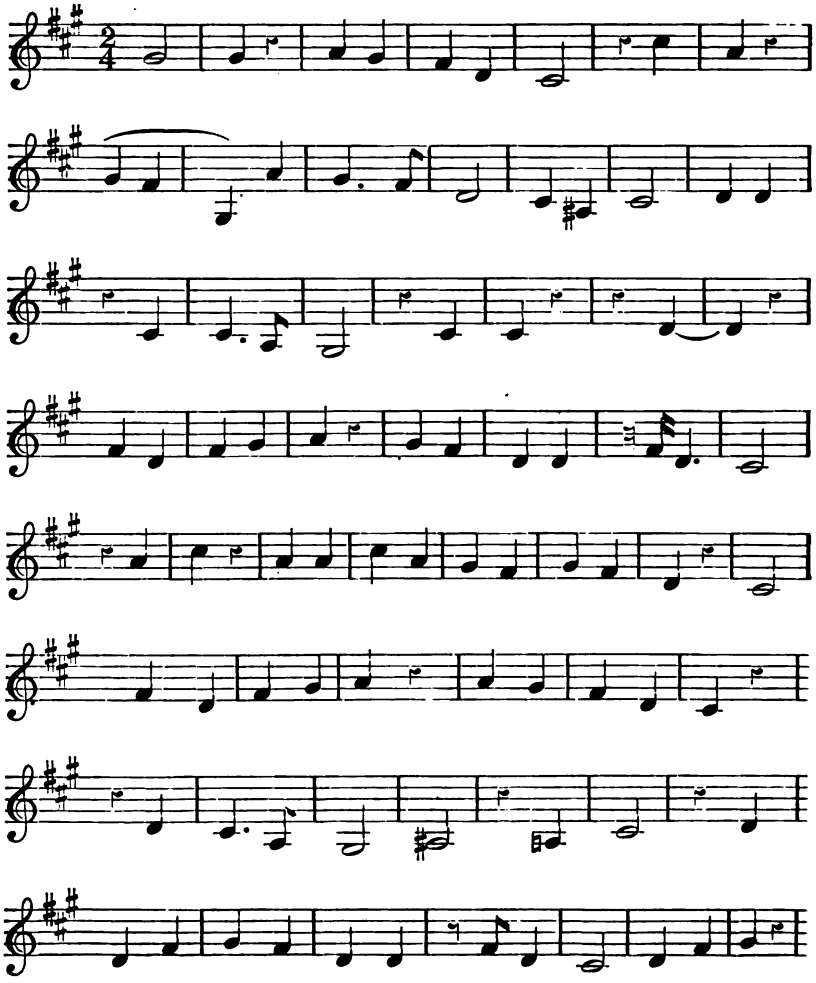
The orchestra of a modern Japanese theatre is composed of two Samisens (which were first used in the theatres to accompany incidental songs in 1640), one flute, three drums, the Uta-daiko, the O-tsuzumi, and the Ko-ts-uzumi; the two latter being played by the same performer, as they are not required at the same moment. Wallaschek, in his *Primitive Music*, makes a quaint remark on the playing of the Samisen by young ladies in Japan. He says:

> The chief instrument of Japanese young ladies of 'quality' is the guitar (*Samisen*), and this they take to every entertainment, where they play upon it, one after the other, and sing. So it seems that in Japan, too, the poor guests have their musical troubles.

The 'Bells at Dawn' is frequently heard on the orchestra in the theatre, so it may not be inappropriate to give it here.

The Bells at Dawn (Aké-No-Kané)



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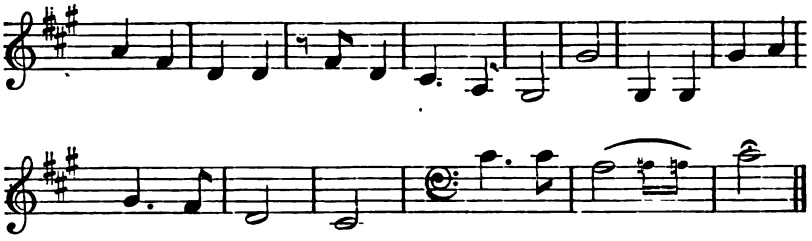
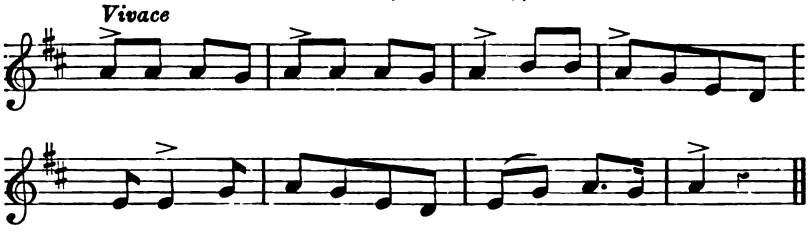


The trade or labour songs of the Japanese are very numerous, incorporating almost every kind of work in this harmonic union. There are songs for the water-carriers, for the rice-planters, the tea-pickers, for the girls who pound the grain with pestle and mortar; even the night-watchman sings and plays hourly tunes on a bamboo rattle. The flower pedler, the chair-carrier, the coolie, the workers in brass, in gold, silver and copper, all drone some kind of song over their work in this country of the gods—Kami-no-Kuni.

A specimen of a harvest song may prove interesting.

Honen Uta (Harvest Song).[2]



Choya kina, choya kina,
Cho choya kina, kina,
Cho chowa nanohadé,
Cho chon no hoi.

Choit kina, choit kina,
Choit choit, kina kina,
Chochoi no yoiyasadé
Cho choi no choi.

The songs and chants of the Ainu do not run in any fixed notes or tones, they recognise no scale, consequently it is almost an impossibility to fix any of the fugitive melodies of the hairy aborigines of Japan. Although very high development of the musical powers of the Ainu is not to be expected, yet it may be admitted that there is much of beauty in the tunes to which are set the recital of numerous acts and experiences. The women and girls have good voices, and their singing is by no means disagreeable. They have a curious

[2] From Mr. Bevan's collection.

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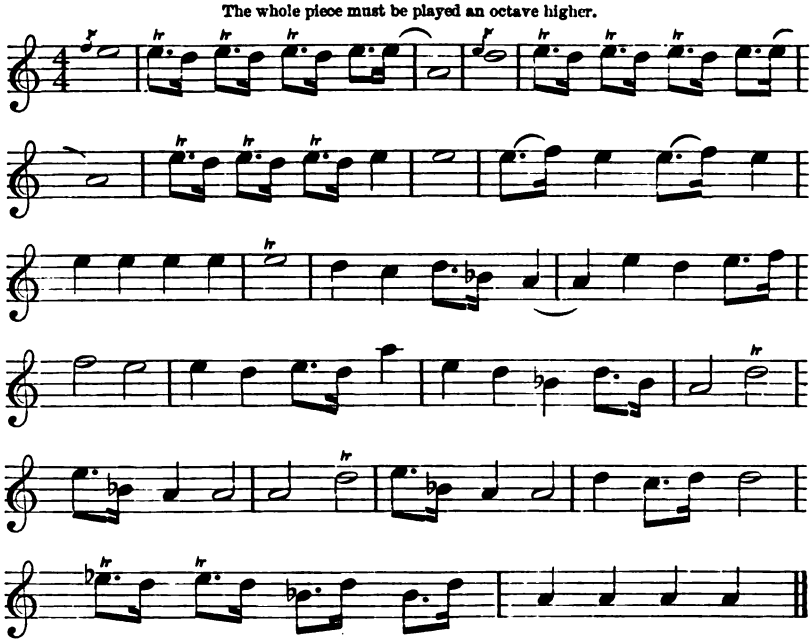
fashion, on returning from a journey, of sitting down and singing or chanting for hours that which has happened to them whilst away. In turn they are vocally informed by their friends of what has taken place in their absence, what children have been born, what deaths and marriages have occurred; how the fishing, and hunting, and gardening has gone on, &c. The words are for the most part quite unmetrical, and rhyming is almost unknown. The instrument these simple but indolent people use is somewhat like a guitar; it is made of three or six strings, formed of whale's sinews, which have been cast upon the shore. Frequently Nature is the only audience the Ainu has for his song, but she is a kindly critic and a silent one.

A piece for the Koto, of somewhat ancient date, is appended.

Fudjiyu for the Koto (Ancient Melody).

The whole piece must be played an octave higher.



And so to the music of the Land of the Rising Sun, the cradle of Eastern civilisation and the home of some of earth's fairest products—Sayonara!

LAURA ALEXANDRINE SMITH.

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NEW SOURCES OF ELECTRIC POWER

ELECTRIC ENERGY DIRECT FROM THE COAL-FIELDS

In a recent article in the *Times* it was stated that, if the history of the present century could be represented by the use of one word, that word would be steam.

Probably the word invention would more adequately represent the source of the great changes in the social and industrial life of this last century; nevertheless, the word steam brings to mind at once the colossal effects that this power-generating agent has produced, crushing out of existence nearly all the other agencies that man relied upon to assist him in his work, and providing in its *ensemble* of application an equivalent power for work that could not be equalled by millions of able-bodied men.

More than ever, in this era of industrial struggles, cheapness of power is likely to be the principal and all-important factor of value in fixing upon suitable sites for the establishment of new industries.

For the production of power for industrial purposes one of three natural agencies is usually employed; *e.g.* the fall of water; the influence of wind currents; and the development of work by the production of heat by the combustion of coal or other forms of available fuel.

In England, the secret of our industrial greatness and, in a measure, the cause of our commercial supremacy, may be revealed in our unrivalled facilities for the production of power by the third agency, or heat-power.

Our splendid fuel resources permitted our ancestors to obtain full justice for the fruit of the inventive genius of Watt, Trevithick, Stephenson, Crompton, Kay, Arkwright, and others, enabling our manufacturers to flood the world's markets with the marvellous products of our looms and of our forges, through an era of unexampled prosperity that extended over a quarter of a century.

In this golden period of prosperity our people accumulated enormous wealth, a great part of which is invested in foreign bonds and railway developments. The extent of this wealth will be realised when it is known that in our country income-tax is paid on 764,000,000*l.* of foreign Government stocks.

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This enormous wealth-potential could not have been accumulated had we not had the mineral treasures in our coal-fields; and every discovery, invention, or scientific application that will assist in increasing the value of these mineral treasures becomes at once of national importance.

A discovery in applied science that deserves to rank with the invention of Watt for the utilisation of steam-power purposes was the invention by the illustrious Michael Faraday of the dynamo electric-generator.

The value of this invention of 1826 was increased beyond all calculation by the accidental discovery, in 1873, of its reversibility.

It appears that the Gramme Electric Company were exhibiting two dynamo electric-generators at the Vienna Exhibition for lighting purposes.

One of these machines was in motion, the other idle; a workman, seeing some electric cables trailing on the ground, and thinking they belonged to the second machine, connected the cables to the terminals of this second and inactive machine. To his surprise, the armature of this machine *commenced to revolve*, proving the reversibility of the dynamo electric machines.

This discovery will have an effect on civilisation that cannot be weighed or foreshadowed. Great as have been the influences of the use of steam-power on modern life and civilisation, compared with the possibilities of electric energy as *the* method of applying and transmitting power the influences of steam will become almost trivial.

When it is understood that power can be generated in one locality, and that this power can be transmitted by suitable conductors to distances of over 100 miles, and delivered with at least 75 per cent. of the original power, the possibilities of application of this new agency for transmitting energy may be realised.

This fact of modern applied science, proved as it was to the hilt by the famous Lauffen-Frankfort experiments of electrical transmission over 112 miles, has permitted waterfall sources of power to be utilised; and in no country more than Switzerland, where the influence of the magic energy has been most beneficial, and languishing industries in this Alpine region have not only been stimulated, but the interesting and romantic Swiss race has taken time by the forelock in applying to the full the bounty that Nature and science have enriched them with, and many a new lucrative industry has been created, and is flourishing, that would never have existed but for this wonderful electric energy.

The power-producing potential of the mighty Niagara is also being tapped: a large conduit has been constructed near the falls, through which enormous volumes of water swiftly flow, and drive

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immense power-producing turbines having a total power-output of 100,000 horse-power.

The enormous power that can be drawn upon for transmission purposes from the Niagara Falls will be understood when it is known that the weight of water that passes over these falls is equivalent to the production of 7,000,000 horse-power per hour; so that by electrical transmission a great part of this power required for the industries of North America could be supplied from the falls.

One of the most interesting examples of electric transmission of power is that of Tivoli, near Rome; here the antique and modern engineer join hands.

The water delivered from the old Roman aqueducts at Tivoli drives very powerful turbines and an electric generating plant, and the energy generated is transmitted by four copper cables to the city of Rome, some nineteen miles away, where it is distributed for lighting and power purposes—the water brought by those triumphs of Roman engineering thus serving as a means of lighting the superb monuments of the genius of the old Roman artist-architects.

On the Transvaal, South Africa, electric-power distribution projects are either in hand or under consideration for driving gold-mining machinery with the power of waterfalls, miles away from the modern El Dorado, on the Banket gold-mining fields of the Randt.

Projects are being developed for utilising the waterfalls of Finland for supplying electric power and light energy for the Russian capital.

Almost everywhere natural sources of power are being drawn upon, and already new industrial concerns are being established to take up the power from the Niagara turbines. It is intended in the near future to transmit the bulk of the power to the centres of industry in the Northern States of America.

When the natural forces of gravity are being drawn upon by our industrial rivals, the pertinent question for us is, Do we in England utilise our own natural resources in a manner such as to command the satisfaction of the progressive engineer? And again, Do we utilise to the full the advantages that electrical phenomena have revealed to us? To both these questions only one answer can truly be given, and that answer is a negative one.

With the exception of the splendid improvement introduced by the illustrious American, George Corliss, there cannot be said to have been any great revolution in the methods of converting heat into work through the medium of steam; but a brilliant innovation has been brought into the commercial field by the German practical scientist's (the late Dr. Otto) invention, by which, and without the intervention of steam, but by the direct combustion of fuel in the engine cylinder itself, heat is directly converted into work. This

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invention for small powers has had a wide application in recent years; nevertheless, in all our great industrial occupations the practical power-agency employed is still the steam-engine, and the coal has to be brought to our mills and works from coalpits miles away, by the agencies of cart and railway waggon; and the blackened and dirty, not to say filthy, condition of the buildings and streets of our towns, and the insult to Nature by the pollution of our rivers, and of the atmosphere with dirty and wasteful industrial effluents, might well increase and bring in the hatred of the lover of art and Nature, such as is John Ruskin, against the development of the application of practical science for the convenience and well-being of civilised humanity.

Our cities are almost unfit to reside in, and the natural life of the Zulu, or the simple life of the Italian peasant, is much to be preferred to that of the English workman, with his daily grinding labour amidst the dirty surroundings of our smoke-begrimed industrial centres.

If wealth requires that the beauties of Nature should be sullied by the production of effluents that offend all natural laws, better by far that we should have poverty, but with the great wealth of natural purity.

Fortunately, the discovery of the reversibility of the electric-generating machine, and the possibility of electric transmission of power under very high pressures, has enabled such a complete transformation to be effected in engineering procedure as to deserve the encomiums of Ruskin himself.

With the modern and more scientific method of converting heat into work there is no necessity for the smoky factory chimney, which is a necessary evil of a steam-power station.

By the adoption of the new procedure with the electric agent the noise, dirt, and danger inseparable from our present steam-raising and power plants would disappear, and the present methods of power-production would only be remembered as sources of worry and expense to the already harassed manufacturer.

Our large cities of Liverpool, Manchester, and Glasgow obtain their water for domestic and industrial purposes from inland lakes miles away.

We have, therefore, splendid municipal criterions for the project of distributing electric energy from the coal-fields, a system that would sweep away at once all the disgrace that attaches to the existing methods of steam-power production, and which would be a benefit that would be truly national, covering, as it would do, both the manufacturer and the private citizen.

Briefly described, the project is to supply electric power generated in central stations built in the centres of our coal-fields to our great industrial centres, and to the metropolis itself.

The power station for serving the metropolis would be erected on the

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Derbyshire coal-field; an auxiliary station to serve the Midland Counties would be erected in the Staffordshire coal-field.

The electrical trunk-lines would serve the larger towns *en route*, including Derby, Nottingham, Birmingham, Leicester, Northampton, and Bedford. Distributing, transforming, and storage stations could be erected near the metropolis.

The different metropolitan and suburban electric-light stations could be supplied with energy for general distribution. Electric railways and other power stations could also be supplied.

Larger power consumers could be supplied with power direct.

Each vestry not already supplied with an electric-generating plant could be invited to put down a distributing system and a receiving station.

The electric energy could be sold to the different distributing companies at such a price as to enable the power to be supplied to the light and power consumer at an economic and attractive figure, or at a little over one penny per kilowatt hour.

The industrial centres of Lancashire, Yorkshire, and Cheshire would be supplied with electric energy generated in two coal-field stations, respectively near Wigan and Barnsley.

The cost of power to the small factory owner need not exceed 5*l.* per 3,000 working hours of one actual horse-power of energy. In the metropolis, this energy by the present system will cost between 9*l.* and 12*l.*

This electrical power agency permits the starting or stopping of the plant by the mere turning of a switch or the pressure of a button.

Whilst the power plant is not actually doing work there is neither serious loss nor anxiety involved. The power user is not troubled with boiler insurance or the smoke-nuisance inspector; he may simply hire the electric motors, and when he decides to remove his manufacturing appliances, he has merely to return the hired motors; whereas a steam-power plant with its chimney cannot, except with a great sacrifice, be removed.

If the system is carried out entirely, each machine can be driven independently by its own motor; consequently, the expensive items of belting, shafting, and pulleys are almost entirely reduced.

Instead of having to run a 100 horse-power engine to develop 20 horse-power, which is with steam-power an hourly possibility, with electric driving only the power required is produced, and the factory owner, or the power user, only pays for the actual power he absorbs in his work.

The centralisation of the plant in the coal-fields permits the recovery of all the valuable chemical constituents from the coal, which are not recoverable by the small steam-power systems in use. One of these constituents, sulphate of ammonia, is of proved value as a manurial agent, and if this value were recovered from the

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coal raised from English pits, there would be no necessity to ransack the fields of Chili and Peru for nitrates.

The centralisation of power-production would permit such an application of automatic or labour-saving machinery as to make the plant independent of the effects following the differences that occur between Capital and Labour.

The method of transforming the fuel into power could be effected in such a perfect manner as to convert, as far as practicable, all the available heat into work, and produce such an efficiency as will be understood by the ratio of 0·75 lb. of combustible to one actual or available horse-power of energy for the period of one hour.

The average consumption by existing steam-plants cannot be taken as less than 5 lb. of fuel for the same actual power during the same time.

In the transmission of this electric energy to the Midlands and the metropolis there will be a loss of, say, 33 per cent.; so that the 0·75 lb. will be increased to 1 lb. of combustible per actual horse-power per hour.

Compared with the transmission of the coal by cart and rail to satisfy the same power-requirements in the metropolis, it will be realised that the equivalent of one ton of transmitted electrical power delivered in London is equal to three tons of rail-transmitted steam-coal power; so that the relative cost of the two powers is, by the weight test, clearly in favour of the electrical power.

Further comparing in other respects the two systems of power transmission—the railway and the electric cable one—the permanent way of railways requires constant renewal, whereas the electric copper cable will be as good in twenty-five years as when first established. The recent variation in the value of copper, of which the cables would be formed, has not been very serious, and there is every reason to believe that the value of copper will be an ascending one.

As an investment, copper laid down as cables for transmitting energy-power from the coal-fields is as safe as if the copper were in the Bank of England.

Therefore the cost of aying down the cables, *per se*, should be covered by the issue of separate debenture shares at a little above the average bank rate of interest.

In the transmission of coal by rail the same coal waggons have to return the entire distance empty, because coal waggons are not suitable for any other kind of goods traffic.

The wear and tear of coal-carrying railway stock is very great, and with the comparatively low rates charged for this traffic, considering its wear on the permanent way, it is questionable whether it is a desirable traffic for railway companies to have.

By the time the steam-coal, costing, say, 4*s.* 6*d.* at the pit mouth, reaches the London terminus its cost has been increased to from 10*s.*

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to 11*s.*; the merchant's profits, coupled to the carting charges, brings the cost to 13*s.* at the factory or other consumer's stores.

Analysis shows that most coals contain from 5 to 10 per cent. of incombustible residuum, known as ash and clinker; it follows, therefore, that for every 1,000,000 tons of coal brought to London, from 50,000 to 100,000 tons of incombustible matter is carried.

This waste of carrying power, as well as the waste of coal in transit, will by electric transmission be entirely avoided.

The cost of the electric transmission cable and wayleaves, divided, as it would be, with the Midland consumers, would not fall heavily in the metropolitan area.

The trunk-cables would be either suspended from poles *à la* telegraph, or be placed in underground trenches or conduits; there would be little, if any, greater difficulty in fixing up the power-lines than with the telegraph or telephone ones.

For the transmission of 10,000 horse-power three bare conductors for positive, and three for negative, currents would be used, equipped with oil insulators.

Lightning-arresters would be arranged where the cables are overhead.

The pressure of the current (30,000 volts) would be transformed down to 2,000 volts at the Midland and metropolitan receiving stations, for the convenience of the local metropolitan companies, who can transform the pressure at their own stations down to their normal working and distributing one.

The distribution of the electric energy to the various Greater London electric-supply companies, at a price of 2¼*d.* per kilowatt or electrical horse-power, would permit them to sell the current to their consumers for 3*d.* to 4*d.* per kilowatt, instead of 7*d.* to 8*d.* charged by the Metropolitan Company for this equivalent of energy.

It would be impossible in the limits of this article to define with any degree of completeness all the benefits that would follow the application of that transcendent gift to man involved in the possibility of the long-distance electric transmission of energy that recent science and discovery have unearthed from Nature's secret stores.

The developments that have followed the invention of that imperfect instrument for converting heat into work by the agency of steam—the steam-engine—have been of untold advantage to the human race, but the application of modern practical thermodynamics and electro-technics is destined to produce a still greater change and amelioration in the conditions of commercial, industrial, and home life.

Electrical energy is almost daily being applied to new directions, and with almost marvellous results; so that, besides providing the *primum mobile* to our industrial ateliers, and providing a hygienically perfect illuminant, it gives the manufacturer the

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power of welding and annealing bars without a forge furnace, and enables him to melt both steel, iron, copper, and brass rapidly and conveniently.

He can produce aluminium, chlorine, caustic soda; effect bleaching and tanning by electrolysis; and by the phenomenon of varying electrical resistance of different conductors he can effect cooking, evaporating, and heating operations.

To the florist it offers a means of accelerating floral growth.

The energy can be utilised for ventilation, for actuating knife-cleaning, sewing, and laundry machinery.

The electric energy generated in the coal-field stations, and transmitted to the industrial centres of England and to the metropolis, would enable the magic influence to be distributed to consumers at a price within the reach of rich and poor alike—a benefit for all and everyone.

B. H. Thwaite,
Civil Engineer.

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NEW SOURCES OF ELECTRIC POWER

II

ELECTRICITY FROM PEAT

THE Irish Question is for the moment in the background, but the Highland Question is coming again to the front, and Lord Rosebery, speaking at Inverness last September, when opening a bazaar for the encouragement of native industries, declared the intention of the Government to deal with it next Session. In this article I do not propose to consider the political aspects of the question, but to indicate a possible way of helping the Highlands, and also Ireland, by means of private enterprise.

It is plain even to a passing tourist that much of the discontent in the Highlands and West of Ireland is, at bottom, due to the character of the country. As he surveys the desolate moors and mountains, with their crags and waterfalls, he may well ask himself: In a civilised age, what can be done with a land so devoid of natural resources, of raw materials? According to the popular creed, 'whisky, herrings, and crofters' are the principal productions of the Highlands. To these may be added slate and paving-stone, timber, good air, wild scenery, and game attractive to visitors, and also sheep and wool-work. There is another product not unworthy of mention, one we are too apt to forget, although it is the best that any soil can produce, and that is—men. It must be owned that the Highlanders are a fine breed of men. Everything goes to prove that, mentally and physically, they are amongst the ablest men in the Empire. There are persons, the victims of their own ignorance and prejudice, who affect to sneer at them as an inferior race; but neither personal acquaintance with the Highlanders, nor the lessons of history, nor the results of anthropology, will bear them out. Politicians, to serve their own ends and bias the electorate, endeavour to stir up the dying embers of racial spite by calling them 'Celts' and 'foreigners,' akin to the French, and the natural enemy of the 'Anglo-Saxons'; although it has been perfectly well known to anthropologists for many years that the Highlanders are not Celts at all, except in name, but a mixed people, practically the same as the Lowland Scotch, and similar to the rest of the nation both in blood and origin. By actual

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measurement of their bodily strength, and by their conspicuous success at home and abroad in every walk of life, civil, political, and military, they appear as the most vigorous branch of the whole British race. Evidently the future belongs to the Highlanders. At the very least they will fight our battles and reinvigorate our more exhausted stock. Yet there are statesmen who can find no better remedy for the Highland trouble than to ship them out of the country. We are asked to raise money to export the flower of the nation, and at the same time we import all manner of destitute and diseased aliens. What should we say of a man who drained away his best blood and supplied its place with bad? In plain English, we should call him a madman.

We cannot spare the Highlanders, and something should be done to keep them in the country. Can we not employ electricity, which has changed the prospects of so many places, to the advantage of the Highlands? The fishermen of Loch Fyne are trying to get a light railway from Strachur to Kilmun, in order to place their delicious fish on the Glasgow market on the morning, and the London market in the evening, of the day on which they are caught, and all who have tasted a genuine fresh Loch Fyne herring will devoutly wish them every success; but they must wait until the Government assist them. Here, then, is a case in which electricity might play a part, for there is water power in the neighbourhood to drive the trains. Some time ago I was talking of this very matter with Professor George Forbes, F.R.S., the distinguished consulting electrician to the Cataract Construction Company of Niagara, and perhaps the highest living authority on the transmission of power by electricity, and he asserted that he would undertake to run all the railways of Scotland by means of the water power which is now running to waste. Apart from the railways, some of the electric power might be applied to industrial purposes if there were raw material on the spot.

There is, however, another source of prosperity in the Highlands and Ireland which has been too much neglected—namely, peat. In peat we have at once a fuel and a raw material, and what I desire to point out is that, by burning it in engines, we can obtain not only the power required to manufacture the raw peat, but also a supply of electricity for distribution.

Peat, as many people know, is altered vegetable matter, consisting largely of bog mosses and hill grasses. It is formed in old lake-beds, mountain tarns, marshes, and fallen forests. Of recent origin, its growth is comparatively rapid. Dug-out canoes, weapons of the Bronze Age, even Roman coins and roads, are found beneath it. The peat-moss of Kincardine flourishes on the site of an old oak forest, which has been felled by hand, for the marks of the axe can be seen on the stumps eight feet below the surface. In the seventeenth century a storm on Loch Broom, in Ross-shire, levelled a forest, and

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in less than fifty years afterwards peat was dug on the site. Peat-beds sometimes yield bog-oak and bog-iron ore, both of which are valuable, and the peat itself, when analysed, gives about 60 per cent. of carbon, 33 per cent. of oxygen, 6 per cent. of hydrogen, and 1 per cent. of nitrogen. The amount of ash varies with the purity of the peat from below 1 per cent. to over 60 per cent., and consists of sand, clay, oxide of iron, and sulphuric acid, with traces of lime, soda, potash, and magnesia.

The peat-beds of the United Kingdom are both numerous and rich; but, strange to tell, they have not even been surveyed, and we can only form a rough estimate of their extent. According to Mr. P. F. Nursey, Ex-president of the Society of Engineers, there are no fewer than six million acres of peat in the country, having an average depth of 12 feet, and capable of yielding 3,500 tons per acre of dried peat, or twenty-one billion tons in all.

In England, one of the most notable accumulations is the Chat Moss, near Liverpool; in Scotland there are many of all sizes, but the Moor of Rannoch, celebrated in Mr. Stevenson's *Kidnapped*, is perhaps the largest; and in Ireland the best known is the great Bog of Allen, which is said to comprise 238,500 acres of peat, having an average depth of 25 feet. The total extent of peat in Ireland is cast at 2,830,000 acres, or nearly one-seventh of the whole area of the island, and of this 1,570,000 acres are of the best 'red peat.' As the value of raw peat is to that of coal as about 1 to 6, the total amount of peat fuel in Ireland is equivalent to 470,000,000 tons of coal, which at 12*s*. a ton represents 280,000,000*l*. sterling.

There is also much peat on the Continent, and it was probably with a view of helping Ireland through her peat-beds that the Government of Lord Salisbury in 1892 issued a circular to her Majesty's representatives at Paris, the Hague, Copenhagen, Stockholm, St. Petersburg, and Berlin, asking for information as to the peat industries in the northern countries. The immediate result of the inquiry was a series of valuable reports, published in 1893, which may be studied by all who are interested in the utilisation of peat. They show that Germany, Holland, and Scandinavia, in particular, are making the most of their peat supplies, therein affording us an example which we might do well to follow.

The turf-moors or *Torf-moore* of Germany occur chiefly in Prussia, and belong to the Government. They are worked either by the Forestry Department or leased to tenants, who are required to prepare the underlying soil for cultivation. The peat is cut and dried in the open air during the summer, then sold as fuel, or made into 'litter' for bedding cattle, or turf-mould (*Torf-mull*) for disinfecting purposes. The fibres are also woven into a coarse cloth, or ground into paper-pulp. Moreover, the peat is distilled into coke and charcoal, and a variety of chemical products in general use.

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The fuel is consumed in the locality for heating brick-kilns, baking-ovens, and so on, as the cost of freight forbids it to compete with coal at a distance; but a great part of the litter is exported, even as far as America; and, incredible as it may appear, 1,200 tons a year, or one-fourth of the entire output of Oldenburg, is actually sent to Great Britain and Ireland, where we have so much unused peat of our own.

In Friesland and other parts of Holland the 'black turf' is made into fuel for brick-kilns, litter for stables, and mould for mixing with sewage. Some of it is exported to Bremen, Brunswick, and Belgium, and it is stated that 280,000 tons of the fuel, worth 133,000*l.*, are annually consumed throughout the Netherlands. The Dutch canals facilitate the transport of the peat, and, as the subsoil of the moors is always cultivated after the peat is lifted, the barges that take away the peat bring back manure for the ground. At Gröningen, for instance, all the sewage of the city is applied to the reclamation of the surrounding turf-moors. In Denmark, where there is no great supply of peat, it is chiefly used by the peasants as fuel, or as bedding in the dairy farms. In Sweden, on the contrary, there are bogs extending for hundreds of square miles, and of late years over 600,000 acres of the moorland have been brought under the plough. The peat is prepared as fuel, and largely consumed in making iron, glass, or brick, either alone or mixed with coal and fir-cones. In southern Sweden there are factories solely engaged in manufacturing peat-fuel for sale, as its use is steadily increasing, and some 30,000 tons a year are employed in metallurgical operations. In southern and central Sweden there are some twenty factories for preparing peat litter and mould, each factory turning out from 15,000 to 30,000 bales a year, fetching about 2*s.* a piece. The mould is used for gardening in Sweden, while stuffing for mattresses or furniture, and surgical bandages are made from the white moss of the moors. In France the peat is moulded into 'briquettes' with tar and resin, teased into litter, or woven into fabrics which are used in the army, its barracks and hospitals, as blankets, mattresses, and saddlecloths, or for stuffing coffer dams and certain parts of machinery.

According to Mr. Nursey, peat-fuel, made by removing the fibres and condensing it, is not more expensive than coal at the pit mouth. It burns freely in the furnace, requiring little draught, and yields more gas and heat than coal, thus enabling steam to be got up sooner and more work to be done. It is free from the nuisance of sparks, and clinkers, sulphur, and soot, and the smoke is rather healthy and agreeable than otherwise, it being esteemed a remedy for consumption. Lampblack, tar, and aniline dyes, naphtha, paraffin, and other hydrocarbons, lighting and lubricating oils, illuminating gas, which is apparently the coming fuel, alcohol, vinegar, salts of ammonia, acetate of lime, and soda are also among the products of distillation.

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Peat-litter is a more sanitary and comfortable bedding for animals than straw, and makes a better manure. Peat dust or mould is an excellent deodoriser and absorbent, which is employed in earth-closets, slaughter-houses, sugar factories, and elsewhere. It is also good for packing fish, fruit, and other perishable freight, and, being a non-conductor of heat, for lining the walls of rooms and ice-cellars. Peat-fibre is made into celluloid, roofing, and matchwood, as well as carpets, cloth, and paper-pulp.

In southern Bavaria peat-fuel is burnt in locomotives, and would evidently suit our underground lines. Tried on a river steamboat by Mr. B. Fothergill, it was found to last twice longer than coal and give the same speed. Briquettes made with tar and coal-dust or resin are coming into favour for household use even in England, thanks to the Peat Fuel Company of London, and they will burn in any furnace for coal or wood. Peat coke and charcoal, which fetch as much as wood charcoal, are in request for smelting, puddling, and forging iron, as they are free from sulphur, which makes it brittle, and also for smelting lead, blowing glass, making gunpowder or fire-works, and other chemical purposes. Bitumen got by distilling the peat is also utilised in paving streets.

A fuel as well as a raw material, peat can supply the power required to coke, distil, and manufacture itself. For convenience and economy the associated industries ought to be carried on at the peat-beds, which should be connected by rail or water with the best markets. We are now witnessing the rise of a new industrial city at Niagara, in which the machinery will be driven by electric power derived from the Falls, and we may yet see the Bog of Allen or the Moor of Rannoch supporting settlements and factories for the utilisation of peat. The soil reclaimed by the removal of the peat could be brought under cultivation with fertilisers made from the peat, or the sewage of towns—for example, the muck now dredged from the Clyde and flung into the sea. It is also a question for horticulturists whether fruit and vegetables could not be forced under glass on a large scale with the help of peat-fuel, peat-mould, and the electric light in thick weather, after the manner of the late Sir William Siemens. Moreover, just as in the case of Niagara, where electric power is to be sent by wire to the city of Buffalo, so in the Highlands and Ireland it could be distributed to work railways, and to the nearest towns or villages; and Oban, Inverness, or even Glasgow, might derive both light and energy from what is now the dark, inert, and dismal Moor of Rannoch.

J. MUNRO.

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THE DECAY OF BOOKSELLING

By way of preface, let me at once lay claim to the pre-eminence of bookselling among the trades of this country. I will yield to no one in formulating this statement. Indeed, if I were writing forty years ago instead of to-day, I would place bookselling among the professions. But alas! we have fallen on evil days, and, with a few honourable exceptions, booksellers at the present hour can only be regarded as 'dealers' in books. It was not always so, and those whose memories can hark back will recall booksellers who were indeed guides, philosophers, and friends. They were men whose advice was sought and whose opinions were obtained as to the value of a book before purchasing. Now it is quite the other way, and it is often the book-buyer who is able to indicate the sterling value of his purchase, while the bookseller remains mute and ignorant.

It is very hard to write such things, but unfortunately it cannot be gainsaid that when one considers for a moment, to a man with any pretences to a literary taste, bookselling is one of the most delightful occupations in which he can be engaged. The custodian of a large library, who has his heart and soul in his work, possesses a great delight in being the distributor of literature to those who merely desire to have the use of a book; but when to this is added the increased pleasure which a bookseller receives in effecting sales of the works at his disposal, a commercial zest is given to his work which is not known in any other business. He feels that, while he is benefiting himself, he is also doing some good in the world, by helping to build up a private library for his customer which will be a joy to him for the rest of his life.

This is no fancy picture, and I believe I am merely echoing the sentiments of many living booksellers who revel in their business, while only receiving a meagre return for all their outlay of thought and consideration in handling their stock. Unfortunately this is not the feeling of the great bulk of the booksellers of to-day, who only care to sell books on which there is a considerable margin of profit, without regard to any ulterior object. The old-fashioned class of bookseller is rapidly disappearing, owing to the system of excessive discount-giving and other causes, which are threatening the existence

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of the entire trade. A bookseller cannot now obtain a reasonable profit on the better class of books, which he would prefer placing on his shelves, and he becomes heartless and despondent. Instead of being the possessor of a stock of books which would redound to his credit, he gradually allows it to disappear from his shelves, as it finds tardy customers, and then either quits the business in despair, or fills his shelves with stationery and other articles which yield a more remunerative return.

The books to be found on the shelves of the greater part of provincial shops consist mainly of the reprints of non-copyright books which can be bought in quantities at a cheap rate, and the booksellers in whose shops this class of book predominates know nothing whatever of the publications of Blackwood, Longmans, or Murray, and other publishers of like standing; and, truth to tell, they could not exist on the sales of the better class of works, even if they did place them in their stock, so small is the margin of profit in these days of discount. In fact, the genuine country bookseller has ceased to exist, and he is compelled to eke out his livelihood by becoming a general dealer in all kinds of knick-knacks. I do not blame him, and, before he utterly disappears, we must look around and endeavour to find a remedy for this state of things.

Closely allied with 'The Decay of Literature'[1] is 'The Decay of Bookselling,' and it becomes worth while considering the cause of all this decay, and endeavouring to discover how it can be remedied.

As a nation, we glory in our literature and in our literary men; but if all the outlets for the dissemination of literature are to be closed, we have a very sorry outlook. If the time is coming when there are to be no booksellers' shops in the country, when all the 'sweetness and light' is to be effaced out of our provincial towns, we shall have come to a bad pass indeed. Is the intelligent bookseller to disappear from our midst, and his place to be occupied by a trader who is merely a middleman? The prospect seems so serious, and the outlook so disquieting, that there is no time to be lost in discussing the problem.

It will hardly be credited that, in spite of the enormous growth of the population of the metropolis, only four new bookselling businesses have sprung into existence within the last twenty years, while during the same space of time nine or ten booksellers have totally disappeared.

In the provinces there is the same story to tell. Booksellers' shops which have been a credit to a town have vanished into thin air, and no new-comers have arrived to take their place. Towns which I visited thirty years ago on business journeys do not now contain a bookseller worthy of the name, and publishers tell me that they are

[1] *The Nineteenth Century*, March 1894.

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gradually contracting the circuits of their travellers' visits, because the amount of the orders they receive in many towns is not sufficient to defray expenses. The booksellers' of yesterday are the fancy shops of to-day. Books are now huddled up with china jars and bric-à-brac, much to the detriment of the former; and even they are of the most ordinary type, and not such as would reflect credit on any 'gentleman's library.' Go into any country town you choose, and in place of finding in a bookseller's shop the standard works in which our fathers delighted, you can only lay hands on the flimsiest trash of the hour and cheap editions of non-copyright books. Very probably the bookseller himself deplores this state of things, and he tells you he must live, as the profit on the sale of the best books, as I have already said, will not afford him a living. It is not the bookseller's fault that such should be the case, for has he not struggled for years in his efforts to close his eyes to the diminished profits resulting from the excessive discount which (through no seeking on his part) he is compelled to allow?

In the present state of affairs a bookseller would rather not receive an order for a good book, which only yields him ten per cent. profit, while his business expenses are twelve or thirteen per cent. It is more remunerative to sell one non-copyright book than to receive orders for six that are copyright which yield him but a fraction of profit. Efforts have been made over and over again to induce the publishers of high-class publications to allow a greater discount to the trade under the present conditions of business, but without effect. The publishers, no doubt, have good grounds for withholding greater allowances, but it seems to me that in too many cases the publishers do not desire to look too closely into what concerns the retail trade. They, too, have their troubles and anxieties at the present juncture, but I fervently hope that they are maturing some plans to surmount the present *impasse*.

There is no doubt that the great cause of the decay in bookselling is the excessive discount which is allowed. Many books are supplied by the publishers at such prices as to enable the bookseller to allow the too liberal discount which is now deducted from the advertised price, but this only holds good on the cheaper and non-copyright books, which can be disposed of in large quantities. On the better class of publications the terms to the bookseller, as I have already indicated, being of such an illiberal character, business is frequently done on so narrow a margin as almost to constitute a loss. Probably this is caused by no ill-will on the part of the publisher, but simply because he cannot print and dispose of large editions of his expensive books. How this is to be remedied we shall see later on.

The bookseller, on his part, cannot make any distinction in his rate of charges to the public, as they fail to understand why one book should be debited to them on one scale, and another on a different

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scale, and hence it comes that the bookseller is compelled to range his prices in line quite irrespective of profit to himself. It is no use arguing that the bookseller is a fool for his pains, as the public will not grasp the fact that there should be a sliding scale in the price of books.

Another great cause of the diminution in the sale of books and contraction of the bookseller's business is the enormous increase of periodical literature. Since 1860, when the monthly magazines came in with a rush which has increased in force ever since, they have steadily supplanted the place of the book in every domestic circle. No one at that time foresaw the important part the monthly magazines were to play with the general reader; and now, what with weekly reviews, and even daily reviews, it is difficult to see when the old-fashioned reader has time to look at a book.

The morning paper engrosses the first part of his day, and glancing at the numerous evening papers consumes a considerable part of his evening leisure; so that when he takes up a book of four or five hundred pages, the sight of so much solid reading depresses him, and he turns to some of the monthly magazines rather than face the ordeal of beginning to read a substantial volume.

I have no wish to decry magazine-reading, much of which is delightful, but rather to show that the reading of it is all against a man laying in a store of books for his delectation.

It is a well-known experience of booksellers that the reading-man is not always his best client—it is the man who buys books from a sheer love of possessing and accumulating them; and if every purchaser were to read the books that he buys, even the best bookseller could not make a living. So that, with all the deterrents to book-buying which are caused by the multiplicity of periodical literature, we have still one class of customers to maintain us in good spirits.

Neither do I desire to say an unkind word against the extension of free libraries as a hindrance to book-buying, but rather wish to believe—although it is a bit of optimism—that their influence is beneficial in fostering a taste for the acquisition of books. Some time ago, while reading a paper before the Library Association, and expressing my views in favour of free libraries, I ventured to say that wherever a free library was started, there would I expect to see two or three booksellers' shops spring into being; but my dream has not been realised. Booksellers are too heavily handicapped to exhibit enterprise of this sort; but, all the same, I shall never cease to hope that my expectations in this direction may yet come to pass. There is no concealing the fact that booksellers do not appreciate free libraries, except as a means of obtaining large orders for the supply of the library; but even in this respect it is a bad day's work for a bookseller when his estimate is accepted, as the estimate prices are cut to so low a figure, owing to ridiculous competition, that his profit on the

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transaction is quite infinitesimal. He may dispose of a considerable number of books in this way, but *le jeu n'en vaut pas la chandelle.*

At the present moment it is a burning question among booksellers in regard to estimating for free libraries. The orders for books ought really to be allocated among the local booksellers, who might find them worth executing; but in nine cases out of ten the order is given to some distant cutting bookseller, who undertakes to supply the books at a price which makes the local man stare in amazement.

It is therefore not surprising that many booksellers look upon the free libraries with undisguised dislike. I am hopeful, however, that the action which is now being taken in a certain quarter may result in some better arrangement, and so gain over the good-feeling of the bookseller, who ought really to be able to look on the free library as his best ally.

Now as to the remedy. I have glanced at all the various causes of depression at present existing in the trade, and trust I have been able to show that, unless there is a turn of the tide, the business of bookselling is likely to become a lost art. Numberless remedies have been suggested by many members of the trade through our usual channels, especially by those who have its true interest at heart, and who desire to retain their position in it. It has been suggested by some that the publisher should issue a mandate compelling all their books to be sold at the price at which they are advertised; by others, again, that there should be no published price, but that each bookseller should make his prices in accord with the expenses of his business and the amount of his turnover. The result of that would be that a certain book in one town would be five shillings, in another six shillings, and in another six shillings and sixpence, according to the idea of essential profit required by each bookseller. It is urged that this practice is carried out in many trades, but it seems impracticable with books. A yard of cloth or a piece of furniture may command different prices in different towns, but such a thing could not be done with books. The publisher is compelled to determine a selling price, in order that he may publicly announce its appearance, as it is an article which is sold and distributed all over the world. His position would really be a helpless one if he could not affix a pecuniary value to his production, so we may at once dismiss this suggestion as impracticable and visionary.

In seeking for further remedies, we at once encounter the great stumbling-block to the popularisation of our literature, in the very high prices at which books of travel, biography, and belles-lettres are issued by the publishers. When we find books which ought to be popular issued at prices which are far beyond the means of the great proportion of book-buyers, we at once perceive why they are

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not found in every bookseller's shop. They are chiefly intended for the limited few, or the circulating libraries. It is very rarely that a publisher looks for orders from the second rank of booksellers for these books, as he has no thoughts of catering for them. By this procedure he cuts himself off from the great bulk of the trade, and that he does this with *malice prepense* is only too evident by the illiberal nature of his conditions of publication.

In his vindication for the high selling price of these books to which I refer, the publisher points to the cost of production and the superior scale of literary payment which he has to make. But I would retort, Is it necessary, as a reason for charging a high selling price for a book, that it should be printed in excessively large type, on very thick paper, and with a gorgeous exterior? If we look to our neighbours across the Channel, we find a book issued at 7*f.* 50*c.* which in this country would be published at thirty shillings. I cannot altogether praise the get-up of many French books; but if we examine the publications of Firmin Didot and other Paris houses, it will be found that their books are produced in quite good enough style (minus the binding) for the ordinary reader, and at a price which is within the reach of all; and the publisher reaps his reward in the sale of thousands of copies, while with our books we are barely able to scramble through the sale of one edition. The traditions of English publishing are evidently against the moderate-priced book; when an English translation of a 7*f.* 50*c.* appears, the price becomes thirty or thirty-six shillings in place of seven shillings and sixpence, at which price booksellers would take heart of grace, and place the book in stock and use their best efforts to sell it, whereas at the former price they can only look at the book from a distance.

If I sought for an argument in favour of books being issued at moderate prices, I would point to the great success which has recently attended the issue of new novels at a selling price of 6*s.*, in place of 31*s.* 6*d.* The sale of many of these books has been enormous, some 20,000, others 10,000, copies in place of a limited edition of 1,000 copies in the three-volume form. Within the last three months the publication of these books has given quite an impetus to business. To many booksellers (and to publishers as well, I hope) it has been a magnificent object-lesson, showing that a good book at a moderate price has great possibilities. Surely if novels can be published at popular prices, why not the better class of literature? A new class of book-buyers would come into existence, who previously only thought of taking a hurried glance at them through the medium of a circulating library. Renewed encouragement should accrue to both publisher and bookseller.

Having proceeded thus far, I would now approach the remedy which is believed by most booksellers to secure the salvation of their trade, and that is the adoption of net prices. The movement in this

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direction, which was inaugurated by Messrs. Macmillan, and has since been adopted on a considerable number of their publications by other leading publishers, is fast making great strides, and bids fair to become popular with publishers, booksellers, and the public.

There has hardly been a dissentient voice of any importance raised against it among the trade, and its general adoption seems very imminent. To the publisher the net system holds out great advantages. When he publishes a book he can foresee the precise sum he will receive on the sale of an edition, whereas with a fluctuating scale of prices to the trade he never can tell how much has been received as a result of the sale until the edition is cleared off. It also enables him to make an honest selling price, and not a fictitious one. This is not the place to enter into details as to the mode in which books are sold to the trade, so I will content myself by stating that the largest buyer receives the most advantages, to the detriment of the smaller. With the net system all this is changed, and all are equal.

To the public, at first sight, the merits of the new system may not be so obvious, but as time goes on the advantages will become more apparent. I shall, however, illustrate. If a book that was formerly published at 16*s.*, and is in the greater part of booksellers' shops sold at 12*s.*, becomes under the net system 10*s.* net, the gain to the book-buyer will certainly be a solid one. I shall be at once told that the book-buyer who pays cash and his neighbour who takes credit are on a level. To that I would say that the days of credit have long passed away in our business. The lengthened credit to which our fathers were accustomed has become a thing of the past, and the cash system has become universal.

The question naturally arises, 'How far should the net system be adopted?' My own opinion is that it should be applied to every copyright book. The non-copyright books can be left to take care of themselves, and confided to the tender mercies of the free-lances in the publishing trade who fight for the honour of issuing them.

If I have been able by this article to indicate in my imperfect way the permanent benefit of the net system, I shall be gratified indeed, and shall look forward to brighter days for the booksellers.

DAVID STOTT.

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WANTED, AN IMPERIAL CONFERENCE

THE Conference at Ottawa, though not exactly an epoch-making event, marks the rapid progress of colonial political development, and illustrates the watch and wait policy of the mother-country in all matters mutually concerning her interests and those of the self-governing colonies. That those colonies should spontaneously resolve to hold such a conference indicates their desire for closer touch with each other. The Colonial Office, which is a vast colonial intelligence department, must have been either quite ignorant of that fact, or purposely and conveniently blind to it. It cannot be assumed the colonies deliberately desired to act entirely independently of the mother-country, and planned to leave her outside their pursuit of closer union, for such idea is distinctly contrary to the declarations of the official delegates of the colonies at the Conference and elsewhere. They each and all proclaimed that the object of the Conference was to strengthen the Empire. The fact, however, remains that in the inception of the Conference the mother-country had no share, that the terms of reference to the Conference were not drawn by the mother-country's Government, and that it was not till all was arranged, and delegates from colonies in all quarters of the world were *en route* to Ottawa, that it was officially announced the mother-country would be represented at the Conference. The instructions to Lord Jersey—the sole representative of the United Kingdom—were, put shortly, to watch and wait, not to vote. When the constituent parts of the Empire represented at this Conference are examined by the light of figures and facts, it is abundantly clear that only 'pious opinions,' and not much else, were to be expected as a result of the deliberations at Ottawa, and doubtless the Imperial Government acted upon that view. The dramatic effect, however, of the gathering at Ottawa is striking. No British subject out of Bedlam can fail to see the immense practical value of the impetus thus given to the *sentiment* of a United Empire. The credit of this picturesque incentive to closer union belongs not to the Imperial authority, but to colonial governments, and especially to that of Canada. Sentiment, like steam, is a great force. Both are useless, and may be dangerous, without the carefully constructed machinery necessary to give practical use and effect to their accumulated power.

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The Conference at Ottawa expressed the active existence of Imperial sentiment, while exhibiting to the world the one great defect of the British Empire of to-day—the absence of Imperial machinery to give real and practical effect to Imperial sentiment. Because there is none the Imperial authority did nothing before or at the Conference but watch and wait; and it is because there is none the colonies took independent action to combine in expressing, at a conference, such wants and wishes as they desire, in their own interests, to see satisfied. The Ottawa Conference was an extemporised piece of consultative machinery devised to bring concentrated pressure on the mother-country to do certain things, which it was hoped would strengthen the Empire, and would certainly benefit the colonies generally, and some of them—Canada, for example—directly and particularly.

One of those things was—to obtain a subsidy and guarantee from the Imperial Government for a fast steamship service, and a cable between Canada and Australia. Apparently this was the primary object which determined the action of the Government of Canada in promoting the Conference.

Now it must ever be remembered that the only funds under the control of the Imperial Government out of which such subsidies and guarantees can be supplied are those drawn from the pockets of the taxpayers of the United Kingdom. In the matter of money and taxation the term 'Imperial' only deludes. The British Empire has no 'Imperial Fund.' The 'Imperial' Government has, in a financial sense, no 'Imperial' resources at its disposal—all it can control are the pockets of the population and the property of the people of the United Kingdom. Under these circumstances, when Canada and Australasia, supported by other colonies, express the desire for subsidies or guarantees from the 'Imperial Government,' it is only a euphonious way Canadians and Australasians have of asking the Imperial authority to tax the people of these islands to pay them. In this connection it must also be borne in mind that the primary condition of the safety of every one of the colonies, of the lives and property of all British subjects—nay, the very existence of the Empire—depends upon the power of the British sea-going war fleet, and that to the support of that fleet Canada does not contribute a 'brass-farthing,' nor does British South Africa; while Australasia only gives a small contribution for a very small squadron for local protection, and which is not available for general Imperial purposes. The people and the property within the four corners of the United Kingdom bear practically the whole cost of that fleet, on which depends the safety of every man, woman, and child in the colonies. Keeping in view these broad facts, let us now examine the constituent elements represented at the Conference for purposes of estimating, by facts and figures, the true values of its practical results.

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First, as regards population.

The aggregate population of the self-governing colonies is, roughly speaking, over 11,000,000, that of the United Kingdom over 38,000,000, so that for the sake of round numbers we may put 50,000,000 as the number of people represented at the Conference.

The 11,000,000 were represented by quite a number of brilliant and able delegates, and each colony with a vote, while the 38,000,000 were represented by Lord Jersey, who had no vote. Under these circumstances it is somewhat surprising to find one of the delegates (the Hon. Thomas Playford) saying that, in view of the colonies being unanimous in their recommendations, 'how could the mother-country refuse to give anything but a favourable reception to the representations made in such a manner.' The days, happily, are long past when representations from any single colony, however insignificant, if founded upon justice and equity, are received otherwise than favourably by the mother-country. Evidently, therefore, the speaker meant that the mother-country must yield to the combined pressure produced by the machinery of the Conference. On the mere basis of populations, however, that opinion ought to be put aside.

Next as regards revenue.

The aggregate annual revenue of these colonies is over 43,000,000*l.*, not far short of half the total revenue of the United Kingdom. As the colonies do not contribute to the cost of the war fleet and the portions of the army maintained for the general service of the Empire, we must, in order to make the comparisons fair, deduct the amount of the revenue of the United Kingdom appropriated to these particular services. Roughly, the amount to be so deducted is 30,000,000*l.*,[1] which leaves for purposes of true comparison the revenue of the United Kingdom at about 60,000,000*l.*

So the total British revenue represented at the Ottawa Conference as available for such subsidies and guarantees amounted to about 103,000,000*l.* The colonies, representing two-fifths of the whole, had several votes, while Lord Jersey, representing three-fifths, had none. But as British South Africa does not propose to contribute to the subsidies and guarantees in which Australasia and Canada are immediately concerned, this particular question of mail and telegraph communication between Canada and Australasia presents itself to the taxpayers of the mother-country shorn by the Conference of real Imperial importance. It becomes simply a post and telegraph departmental question in which the people of Australasia, Canada, and possibly the United Kingdom, are more or less concerned. The theory that the cable and the fast steamers to be established by subsidies and guarantees would add to the general security of the Empire in war is evidently repudiated by South

[1] Note the cost of local forces—*i.e.* militia, yeomanry, and volunteers—is not included in this figure.

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Africa, for otherwise that important portion of the Empire, by abstaining from proposing to aid the undertaking, declares against adding to the general security of the Empire in war.

Now, when the representatives of the people of the United Kingdom are asked by the representatives of Canada and Australasia to grant subsidies and guarantees for fast steamers and a cable on the special ground of the general defence of the Empire, it may well be pointed out to the applicants that there is no such thing as an Imperial fund to provide for the general security of the Empire in war, that the taxable area is limited to the United Kingdom, and that the people of the United Kingdom already pay at the rate of about 16*s.*[2] per head per annum for the general defence of the Empire, while the people of Canada and Australasia do not pay one farthing for that specific purpose. The recommendations and views of the Ottawa Conference, when urged upon the Imperial Government, will afford a golden opportunity for calling an Imperial Conference to consider the means by which a real Imperial fund can be provided from the resources of the whole Empire, and the machinery by which such fund could be administered for the benefit and security of the Empire as a whole. The Hon. Mr. Suttor, delegate from New South Wales, in a speech delivered after the Conference was closed, truly observed:—'It had been said that Britain must go on or back. There was nothing for her but to go forward. He believed the old country was becoming alive to the power of the colonies, a power which he hoped would be exercised in the direction of peace and good-will towards men.' It is to be hoped this view will be taken by Imperial Ministers, and that they are really alive not merely to the power, but to the great resources of the colonies, and, recognising the force of the desire expressed by the Conference to strengthen the Empire, and draw closer the bonds between its several parts, they, in the name of Britain, will go forward by calling a conference to provide funds and machinery adequate for the requirements of the Empire, neither of which now exist. Doles from the purse of the people of the United Kingdom to the great colonies are simply expedients which are demoralising from an Imperial point of view. The time must come, and will come soon, when the people of these islands will understand how their brethren in the great colonies escape from the burden of Empire, especially as regards the naval defence of their waters and commerce. When they do understand it, they will not silently acquiesce in such a state of things any longer. The swing of the pendulum responding to the impulse of democratic forces will come with a sudden velocity that possibly may endanger the whole fabric of our loosely tied Empire. The fact that we pay for the protection of the sea-commerce of the colonies will be accentuated by the remembrance

[2] Excluding militia, yeomanry, and volunteers, which are local forces, and not available for general service by the Empire.

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that they tax our goods, though we allow their goods to compete freely with ours in the home markets. The rise of taxation at home and the increase of our population, coupled with the shrinkage of free markets for our goods abroad, will all combine to produce an attitude of mind at home not favourable to the colonies. The policy of watching and waiting will then cease to be possible, and Imperial statesmen, depending for power only on the people at home, will be 'rushed,' so to speak, by a force they cannot control. Just now the masses of the United Kingdom fortunately regard the colonies with special favour and with affectionate regard. The time is most opportune for 'Britain to go forward' and lead. The mother-country and the colonies have great and vital common interests; the greatest of these is maritime security. It was the one thing which was carefully excluded from the purview of the Ottawa Conference. It is to arrange for this and to devise the means for providing it an Imperial Conference is needed.

The mercantile marine of the colonies represented at Ottawa is greater than that of France; the annual value of their sea-borne commerce, *exclusive of interchange with the mother-country*, is nearly 50 per cent. greater than that of Russia. We are now responsible for and bear the whole cost of the naval protection of these gigantic sea-interests of the colonies which were represented at Ottawa. We also are responsible for and bear the whole cost of the naval protection of the sea-commerce of our Empire of dependencies (India and the Crown colonies), which, *exclusive of interchange with the mother-country*, is in annual value equivalent to three-fourths of the annual value of the sea-commerce of the German Empire. This vast naval responsibility, ever accumulating from the development in these two divisions of the outlying Empire by the enterprise of British subjects abroad, is of course in addition to the sea-commerce of the mother-country carried on with the colonies and dependencies and all the world besides, which in annual value exceeds the aggregate sea-borne commerce of France, Russia, Germany, Italy, and Spain. Does anyone believe that our present naval means are sufficient to discharge our naval obligations? Does anyone think that adequate naval security for a world-wide Empire can be furnished by the people in one small corner of it? Those who do should at all events take note that the independent sea-commerce of the outlying Empire is very rapidly expanding, and that we are within measurable distance of the time when the sea-borne commerce of the outlying Empire will exceed that of the mother-country. Thus there is real danger in delay.

Thoughtful persons who have given serious attention to colonial policy and to the Imperial question, all acknowledge the gravity of the situation. No one denies that such means as are required to provide unquestionable sea-security for our vast Empire must be

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found, and no one disputes the fact that some form of federation for maritime defence is essentially necessary for the preservation of the Empire. In order to press this view on public attention the Imperial Federation Defence Committee has been formed, consisting mostly of members of the defunct Imperial Federation League. Several members of Parliament, representing both sides of the House, belong to it. On the other hand there are those elsewhere who consider that some form of Customs Union is more important than the provision for real security in war. They loudly declare that, until a Customs Union has been created and established, the question of co-operation for maritime defence must be postponed. It cannot be denied that colonial politicians incline to the view. This is quite natural, for any form of federation for maritime defence involves giving something, and implies taking a share in a burden they now escape. It has the disadvantage of being a definite practical question. But a Customs Union presents no such obstacles to colonial politicians. It means to them the mother-country giving something more to the colonies, viz. advantages over the foreigner in her markets. It is delightfully indefinite in the possibility of accomplishment, for colonial politicians know very well that the Customs Union they want demands the actual reversal of the fiscal policy of the mother-country, viz. the abandonment, for the sake of the colonies, of free trade.

It is, however, very doubtful whether the view of colonial politicians represents what would be the view of the intelligent and common-sense colonists were the whole facts of cases for some form of federal maritime defence placed before them. The point the Defence Committee urges is, that the facts should be formally, at a conference, placed before our fellow-subjects beyond sea, and that the initiative should be taken by the Imperial Government now.

The Conference at Ottawa exhibits in an unmistakable way the present drift of colonial official opinion. Out of a series of resolutions adopted, all tending to press the mother-country to abandon the policy of free trade, it will be sufficient here to quote one:

'This Conference records its belief in the advisability of a Customs arrangement between Great Britain and her colonies, by which trade within the Empire may be placed on a more favourable footing than that which is carried on with foreign countries.'[3]

The plain English of that resolution is, that the colonies desire the mother-country to tax all foreign imports of food in order to benefit *colonial* agriculture. It is obviously a matter of indifference to farmers in Great Britain whether they are swamped in the home market by foreign or by colonial wheat. The effect on them is the same, and therefore they could not be benefited. The colonial farmers alone are to be considered.

[3] New South Wales, New Zealand, and Queensland were in a minority against the resolution.

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Now it is important to understand the relative proportion of foreign trade carried on by the colonies and mother-country respectively.

The sum of import and export values of the self-governing colonies, 1892, was, in round numbers, 197,000,000*l.*, which figure, of course, includes colonial interchange with the United Kingdom. The total value of the trade of the United Kingdom in that year was 715,000,000*l.*, which also includes interchange with these colonies. Now, out of this 197,000,000*l.* of colonial trade, 157,000,000*l.* was interchange within the limits of our own Empire; only 40,000,000*l.* was with foreign countries. On the other hand, in the case of the mother-country, 536,000,000*l.* represents trade with foreign countries, and only 179,000,000*l.* was with our own Empire. Thus only some 20 per cent. of the trade represented by numerous colonial delegates at Ottawa was foreign trade, while of the United Kingdom trade, represented by Lord Jersey, some 75 per cent. was with foreign countries.

Per head of population the foreign trade of these colonies is under 3*l.* 13*s.*, while in the case of the mother-country it is over 14*l.* per head.

As a matter of fact, the trade of the mother-country with the colonies represented at Ottawa is only 12 per cent. of her total trade. It must be remembered that the other divisions of our Empire, India and the dependencies, account for the larger portion of the mother-country's trade within the Empire.

With these figures before us we may well ask whether our policy of watching, waiting, and doing nothing is not encouraging dangerous delusions in the colonial mind? The representative of Tasmania, the Hon. Mr. Fitzgerald, who voted for the resolutions, subsequently explained to a Canadian audience the views of the delegates, thus:—

> We felt that at the Conference we were taking a bold departure from the traditional policy which Britain has always carried out towards its colonies. We also felt it was a departure that was likely to become permanent. We felt that the time had come when the colonies should propose initiative action to the mother-country. . . . We felt assured we were taking the first step in that Imperial Federation we all look forward to.

A practical comment on this demand for a new departure in the fiscal policy of the mother-country is provided by the facts that Tasmania has no foreign trade at all, a population less than that of the town of Leicester, and a revenue equivalent to less than one-third of the revenue of the School Board of London.

All lovers of the Empire will, however, hope, with the Hon. Mr. Suttor (New South Wales) that the Conference will 'bring forth closer relations than those of trade, and that the time will come when

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they would discuss subjects of higher importance—the common welfare of the Empire.'

The common welfare of the Empire demands the assured supremacy of the sea. To sufficiently satisfy that demand two things are required:

1. An adequate Imperial Fund;

2. The Imperial machinery to administer that fund which will command the confidence of all the contributing portions of the Empire.

JOHN C. R. COLOMB.

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HOW TO MULTIPLY SMALL HOLDINGS

Prefatory Note

I am one of those who are convinced of the necessity of supplying small areas of land to our rural workers for their own cultivation. When the suggested system of co-operative ownership was brought under my notice, it naturally, therefore, received attention, and I was glad to be able to give facilities for having the system explained in my district. After an address by Mr. Harold Moore, I recognised the importance of the system, and the advantages which it possessed, not only to landowners who wish to extend small holdings, but also to the occupiers, by securing for them a perpetual title, as well as the many collateral advantages arising from co-operation. Unfortunately, however, in attempting to apply the system to a farm upon my estate the difficulties arising in connection with a settled estate became apparent. Under our recognised system of English land tenure, an owner can by no means do what he likes with his own property, being partially debarred from the disposal of his land either for his own advantage or for that of other persons. The Settled Land Act of 1882 has given powers which formerly were not possessed, but before more desirable systems of land holding can be fully introduced there must be a fuller and more complete reform in the system of our existing land tenure.

As the result of the meeting held at Tyler's Green, near High Wycombe, it appeared that there were many who would like to purchase small areas by instalments, the total area so applied for being eighty-three acres. I was unable to arrange to gain possession of that extent, but, by arrangement with an existing tenant, I found it would be possible to obtain possession from Michaelmas of an area of fifty-five acres conveniently situated for the village. A committee was, therefore, immediately formed to acquire that extent. The difficulties arising from its being a settled estate then became apparent, for the trustees of my estate could not consent to a sale if the purchase money were payable to them by instalments.

In order, therefore, to carry out the proposal it was found necessary that the Committee should purchase the land, paying my trustees in cash, raising the necessary sum upon security of the property.

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At a meeting held in October it was therefore decided to complete the arrangements in this way, the land being taken up by twenty-three individuals in areas of from one acre to three acres each, these individuals together forming a Landholders' Committee. Four of these intending occupiers will purchase in cash, but the remainder will pay to the Committee a sum at the average rate of 2*l.* per acre per annum for a term of fourteen years; each one also paying a similar sum at entry, in order to provide some corporate funds under control of the Committee, and to pay the expenses of completion of the arrangement. With the cash which some of the occupiers are prepared to find now, I am informed that the Committee will be able to raise the 1,200*l.*, the amount agreed with my trustees as the purchase money of the land. The annual payment of 2*l.* per acre, or 110*l.* for the whole area of fifty-five acres, payable for the fourteen years, will at the end of that time discharge the liabilities of the Committee, as well as paying four per cent. interest upon the amounts owing at the end of each year.

The exact partition of the land to suit the individual wishes of the occupiers is now being completed. This is a matter concerning which some would think there would have been some difficulty. It has, however, been left entirely to the occupiers themselves, and, from what I learn of the results of their last meeting, no difficulty has arisen. The method they have adopted is to refer this question to a small committee of themselves, and this committee has apparently been able to suit the requirements of each of the intending occupiers.

This article was written upon my suggestion; and without expressing my agreement with all the opinions contained in it, many of the proposals made are, to my mind, worthy of consideration by those who desire to extend small holdings.

CARRINGTON.

Those persons who have considered the subject of allotments and small holdings, and who have noted the results obtained in districts in which they are numerous, will probably agree in certain definite conclusions, which may be stated as follows:

1. That no man is able to obtain a satisfactory living from an independent small holding, as a sole means of livelihood, unless he has money, is prepared to work hard, and possesses far more knowledge and experience than are usually found in rural districts.

2. That the majority of persons classed as agricultural labourers cannot fulfil these necessary conditions, so that any labourer wanting land should be limited either to some area of grass or to such quantity of arable land as he can work in his spare time; which would but rarely exceed one-eighth of an acre.

3. That there are many persons in our rural districts, mainly de-

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pendent upon industries and trades, to whom the possession of a small area of land would be of considerable advantage, seeing that many of this class have both the skill and capital necessary to ensure success, and ample time available.

Having regard to these conclusions, those who wish to assist the extension of small holdings have naturally given their attention to the way in which this can best be done for the benefit of persons who want land, and have some other means of livelihood. That this class is numerous few can doubt who have given consideration to the matter. In almost every village there are small shopkeepers, mechanics, farriers, blacksmiths, bricklayers, carpenters, hucksters, and casual rural labourers, all of whom have diminishing work in consequence of the depopulation in our rural districts, and the lessened spending power of all classes directly dependent upon the land. Many of these persons can only be enabled to remain in country districts if they are provided with some area of land upon which they can grow what is needed for their own consumption, or can be sold to their immediate neighbours. Some of these, and also other classes, have families growing up for whom occupation must be found, and if they can be provided with work on the land they will be kept from coming into the towns. Then there are those who have had to give up regular work owing to age or ill-health, but who are competent and anxious to cultivate some area, the produce of which would enable them to obtain a more comfortable living than would otherwise be possible, and in some cases would be the only means by which they could subsist without coming for aid to the poor-law authorities. Where land has been made available for any of these classes, the result has invariably been satisfactory.

In view of these facts it will be admitted that to increase the facilities by which land can be obtained for the benefit of those possessing some other means of livelihood is a step which is most desirable for the welfare of this country, and may tend towards checking that exodus from our rural districts which all writers agree is a national danger.

The legislative enactments which have been passed during recent years to facilitate the subdivision of land for the benefit of small cultivators show that the desirability of aiding this course is generally admitted. These Acts include the Allotment Acts of 1882, 1887, and 1890, and the Small Holdings Act of 1892. Even, however, with the powers given under these Acts the extension of Small Holdings has not been specially rapid. It will therefore be useful to notice those risks and difficulties attendant upon letting or selling small areas which have hitherto retarded their increase, and also to consider any practical means which could be taken in order to safely supplement existing powers for the benefit of those who belong to the classes before named. More especially are these points worthy of

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consideration at the present time because they will indicate some of the difficulties falling upon a Parish Council hiring land in accordance with the provisions of the new Local Government Act, and perhaps will suggest means of lessening the risk incurred by the ratepayers in districts where these sections of the Act are applied.

The difficulties which landowners now experience in supplying small areas to those for whom they would prove useful can readily be summarised. Under certain circumstances the giving up of a part of a large farm may interfere with the system of culture. Such a course may interrupt communication from one part of the estate to another. It may lead to injury to neighbours by a portion of the land taken being afterwards negligently cultivated, or left uncultivated. Land suitable for allotments must have a road frontage, and having that frontage forms probably the most valuable portion of the farm. This is not only because its easy access renders it adaptable for a greater variety of cropping, but because from its situation such land has perhaps for long periods had more manure and cultivation, and is in better heart and condition, so that if separately let off it would deteriorate the acreage rental value of the remainder of the farm, or, in special cases, prevent a tenant being secured for it without greatly increased difficulty. Then rental value frequently creates difficulties, inasmuch as tenants, forgetting that they are obtaining the most accessible land probably in better condition than any other part of the farm, frequently expect the acreage rent to be about the same as that paid by farmers renting adjoining large areas of poorer land. But the greatest difficulty experienced by landowners, anxious to encourage small holders, is that many who profess they want land have neither the time nor the necessary qualifications to work it successfully. These applicants will be mainly labourers who either have mistaken views as to their own ability to work, or have been persuaded that they should have land by those who think an allotment for every labourer is necessary to bring happiness to our villages. Cases are numerous where land has been divided into small areas, and tenants who had previously expressed so strong a desire to have them have given up their holdings after working them only a short time. In a case known to the writer, where a landowner, in response to local demand, had obtained possession and subdivided the land which was desired, one-half of the tenants vacated within two years. Cases are not entirely unknown where, after a local demand for small areas has been fully satisfied, certain of the tenants have never entered upon nor done any work upon the area taken by them. The English Land Colonisation Society, founded last year in order to aid the extension of small holdings, states, in a report issued in July, that a large majority of the many hundreds who applied to the Society for assistance to obtain land were quite incompetent to cultivate it. Bearing in mind the great trouble and loss involved in having

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small areas come into hand neglected and out of cultivation, it is natural for these various reasons that landowners should exercise care and caution before satisfying a local demand for small holdings.

Another difficulty mainly felt by those who would be competent cultivators is in reference to securing that tenure of the land which will enable them to erect the buildings they may desire. The Small Holdings Act gives special facilities for such class; but, even when the County Council of the district is prepared to put the Act in operation, far more capital is required than a competent cultivator could usually command. Land can frequently be purchased on payment of a small deposit, the remainder being left upon mortgage at interest which will about equal the rental value. Such a course, however, renders the purchaser at any time liable to be called upon to pay the amount of mortgage-money, when a failure to do so may lead to forfeiture of his land with the improvements thereon. Moreover, such a mortgage will prevent the cultivator obtaining assistance by way of mortgage in aid of any buildings he may wish to put up. Some landowners have divided their estates into small lots and then let them at an annual sum, covering rent and an instalment of purchase-money. This, however, is a difficult arrangement to be made with small independent tenants, and frequently has failed after payments for two or three years, as the occupiers are not able to secure a clear or good title, while the income to the landowner is uncertain and difficult to collect.

A consideration of these various difficulties shows that the exercise of the powers now vested in Parish Councils for buying or renting land will probably lead to considerable difficulty and risk, unless the greatest care be taken in putting the provisions of the Act into force. Parish Councils are not likely to exercise their powers of purchase. If, however, owing to the pressure brought to bear upon them, land were hired to the extent necessary to supply all applicants, it is probable that in two or three years many of those areas would be given up, in some cases without payment of rent due and in a bad state of cultivation. The Council would be bound to pay the rent of the area held by them, and under these circumstances may sustain loss either by having to cultivate the land themselves, or to let portions coming in hand at a reduced rent. Is there any plan by which this risk can be obviated, and Parish Councils as well as private landowners be assisted to supply small areas where required by those classes who have been shown to be capable of using them? The writer believes that this can be done by the recognition of the principle of co-operation, more especially if in conjunction with a wider extension of the system of perpetual leasing. This proposal will therefore now be fully explained.

This suggested co-operation would be carried out by forming into a Corporate Body all those in any specified district who wished

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for land, and who in the opinion of their co-operators were able to work it. This Corporate Body should then acquire a farm of the total area desired, the area so obtained being divided into separate holdings as required by each applicant. The Corporate Body would obtain a property at the ordinary agricultural price, and if rented only would add any sum necessary for tithe, rates, and other outgoings, the total payment then being apportioned upon the respective holdings by a committee appointed by the intending occupiers.

In order to introduce this system the first step necessary would be to hold a meeting of those who desire to occupy land in any particular district. If at this meeting there were found to be a sufficient demand by those persons having the necessary qualification for the profitable use of small areas, a committee might be formed in order to consider the suitability of any farm in the desired locality of which possession could be obtained. As soon as the committee had found a suitable farm it would be for them to assure themselves that all, or nearly all, the area would immediately be occupied at prices making up the total cost.

If the committee had definite applications from responsible and suitable intending tenants to ensure a sufficient area being taken up, they could at once be constituted into a Corporate Body under the Companies Acts, and arrangements for taking the farm concluded. The Corporate Body would act through a committee of management, who would have to determine the amount to be immediately paid to meet costs, valuation on entry, or other payments; and, on this being contributed by the individual occupiers in proportion to the annual payment assessed upon the area taken by them, possession of the property could be given.

Tenure on this principle would enable many landowners to supply the demand for small areas which they would be otherwise unable to do, for it would not be necessary for them to partition a large property, and the committee and the inquiries made by them would ensure competency of tenants. Moreover, if this system be applied to letting land when hired by Parish Councils, the risks of applying the powers given under the Act would be obviated or minimised. Parish Councils will be most useful in the formation of such bodies of intending occupiers, whether they are formed to rent land from the Parish Council or independently, and the first meeting of the intending cultivators might be called by the Council.

Some of those, however, who wish to occupy a small area and are competent to work it would prefer to acquire a permanent title to the land which they cultivate. To these persons the suggested co-operative action would be most beneficial. If, when a committee has been formed, it was found that the majority of the intending occupiers wished to erect buildings upon their land, or for other reasons desired to acquire a better title than ordinary tenancy would give, the

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committee would consider the best manner in which they could acquire a permanent title. In some cases this might be done by the Corporate Body acquiring the title to the land subject to the payment either of a perpetual rent calculated at a percentage upon the value of the property, or of an annual payment for a fixed term, the period of which should be so fixed that the amount paid in excess of the rental value during that term would be the equivalent of the capital value of the property. The Corporate Body thus having obtained the land would grant the respective portions to individual occupiers as they might desire. The exact means to be adopted for carrying out this method would vary in accordance with the circumstances of the owner and the land to be secured.

The title might be given by a lease for such a term as 1,000 years, from the landowner to the Corporate Body, and a second lease from the latter to each individual occupier. Both leases would either provide for the payment of a rent during the entire term, or for the payment of an annual sum for the first ten to twenty-one years; in that case free occupancy to be given for the remainder of the term. In either case there should be special covenants in the lease between the Corporate Body and the individual. These covenants should be those which appear to be desirable to secure the fullest liberty and advantage to the intending occupiers, with all those restrictions which may appear to be beneficial to the community. Thus, as the land is leased for agricultural purposes, the price paid is its value to be so used. A restriction would therefore be reasonable that the individual holder should not use it for any other purpose without the assent of the Corporate Body, which, it must be remembered, would consist of the whole of his fellow-occupiers. It should then be provided that the Corporate Body could have power to enter into possession of any holding if required for other than agricultural purposes upon paying the value of the holding at the time possession was required, such value to be settled by an arbitrator if it could not be agreed upon. A similar power could also be reserved for re-entry for any other purpose, where there was a unanimous opinion on the part of the Corporate Body that possession should be taken of any particular holding. It might further be provided that no occupier should hold more than a defined area without the assent of the Corporate Body. Without some such covenants it is possible that in the course of time the various methods of co-operation introduced and rendered practicable by the frequent meetings of the original Corporate Body would fall into disuse, with a result that rivalry and competition would take place, injurious to the position of all who were cultivating the land.

In some cases a different plan might be considered more desirable. This would be a sale to the Corporate Body on payment of a deposit, the remainder of the purchase-money remaining on mortgage,

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to be annually reduced by payment of a specified sum. A deed of covenant could then be executed between the Corporate Body and the individuals, by which similar conditions to those just named would be stipulated as a basis for the division of the land. Subject to the conditions of this deed an agreement of tenancy could be entered into between the Corporate Body and the individual under which rent should be paid for the specific term of years, it being provided that at the end of the stated term, and on the completion of the payments, the individual should have a conveyance of the land, thenceforth holding it without payment, but subject to the restrictions named in the original deed of covenant. The annual payment secured under such an agreement would be the individual's proportion of the amount sufficient to pay the interest on the mortgage with such additional sum as would, by being invested each year, make up at the end of the agreed term a sum sufficient to discharge the mortgage. On entry under this arrangement the individual would pay such an amount as was found necessary for deposit and costs, this sum being proportioned in relation to the annual payments.

Leasing to a Corporate Body under the system advocated would be free from the difficulties which are encountered by a landowner attempting to deal on the same lines with independent tenants in respect of separate and small areas of land. He would receive his rent in one sum as from an ordinary tenant, but with greater regularity, the instalments of the purchase-money would be paid in substantial amounts, and there would be security for the payments in the amounts agreed to be paid to the Corporate Body by the individuals.

But not only would the extension of such a system of co-operative land-holding enable landowners to facilitate the acquirement of land in small areas by those who wish to purchase the same, but the system would give numerous collateral advantages which the cultivators would not be able to obtain if acting independently. By their union they will be able to found agricultural credit banks on the co-operative system, as advocated in the publications[1] of the newly formed Agricultural Banks Association. These banks will secure, by the principle of common liability, credit for every member of the co-operative body to a larger extent than he could individually obtain. Periodical meetings might be held for the purpose of discussion on farming topics, and these would lead to the dissemination of much useful knowledge. It is, in fact, from such frequent meetings of practical cultivators, giving to one another the benefit of the results

[1] *Memorandum and Rules for an Agricultural Credit Society*, 24 pp., price 6*d*. (January 1894). *How to Start an Agricultural Credit Society*, 16 pp., price 3*d*. (October 1894). Both published by the Agricultural Banks Association, Palace Chambers, Westminster, S.W. Also *Village Banks* by H. W. Wolff, 48 pp., price 6*d*., Published by P. S. King & Son, King Street, Westminster, gives information on this subject.

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of experience of new crops or special modes of feeding or cultivation, that much improvement in agricultural methods has been brought about. The meetings would also afford an opportunity of hearing addresses or lectures from skilled experts, who can give valuable advice on subjects they have specially considered. The existence of such a corporate body would permit of the trial and possible introduction of profitable village industries, which independent cultivators could not attempt. It would assist in obtaining better pecuniary results to each individual by rendering possible the joint use of labour-saving appliances, by securing combination in marketing, and by obtaining farm requisites on better terms than can be quoted to an individual buying in small quantities: thus decreasing cost of production, as well as lessening labour. It would prove of the greatest utility in securing the introduction of methods of preserving fruit, vegetables, and other produce in the best manner either for sale or for winter consumption; and if the area of the settlement were sufficiently large, a dairy factory might be founded, which would reduce labour and increase the quality and value of the product. Then there would be a great advantage to the occupiers in the fact that the payment would be due to a committee of fellow-occupiers similarly situated. If for special reasons, with which neighbours must necessarily be acquainted, the occupier found it difficult to pay the amount due from any particular holding, every consideration would certainly be given to a request from him that the payment due might be postponed. If, moreover, that payment were an instalment of purchase-money, there would be little difficulty in consenting to a postponement, as its only effect would be the prolongation of the term during which the instalments were to be paid. But the most important advantage gained by the adoption of this system arises from the method of fixing the value of the holding and the method of paying the purchase-money if the occupier wish to acquire a perpetual title. Whether the complaints frequently heard from those who rent small areas that they are paying a higher price than adjoining large farmers are well founded or not, they must be removed when the whole area required for subdivision is obtained at an ordinary agricultural rent, and the apportionment upon the different holdings is made by a committee of the occupiers themselves. For those who wish to acquire a title to the land without paying the whole of the purchase-money the suggested system is free from the disadvantages and liabilities of mortgage, and, moreover, allows for a gradual payment of the purchase price of the land, which cannot readily be effected by other means.

But it will naturally be asked whether the principle advocated has been practically tried, and, if so, with what results. Reference should therefore be made to an example of each of the methods suggested. Co-operative tenancy has certainly been successful in the

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case of an Allotments Society at Denmead, six miles from the town of Havant. This society hires about eighty acres at a rental of 115*l.* a year, which is divided among forty-five tenants at a rental apportioned among themselves amounting to a total of 148*l.* per annum. The report issued this autumn states that, in spite of the bad season, the members of the society have done fairly well, and that there is a great and general improvement in the state of the land. All the rents due had been paid up to that date; the whole of the land was occupied in areas ranging from a quarter of an acre to three acres; intending tenants were waiting for admission if more land could be secured; and, after paying the rates and other expenses, and retaining over 25*l.* balance in the hands of the society, a return amounting to a reduction of rent at the rate of 3*s.* per acre was made to all members. An instance of the application of the system of perpetual leasing, where the capital value of the land is to be paid during the first few years of the term, is to be found in Wiltshire. In 1892 Major Poore, C.C., secured for a co-operative body the freehold of a farm of 112 acres, near Winterslow, in that county, the price paid being about 15*l.* per acre, which sum was left on mortgage. The property being so obtained, the committee, representing nearly fifty intending occupiers, assessed the value upon the respective portions, the prices so assessed varying from 8*l.* to 30*l.* per acre, depending upon position and quality of the land. A lease was then granted to the individual holders for the term of 2,000 years, subject to the payment for the first fourteen years of an annual sum of 10 per cent. upon the value assessed upon the particular area. This annual payment, it was found, would more than discharge the mortgage upon the property, with 5 per cent. interest upon the same. As to the results of this experiment, the majority of the holders have now been in possession a year and a half, and, though the payments exceed double the annual value, there is no instalment due from any of the occupiers; while the instalments, when completed, will leave probably 500*l.* in the hands of the Corporate Body after paying all mortgage charges, costs, and interest, this surplus arising from the fact that the total values assessed upon the different portions substantially exceeded the original purchase-money of the land. Ten or twelve of the holders are now erecting buildings; insurance clubs and other means of co-operation are being successfully managed; a far better tone is prevailing in the village than formerly, owing to the idea of mutual help engendered; and weaving and other industries are being introduced; while conversation with any of the holders shows that they are satisfied with the results of their organisation. An instance of a co-operative settlement where a conveyance is to be granted to the individual occupiers is found in Leicestershire. In this case Mr. Arthur Basil Markham has divided an area for small holdings, giving the independent purchasers occupancy on their agreeing to make payments at the rate of 37*l.* 10*s.*

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per acre in twenty half-yearly instalments, at the end of which time the conveyance will be granted subject to the restrictions of a mutual deed of covenant. The price named is 30*l.* per acre, with interest at the rate of 3 per cent. per annum on the unpaid purchase-money for the term named. The deed of covenant was executed in May 1893, and up to the present time no difficulty has arisen, and the arrangement seems to have given general satisfaction. Thus we see examples of each of the three methods which are suggested in this article which have been in operation for a sufficient time to form opinions as to the results.

New settlements of co-operative holders are now numerous. In August 1893 the English Land Colonisation Society was formed, its object being 'to aid the establishment of people on the land, and assist the revival of rural industries.' This society naturally gave attention to the possibility of extending co-operative action in the direction suggested. Some useful suggestions were made in a pamphlet issued in November 1893, entitled *Home Colonisation*; while in the April issue of its journal, *The Co-operative Land Record*,[2] much information was given as to the advantages of co-operative settlements. It appears that the system was being applied with the assistance of the society in Sussex and Suffolk, while committees were being formed in other counties. The society has collected a great variety of information in relation to co-operative effort; has had tables prepared of instalments of payments extending over various terms; and has drafted forms of agreement adaptable for various conditions. It would thus appear to be able to assist landowners or Parish Councils who might be willing to attempt the formation of such co-operative settlements as are suggested in this article. At a two days' conference, held in October, for the discussion of various matters affecting small holdings and co-operation, it was stated that the society had advised in thirty-five different places, and it was hoped to complete arrangements for six settlements, in addition to helping the formation of committees to take up land, not directly under the control of the Society.

Amongst the last-named efforts is one by Lord Carrington, as named in the introductory note to this article. Earl Nelson has also consented to supply a farm for those who wish to rent small areas, if a sufficient number of persons possessing such qualifications as are named in the opening paragraph of this article apply to take up an entire property; while Mr. Jasper More, M.P., is taking into consideration the application of some proposals of this nature upon his estate in Shropshire.

[2] *Home Colonisation*, by Rev. J. B. Paton, D.D., with an appendix by a practical land agent, 16 pp. 8vo., price 2*d.*, second edition, published by Messrs. J. Clarke & Co., 13 Fleet Street, E.C. *Co-operative Land Record*, for April, 8 pp., price 2*d.*, published by the English Land Colonisation Society, 41 Bedford Row, W.C.

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It would therefore seem that the encouragement of such settlements under corporate control in many of our rural villages is a practical step; while its desirability in meeting a want of rural workers will generally be admitted. In any parish where this principle is applied, there will be in future years a body of persons bound together under a mutual covenant, and transferring their individual interest to their heirs and assigns. The property so held for the mutual benefit of many in the parish may thus come to be looked upon to some extent as parish land; while if an increasing number desire to have an individual interest in such land, the area can possibly be extended as opportunity offers. If this become the case, the system may well be considered a beneficial substitution for those rights of common which in times past the inhabitants of these villages may have possessed, for it would create far more valuable interests than such common-land could have given. It would possess all the advantages gained by the unity of interests involved in common ownership, while it would further create that individual interest in particular portions of the soil which is necessary if the occupier is to earn an adequate and permanent reward in proportion to the labour and money expended by him. Bearing in mind the limited nature of the funds at the disposal of our Parish Councils, it would therefore appear that it can usefully become a matter of consideration whether the promotion of such co-operative bodies and committees will not be the most useful method for enabling those who desire it to gain some interest in the land, without directly involving cost, risk, and responsibility to the parish revenue.

HAROLD E. MOORE.

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LORD BACON VERSUS PROFESSOR HUXLEY

It is most difficult to deal with the philosophic writings of Mr. Huxley —not, I think, because of the strength of his philosophy, but on account of its ambiguity. He always seems to be aiming at conclusions which are not distinctly expressed—conclusions, indeed, which I do not think he himself really holds, and which, when attributed to him by others, he generally repudiates. Such is eminently the character of an article which he has lately contributed to the scientific journal called *Nature*, on the twenty-fifth anniversary of its first publication. The article is entitled 'Past and Present,' and purports to give a generalised view of the triumphs of 'science' during the last half-century over all who were, or still are, its opponents. By the word 'science' he expressly explains himself to mean 'all the regions into which the intellect can penetrate.' It is needless to say that this is a definition which embraces the whole sum of human knowledge, whether actual or potential; and the great aim of Mr. Huxley's paper is to identify these 'regions' with the physical sciences alone—these being further identified by calling them 'the specialities,' to which the 'workers in science are devoted,' and in which the 'power and fruitfulness' of certain special methods, called the 'scientific organon,' have become 'so obvious.' The combined effect of all these words and phrases is, first, to represent the purely physical sciences—that is to say, our knowledge of matter with its laws and energies—as the only region into which the human intellect can penetrate at all; and, secondly, to represent the methods of physical investigation appropriate to those sciences as the only methods, or 'organon,' by which any human knowledge of truth can be attained. If Mr. Huxley does not mean this, he has been very careless in the use of language. But, unfortunately, this interpretation seems to be the only one which can be reconciled with the context. In perfect consistency with the doctrine that physical conceptions are the only region into which the human intellect can penetrate, Mr. Huxley goes on scornfully to denounce any notion that there are two spheres—or, as he calls them, 'two worlds'—one being a sphere in which we can only move successfully by the 'strict

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adherence' to what he calls 'scientific methods,' and the other being a sphere in which truth can be reached by what he calls 'quite other mental processes.'

Although these words are not explicit, we can have no doubt as to what they mean. Other words and phrases—none of them very perfect—are commonly employed to express the same idea of two different and contrasted spheres, to which different faculties of the human intellect are specially, although not exclusively, appropriate. Faith and reason is one common formula of expression, knowledge and belief is another. Neither of them can be safely used without qualification, because faith may be full of reason, and reason may be inspired and guided by a most reasonable faith. But, still, a residuum of difference remains, both as regards our consciousness of separable mental faculties, and as regards our perception of correspondingly separate subjects of thought. Strictly speaking, we have no faculties which can work without the help of others, nor is there any subject in which our conceptions can be said to belong exclusively to one or the other category of thought. That our atmosphere, for example, is full of dust is a purely physical conception, and can only be absolutely ascertained by the methods of purely physical research. That the world is full of what the German evolutionist, Professor Weissman, calls 'Purposiveness' is another proposition which also concerns many purely physical phenomena, but is essentially an intellectual conception, and can only be recognised by the aid of 'quite other' processes of mind, and quite other instruments of investigation. Mr. Huxley disparages this field of thought altogether, and insists that, under the continual advance of that kind of knowledge which is attained by physical methods, the other sphere of thought, which cannot be subjected to this organon, is being rapidly undermined, and will soon be altogether abandoned. That this is the only intelligible meaning of the paper is confirmed by its early attack on Lord Bacon, who is treated with a somewhat supercilious contempt. Mr. Huxley says that though few have read, and still fewer have tried really to comprehend him, still a 'venerable tradition bids us glorify him as the guide, philosopher, and friend of science,' and especially in his insistence upon the division of the world of thought into two—an old and a new. In the new world the 'scientific method' was inculcated, whilst in the old world 'it was to be anathematised.' In that old world absolute dependence was to be placed on the 'quite other mental processes.'

As Mr. Huxley does not quote any passage of Bacon's works, but gives us only the purport of what he calls the 'venerable tradition' about him, it may be well to look for some words which Bacon did himself use on this very subject in composing a prayer for the use of students. It is now some forty years since I first heard this prayer used in domestic worship by Principal J. D. Forbes, one of the most

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distinguished men of our time as a teacher and investigator in the physical sciences. He did not seem to consider its doctrine as at all absurd; on the contrary, he read it with fervour, and spoke to me of it as amongst the grandest of its author's writings. Here are some of its words:

> This also we humbly beg, that human things may not prejudice such as are divine, neither that from the unlocking of the gates of sense, and the kindling of a greater natural light, anything of incredulity or intellectual night may arise in our minds towards divine mysteries; but rather that our minds thoroughly cleansed and purged from fancies and vanities, and yet subject and perfectly given up to the divine oracles, there may be given unto faith the things that are faith's.

It was certainly something more than the magnificent march of Bacon's English prose that led my scientific friend to pray earnestly this student's prayer. It was because he felt its power and truth. Yet the distinction it assumes is the very distinction which Mr. Huxley goes out of his way to hold up to disparagement and almost to ridicule. He says of this distinction: 'Men were called upon to be citizens of two states in which mutually unintelligible languages were spoken, and mutually incompatible laws were enforced, and they were to be equally loyal to both.' This absurd idea was for a long time, Mr. Huxley goes on to say, the basis of a hollow and conventional peace between Science and Theology. It was first broken by the invasions of Astronomy. I suppose he refers here to the old and well-worn stories of Copernicus and Galileo. Next, he says, there was another breach of the peace by the advance of Geology, which is said to have abolished all belief in what Mr. Huxley calls 'cataclysms.' This, I presume, refers to Mr. Huxley's old contentions against the possibility of a Deluge—a reference which comes at a most unhappy moment, when geologists of the highest and most orthodox standing, such as Professor Prestwich, have lately come to believe in some sudden and extensive submergence, of continental dimensions, in very recent times. Then came—says Mr. Huxley—in 1859, the publication of Darwin's *Origin of Species*, which has 'finally abolished' what he calls the Pax Baconiana. This, together with some other invasions which are already in sight, will soon, he says, so greatly enlarge the frontiers of the New World 'within which scientific method' is supreme that 'little will be left but cloudland for its rival.'

The meaning of this language seems unmistakable, in spite of the careful avoidance of definitions and the repeated use of ambiguous phrases. We know what the sciences are which, he says, have invaded the 'old world.' They are astronomy, geology, biology, mechanics, and the like. We know, too, the 'organon' or methods by which alone these sciences have been extended. Those methods have been the observation of physical facts—the investigation of physical forces and energies—by such tools and implements as the telescope, the

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microscope, the balance, the scalpel, the spectroscope, laboratory analysis, and the like. All of these instruments belong to one method —they are all concerned with the phenomena of matter. Mathematics, which may seem in one aspect to be concerned with a more abstract kind of truth, is itself tied and bound within the same area, not only of physical phenomena, but even of these only in so far as they are reducible to numerical relations and measurable units. Mr. Huxley's language, therefore, is that all kinds of knowledge to which these physical methods are inapplicable are to be relegated to 'cloud-land.' Of course, this result is simply nonsense. There is no need of arguing against it, considering that all the highest interests of human life—all moral and spiritual truths on which we habitually rely in our individual, social, and political conduct—are entirely inaccessible to this physical 'organon' or method. We must at once set aside any philosophy as irrational which denies to our knowledge of any kind of truth the title and rank of science. The habit, which has become common, of confining the word 'science' to the physical sciences is a habit incapable of defence. The essential meaning of the word is not, indeed, simply knowledge, but systematic knowledge —knowledge of things in their true relations with each other; and although the knowledge of anything in all its relations can never be grasped by a finite intelligence, yet it may be said with accuracy that all the highest relations of things which are accessible to us are relations which lie altogether outside the methods of physical investigation. Mathematical demonstration may stand high in respect to certitude, but it stands low in the scale of every other quality. There are a thousand things which are quite certain, but which have a narrow significance. Neither love, nor justice, nor mercy, nor benevolence, nor duty, nor obedience to legitimate authority, nor, indeed, any other moral or spiritual truth, is even approachable by the 'organon' which Mr. Huxley sets up as the coming ruler over all 'the regions into which the intellect can penetrate.' But spurious as every philosophy must be which sets up the purely physical sciences, and purely physical methods of investigation, as the highest branches and the surest methods of human knowledge, it is not less spurious in another point of view—and that is in its real disparagement even of those physical sciences which it misrepresents in the very act of bowing down to worship them. Those sciences are real steps in the 'great world's altar-stairs that slope through darkness up to God.' But this philosophy would convert them into mere idols 'which speak not through their throat,' but which are to be enshrined at the base of those altar-stairs, and are to bar all advance upwards to any worthier object of adoration or even of reverence. The fact is that in denying distinctions which Bacon saw, and which are indisputably true, Mr. Huxley is himself setting up a far deeper distinction between 'two worlds' than that which he ridicules and condemns. If he were to

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stand up for the unity of nature, and if under the word nature he were consistently to denote the whole universe of being so far as known or conceivable by us, I should go heartily with him. But in this paper he does not do so. On the contrary, he adopts and dwells upon a separation between what is called 'the natural' and the 'supernatural' which is, perhaps, the grossest of all the fallacies of modern philosophy. There is not one of the physical sciences which does not lead us up to some 'law' which is an adjustment—a combination of elementary forces, a thing invisible, a purely intellectual conception —concerning some established methods of work which are obviously pursued by a Mind other than our own. Mr. Huxley's own special science, biology, is the richest of all in this respect. Yet in the paper now under review he does his very best to bring it down from its high estate and to reduce its phenomena to a lower rank by what he calls 'natural'—that is, physical—explanations. He boasts that science has established the history of man's existence to have been due 'to the same process of evolution as other animals,' and consequently to have been 'essentially natural.' Of course it has—that is to say, if by the word natural we mean to include the sum of all existence, including all the phenomena and all the invisible realities of mind and will.

But what does Mr. Huxley mean by the implied antithesis between results which are 'essentially natural' and results which are essentially distinct from these, or, in other words, non-natural? Does he not manifestly here imply the existence of those two separate worlds which he ridicules and condemns in Bacon? For myself, I must declare that I do not believe in 'the supernatural'—that is to say, I do not believe in any existence outside of what we call Nature which is not also an existence inside of it, and even filling it to the very brim. And what is this 'doctrine of evolution' of which Mr. Huxley boasts so loudly as destructive in its effects on that older world which, in Bacon's words, recognised the existence of 'Divine mysteries'? What does Mr. Huxley mean by 'evolution'? He makes the remarkable declaration that he does not mean mere Darwinism—the mere theory of natural selection; so little does he mean this that he declares that if all the conceptions promulgated in the *Origin of Species* which are peculiarly Darwinian were swept away, the theory of evolution of animals and plants would not be in the slightest degree shaken. I entirely agree with this most significant declaration—that is to say, I agree that whatever truth there may be, and certainly is, in the 'doctrine of evolution,' when properly defined and understood, is entirely independent of, and separate from, the special theories of Lamarck, Darwin, and others, with which that true doctrine is habitually confounded. The only doctrine of evolution that is indisputably true is simply this—that throughout the universe of Nature, so far as we know it, everything happens through the opera-

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tion of definite causes, which are so managed as to co-operate in the production of certain definite results. This general doctrine has nothing whatever to do with theories about the ultimate nature of those causes, or about the conditions of time under which they have worked. It has nothing to do with the denial, for example, of so-called cataclysms in geology, or with the denial, in biology, of mind and will as the controlling agency in the direction of every kind of method. The wonderful steam-engines which are now common for the storage and distribution of energy in forms which economise to the very utmost all the materials employed—these are all strictly cases of evolution from the simplest steam-kettles which suggested the original idea. It is true each machine has been separately made, but only by a strict continuity of inventive thought developed according to natural laws governing the structure and operation of the human mind. The same doctrine of evolution is unquestionably applicable to the still more wonderful machines which are the abodes of life, and Mr. Huxley is right in a far higher sense than that which he intends when he says that the doctrine would remain wholly unaffected by the sweeping away of all the peculiarities of the Darwinian theory, or of every other theory similar in kind.

But, unfortunately, this is not the doctrine of evolution as it is understood, and quoted, and applauded by Mr. Huxley. That doctrine is simply and crudely this—that all life, as known to us in animal and vegetable organisms, has been evolved by the processes of ordinary generation, 'and no other.' Darwin's special theory was a step beyond, or below, this general assertion, because it specified a particular sequence of causes by which the results of ordinary generation were governed, which sequence was chiefly remarkable for its apparent reliance on pure fortuity in the development of new forms. This was the element in the theory which undoubtedly commended itself to many minds; because it was the element which got rid of what they call the supernatural, or, in other words, of the agency of mind in Nature. Mr. Huxley has never, I think, committed himself to this idea, except in so far as the emphasis he places on processes 'purely natural' seems to be inspired by that idea, and is certainly the favourite antithesis of those who have adopted it with passion. But Mr. Huxley has in this recent paper committed himself to the idea that life as we know it in Nature has never been produced by any other method than that of ordinary generation. Yet we may affirm with confidence that this idea cannot possibly be true. Ordinary generation is an organic process—a function of organic life for its own perpetuation when once begun. But it cannot have been its own origin. In this doctrine, therefore, Mr. Huxley seems to deny one of the most far-reaching conclusions of his own science, and the teaching of one of its very chiefest apostles. No one knows better than Mr. Huxley the doctrine of the great John Hunter—that life is

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the cause of organisation, and not its consequence. Somewhere, and somehow, and at some time, organic life was really originated in our world, and the first organism was not its own originating cause, but, contrariwise, life was the cause of the first organism. It cannot therefore be true that science affirms of organic life that it began by ordinary generation and 'no other way.' But if life must have been at least once introduced into our planet by some 'other way' than ordinary generation, evolution as conceived by Mr. Huxley ceases to hold the place which he assigns to it. If organic life has certainly been otherwise begun, we cannot possibly decide on any safe *à priori* grounds that the other—the originating—process, whatever it was, may not have been many times repeated since organisms were first created.

Nor is the present course of Nature without some processes quite familiar to us all, whereby, conceivably, the growth or development of created germs may have been so hastened as very speedily to establish new lines of freshly adapted structures in correspondence with the requirements of new outward conditions. What we call ordinary generation includes a great variety of processes, the simplest of which is mere budding, or 'spontaneous self-division.' The immense and wonderful changes which are accomplished in a few days in the hatching of eggs, and, above all, in the metamorphosis of the lower forms of life, are at least a warning against every rash dogmatism on the necessary slowness with which all evolutionary processes are supposed to be inherently connected. If these really miraculous transformations were less familiar—so rapid and yet so enormous in the changes they effect—if we saw the results alone without seeing the stages also, it is pleasant to imagine how certain philosophers would have argued on the long ages which must have elapsed in the evolution of a grub into a fly, or of a caterpillar into a butterfly. As it is, we are blind to the wonder, and still blinder to its lessons. We forget this visible proof of the resources of Nature, and how it ought to impress us with the possibility of a most rapid work being done in the progress of creation.

But although the first beginnings of organic life must have certainly been due to some other process than that by which it has been since perpetuated, this is not the only certainty, nor is it the nearest to us, that condemns Mr. Huxley's theory of two worlds—one 'essentially natural,' and the other essentially something else, which is usually called the supernatural. The first beginnings of life can hardly be said to be within the grasp of biology at all; but it is happily true that a thousand facts which are not only well within its grasp, but are the special characteristic of all its results, are facts which belong distinctively to what is called the supernatural—that is to say, to combinations of matter and its energies under the direct control of mind. It is significant to observe that even in the physical

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sciences some observers are finding themselves compelled to use the word supernatural in this accurate and restricted sense—as simply equivalent to super-physical. Astronomers in describing the so-called 'canals' visible in the planet Mars are now arguing that they are supernatural,[1] because they do not seem to be due to purely physical causes, but to the work of mind—of some intelligent beings controlling physical agencies for some purpose or design. No other science is so rich and so direct in the evidence it affords of this kind of guidance and control as the science of biology. And it is curious to observe that the Darwinian theory of evolution, and all other theories involving the same general idea, do necessarily in themselves involve the idea of the subordination of physical laws to the previsions and will of mind. For if it be true that all growth and changes in organs have taken place slowly, and by very gradual steps, then it follows of necessity that they must have begun, not in actual use, but in foreseen and fore-ordained preparations for it. And this, of course, is exactly what we do see in every individual birth, and what we probably would have seen if we had witnessed the birth of a new species. More and more distinctly recent discoveries, if they have strengthened the suggestion that ordinary generation has been at least one instrument largely employed, prove also that it has been so employed, not to produce fortuitous variations in all possible directions, but to produce variations in definite lines of progress towards higher and more specially adapted forms.

So far as the Darwinian hypothesis did really involve, or rest upon, the notion of fortuity in variation, and of an *ex post facto* selection from among such varieties by means of use, the theory appears now to have been generally abandoned. That the Darwinian idea of natural selection 'leaves many phenomena unexplained' is confessed by Mr. Huxley himself; whilst the fuller and truer confession would be that it explains nothing at all so far as the real origin of anything is concerned. It fixes on ordinary generation as the sole factor in results which that agency cannot possibly have begun, and in which it can never have been more than a subordinate, although a prevalent, agency ever since. That new organs have been evolved by the help of ordinary generation no man can doubt. But this does not in the least degree conflict with the certainty that all evolution has been of a mental, and not of a purely physical, kind. The very word organ implies the fitting of an apparatus to an appropriate function; and when any organic structure begins before its actual use was possible, we must recognise the super-physical, usually called the supernatural, element as supreme. A few years ago I cited—in reply to a challenge to specify a case—the evolution of the electric organs in certain fish, as examples of an organic structure being built up for a very peculiar

[1] *Nature*, November 8, 1894, p. 41.

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function, through stages of embryonic and anticipatory growth, for a use which lay in a still distant future. The late Dr. Romanes admitted the truth of this example, but pleaded that it was a solitary case in Nature. If it were common, he said, he would be obliged to give up the Darwinian theory. But Nature has no solitary cases—none which are anything more than some unusually distinct exhibition of natural laws which are generally less conspicuously displayed. The truth is that what science has discovered and proved in respect to the electric organs of a few fishes is the universal law which gives us the true origin and evolution of every structure which we call an organ. —that is to say, they are none of them the cause of their own functions, nor the effect of them, but all of them apparatuses made beforehand for the performance of those functions by that agency which alone can foresee, and fore-ordain, and shape.

If there be really two separate worlds in the imagination of any man—one of them 'essentially natural,' and another of them 'essentially supernatural'—it is assuredly the world of mere physical causation which is being invaded and subdued by that 'quite other' world of intellectual agencies, which we know better than we know any other—the agencies of mental purpose and controlling will. And as there is no science in which this truth is so conspicuous as in the science of biology, so there is no writer with whom I am acquainted whose language is so permeated with teleological conceptions as that of Mr. Huxley when he writes as an expert in the interpretation of organic structures. It is only when he writes as a philosopher that he falls into this strain of contempt for all explanations which are not mechanical, or, as he calls them with utter ambiguity, 'essentially natural.' Happily he reverts to, or, as some may think, he relapses into, the language of true science when he takes himself as a subject for dissection, and tells us what he has found in reflecting on the source and cause of that attraction which biology has exerted over him, and has determined his own distinguished career in exploring its truly 'Divine mysteries.' Here is his own intensely teleological language in the recent preface to his *Collected Essays*:

> The only part of my professional course which really and deeply interested me was physiology, which is the mechanical engineering of living machines; and notwithstanding that natural science has been my proper business, I am afraid there is very little of the genuine naturalist in me. I never collected anything, and species work was always a burden to me; what I cared for was the architectural and engineering part of the business, the working out the wonderful unity of plan in the thousands and thousands of diverse living constructions, and the modifications of similar apparatuses to serve diverse ends.[2]

[2] 'Methods and Results,' Autobiography, p. 7. *Collected Essays*, vol. i.

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This is, indeed, a great confession. It is admirable teaching and, being so, it is thoroughly Baconian. It is even more definit than Bacon's nobler prayer, because Mr. Huxley describes and specifies more in detail than Bacon does, the distinctive characteristics and scope of the two provinces of thought to which that prayer refers The distinction—the contrast—which Mr. Huxley draws between 'natural science'—which, he tells us, was 'his proper business, but was nevertheless always a burden to him'—and that which he really 'cared for';—the description he gives of the 'genuine naturalist's work' as the mere 'collecting' of things, and 'species work'—corresponds closely with what Bacon refers to as 'the unlocking of the gates of sense,' and the 'kindling of a greater natural light'; whilst the precise and graphic description which Mr. Huxley gives, on the other hand, of those mental elements in biology which speak to him of 'engineering' skill and knowledge; of 'architectural' design in the building of the House of Life; of 'the working out of a wonderful unity of plan' in innumerable living things, all of which are recognised as 'constructions,' and modifications of 'apparatuses' with a view 'to serve diverse ends'—all this is strictly after the manner rather of Paley than of Bacon, and refers to a province of thought and to a class of conceptions strictly cognate with those to which Bacon refers as 'Divine mysteries.' The apprehension of truth concerning those invisible realities, Mr. Huxley here treats as a higher and nobler quest than the mere ticketing and assortment of physiological details. The further idea, that this lower work may possibly so satisfy some minds as to impede their ascent to the higher department of truth, is an idea so inseparable from all we know of the many intellectual impediments to knowledge of this kind that Mr. Huxley's forcible description of the upper region in which he has really lived does indeed give a striking emphasis to Bacon's doctrine that there is a great danger of some irrational 'incredulity' and some dark 'intellectual night' arising in our minds.

It is a comfort to find Mr. Huxley writing in such a strain as this—when he is not thinking of controversy, nor engaged in bowing down to that modern fetish, the word 'evolution,' but when he is giving us the result of a truthful self-dissection, and when he is exercising that separate organon, or method, which is indeed 'quite other' than those which are competent to deal with the physical sciences. His language in this passage, however much it may conflict with, at least, the apparent sense of his philosophical essays, is perfectly consistent with his language as an expert. That language—let it be repeated—has always been teleological in a very high degree; and although he has somewhere said that he has always struggled against the use of such language, he has found it impossible to avoid it. And why? Simply because Nature, and especially

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biology, is full to overflowing of what men foolishly call the supernatural, and because it is simply impossible to describe her phenomena truthfully without using the language of conceptions which cannot be apprehended by the new physical 'organon,' but only by an organon as old as the spirit, and the intelligence, and the intuitions of mankind.

ARGYLL.

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THE CRY AGAINST HOME WORK

On all sides nowadays home work is being unsparingly denounc
The practice of giving women work to do in their own homes
spoken of as the 'Curse of Out Work.' Even in the country, we a
assured, the home industry devours the home.

'When an industry enters a home,' says one, 'the pri
paid for it at the outset is generally the sacrifice of the home itsel
An amended Factory Act should, we are told, protect homes again
the desolating incursion of industries into them, and 'aim a blow
the infamous system of the domestic workshop.'[1]

Six years ago Mrs. Sidney Webb did not hesitate to hint that t
abolition of home work was desirable, since 'it is the home worke
who drag down the standard of life.' To-day even that careful i
vestigator of industrial problems, Mr. Charles Booth, is found ass
ciating himself with similar sentiments, and advocating before t
Royal Commission on Labour such legislative action as shall dimini
the amount of home work.

In face of all this antagonism to home work it becomes mo
necessary that the public should be shown how far the alleged dra
backs to the system are real, and how far, when real, they are co
pensated for by any undoubted advantages.

What leads to Home Work

Taking industrial life as it goes on in the nineteenth centur
there are many reasons—some of them good—why work is done
the home rather than on premises provided by the employer.

To begin with, much home work is plainly conditioned by t
very nature of things. Demand for many classes of goods is pe
versely fluctuating, and constantly necessitates a larger number
workers than can find accommodation in the workrooms in which t
normally sufficient supply of goods is turned out. On such occasion
if the Factory Act did not forbid it, women would work overtime li
the men; but as this is mostly illegal, and even if legalised wou

[1] Domestic workshops being private rooms in which work is carried on with reg
larity, but in which the only persons employed are members of the same fami
dwelling there.—*Final Report of the Royal Commission on Labour*, p. 20.

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often fail to meet the exigencies of the case, the home worker is called into requisition. Very gladly does she respond to the appeal, and is usually so reluctant to relinquish such a welcome means of increasing the family income that the practice of giving work out is persisted in, even when the state of the market which led to its being offered has wholly changed.

The Interests of the Employed

For the fact is that home work does not spring into existence merely or even chiefly through the cupidity of the employer and the greed of the slum landlord.

It is the needs, tastes, and life circumstances of the women who constitute the vast bulk of home workers which give permanence and vitality to the practice of home work.

The desire of employers to lessen cost of production by saving the expense of fire, gas, and workshop accommodation is, of course, accountable for some amount of home work. But at the same time, the interests of employers in the direction of economy constantly coincide with the interests of the workers themselves in the direction of convenience and general advantage.[2]

There are indisputably thousands of women whose best welfare, as understood by themselves and by all who put themselves at their point of view, dictates that they should work in their homes rather than in workshops and factories.

I am not alluding only to widows, though the wisdom of keeping such amidst their children is obvious. Reference to the widowed workers, of whom there are over twenty thousand in East London alone, is apt nowadays to be dismissed with the flippant remark, 'Oh, we know all about that "circus-show"—she is always being trotted out'—the ignoble scoffer forgetting apparently that it is the frequency with which Death supplies material for the reference which makes the reference so recurrent. I am not thinking either of the crippled, the sickly, or the old, to whom going out in all weathers is manifestly inconvenient and dangerous, and who, moreover, would find it very difficult to get taken on inside.[3]

[2] In a less degree this statement is true of male home workers. 'The journeyman at his work in his own house felt more independent, as having full control over himself, the general conditions of his toil, and his hours of labour, limited only by the time fixed for the delivery of his work. He had also the advantage of being able to take work from several employers, or even from special customers on his own account.'—*Report to the Board of Trade on the Sweating System at the East End of London*, by Mr. Burnett.

[3] Said an old woman, a maker of crape flowers, to me one day, 'If I was to go askin' for work at the warehouse they wouldn't give it to me, they'd say, "You're no good, you're too old!" But I know how to do these 'ere flowers better nor the young uns. They can't do 'em as I does. It's the twist I gives 'em.' And here, moistening

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The women whose case I would lay stress upon are the industrial wives—those women whose homes would suffer considerably by their absence did they go out to work, and who are yet forced to take part in some form or other of wage-earning industry—either invariably, because their husbands' wages are inadequate for the support of the family, or occasionally, because their husbands are out of work, sick, or on strike.

Let no one imagine that such women are only a small section of the large class of working-men's wives. The number of women who habitually contribute to family maintenance is far larger than is realised by the general public.[4]

Mr. Mann to the contrary notwithstanding, the *family*, and *not* the *husband*, is the unit of earning power amidst the working classes.

This is not the less true because no census returns can reduce to figures the extent to which women are co-earners with their husbands. But though much of their earning is earning disguised, and in the past was still more so, every one with any real knowledge of the lives of the masses is aware that it goes on, and needs to go on.

It is not merely in the nineteenth century that the working-man's wife is forced to supplement her husband's earnings. From the very beginnings of civilised life she has had to bear her share in family maintenance, and to do so in other ways than by merely cleaning rooms, rearing children, and preparing meals.[5]

Economists and statesmen have always realised this truth, but

her thumb on her under lip, she deftly turned a piece of black sarsenet round a lump of grey wool and showed me the result.

[4] In a recent United States Report on the Cost of Production, Dr. E. Gould gives the following result of an inquiry which covered 2,490 families in the United States and 770 in Europe:—

Proportion of Native-born Families entirely maintained by Earnings of Husband.

In America	63·7	In Germany	40·9
Average in Europe	48·6	In Belgium	37·3
In Great Britain	51·4	In France	27·3

[5] 'Cette société idéale où l'homme pourrait suffire aux besoins de la famille, et où la femme n'aurait qu'à vaquer aux soins de la maison et à l'éducation des enfants, n'a nulle part existé dans le passé.'—Leroy Beaulieu, *Le Travail des Femmes au XIXme Siècle*, p. 23.

'For the woman of the hand-working classes there has never been any question of whether she should contribute to the labour of the community or not.'—Karl Pearson, 'Women and Labour,' *Fortnightly Review*, May 1894. Cf. article by present writer in the *Economic Journal*, March 1894.

Will Carleton, in one of his best known 'Farm Ballads,' shows more than a glimmering of this truth when he makes the old farmer say:

> 'Write on the paper, lawyer—the very first paragraph,
> That of all the farm and live stock, that she shall have her half,
> For she has helped to earn it through many a weary day,
> And it's nothing more than justice, that Betsy has her pay.'

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the general public has glozed it over with such phrases as domestic duties, looking after the home, helping the husband. That a great many domestic duties, that much of the looking after the home, and nearly all helping the husband are as much taking part in productive industry as though a woman 'finished' trousers, or worked in a mill, has not been grasped, or, any way, has seldom been acted upon. If it had been, the suggestion sometimes made that a woman should be given a lien on her husband's earnings as an equivalent for the domestic duties she performs would not provoke the strong criticism it does,[6] nor would we find in Census after Census the industrial wives included in the unoccupied class.

Little by little the domestic duties of the married woman have become the daily toil of the factory hand, so that now, when the house-mother engages at home in tasks similar to those of the factory hand, she is none the less performing her domestic duties. Moreover, she is showing the monetary value of these duties and revealing the proportion her contribution to family maintenance bears to her husband's. This is one reason why wage-earning on the part of wives is so cordially detested by a large majority of working-class husbands.

It is a domestic duty to make clothes for oneself and one's children, but if by making clothes for other people and their children —*e.g.* babies' hoods or ladies' blouses—a woman can earn enough with which to purchase ready-made suits for her boys, frocks and pinafores for her girls, and gowns for herself, she is equally performing a domestic duty.

The Elasticity of Hours in Home Work

So long as married women and widows *have to* work for family maintenance, it stands to reason that they will as far as possible consult their own convenience in their methods of work. For them, as for us all, the aim is to do labour in the way that will bring in the largest possible return and involve the least physical wear and tear.

Now, large numbers of women seem to think that they realise these ends best when they work in their own homes. They will tell you (1) *that this involves less strain and rush, and* (2) *that it pays them best.*

As regards the less strain, this is chiefly due to the greater

[6] Mr. Hobson, M.A., lecturing at South Place Chapel, Finsbury, January 21st, 1894, seemed to think that women who clamour to have housekeeping recognised as work for which payment should be made take a low estimate of the highest work of the world, the building up of family life. But it is an open question whether there is anything more degrading in working for a fixed sum than for a variable payment in kind, which is clearly what every woman does who marries for a home.

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elasticity of hours permitted in home work. Even were there no clauses in the Factory Acts prescribing that women's work in factories should go on within stated limits of time, and fixing the hours at which their meals must be taken, the conditions of employment outside the home would still exact a greater regularity of hours than would suit the needs of the married.

The circumstances of most women's lives do not lend themselves to their work being put into any particular ten of the twenty-four hours. Their moment for beginning and their moment for ending work are both determined by something outside the work altogether —by all the multitudinous claims of husband, children, and other dependents upon their services.

Look only at the extreme variability in women's hours of starting work which springs out of varying meal hours.[7] 'I'm always up to cook him summat 'ot for his supper,' said the wife of a night cabman to me one day. As her husband never returned before 2 or 3 A.M., it is clear her hour of rising would be late, and that work in her case (she was a tailoress) could not well begin before ten.

In the laundry trade, where there is a larger proportion of married and widowed women than in almost any other calling, the need of letting the married woman start later than the single woman is practically recognised, for in many laundries it is the rule for the married women to come in an hour after the single. This concession has been wrung from the employer by the persistence of the married women in coming late. Where the concession is not made, complaints are constant that the women will not come to time. Amongst charwomen, too, as every housekeeper knows, the practice of not arriving before nine is a growing one.

It may be urged that the greater elasticity of hours permitted by home work is not the advantage it appears, that freedom to do work any time of the day or night may resolve itself into compulsion to sit at work all day and half the night, and that maternal and household cares may thus be as much neglected by mothers who work at home as by mothers who leave their homes.

It would be idle to say there is nothing in this view of the question. Vast numbers of home workers do indeed toil very long hours, and many complain of the pressure put upon them by their employers. One woman assured me that if her work did not go in to time, she would receive a telegram asking for it, and the cost of the same would be deducted from her week's earnings. Another, a

[7] The wife of a railway *employé* who goes to work at 4.30 A.M. every morning has to get a supper-tea ready for him at 3 P.M. The meals of postmen have to be taken at every conceivable hour. Thus, a provincial postman has cocoa and bread and butter at five in the morning—making the cocoa himself over a spirit lamp. At nine he comes in to breakfast of bacon and eggs, which his mother cooks for him, goes out at twelve, and comes back at three, when he has his dinner. The wives of many of the men employed in London gas-works regularly take their meals to them.

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tailoress, said that when a mourning order came in she would get a postcard the last thing telling her to fetch the work at nine next morning, and would be expected to get it done by nine the following day. Such an order might comprise three pairs of trousers for a father and two sons, and she would sometimes sit up all night. A third woman, telling me that on account of failing health she meant to give up her work, said that her employer was not content for her to do as much work as she could manage by giving a few hours a day to it, but was always posting her material one day and expecting the work done the next morning.

On the whole, though, long hours of work are generally due not to anything in methods of home work, but to workers being necessitous. Thus, the woman just referred to, had a half-blind husband and four children to keep, and she knew that if her employer refused to complete the order in the time desired by the customers, the work would go elsewhere. Now, so long as women are willing to sit up all night to finish work because it is the first job they have had that week and their children want food, so long will the hardship of having on occasions to work when they need to rest be as nothing to the hardship of having to sit idle when they need to work.

If proof were wanting that work in the home will always be preferred by hosts of women to work outside the home, it would be furnished by the recent failure of a well-intentioned scheme set on foot by Mr. W. H. Wilkins. Impressed with the evil of work going on in living and even sleeping rooms, he and the Rev. W. Davis opened lately a Parochial Out-workers' Room in Bethnal Green, and urged home workers to profit by its superior warmth, light, and air. Doubting the utility of the scheme, I wrote to Mr. Davis to inquire into its results. The following was his answer:

> Our out-workers' room was closed last Saturday. It was so ill attended that I did not feel justified in continuing it. A few women came, but very few. The experiment has once again proved the truth of what we so often feel—viz. that of all people, poor women are the most difficult to help, inasmuch as they will not play up to help themselves.

But clearly, the well-meant scheme did not supply a need. The need actually felt is one that is perfectly met by women working in their own homes. Could they leave these for an out-workers' room, they could equally leave them for workshops and factories, and it is certain would prefer this last alternative. They do not wish to leave their homes, not only because they can work there for longer and other hours than those possible in factories, but for the further reason that under the system of working at home they get opportunities for contemporaneous money-making in various directions.

Therefore, even if it were true, as is so often alleged, that the rates

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of pay under such circumstances are lower than those obtaining in factories, it would yet be to their interests to work in their own homes.

Is Home Work Badly Paid?

But this brings us to the whole question of payment for home work, and to the consideration of the problem whether home work is badly paid, or at least worse paid than similar work done in factories.

Now, whether a woman is well paid or not depends, of course, on the amount of her wages, the length of her hours, the intensity of her toil during those hours, the healthy or unhealthy nature of her occupation, and the way in which the method of her work suits the circumstances of her life—the way, for instance, in which it permits of additional forms of money-making or leads to something better.

It is because a woman's industrial position does not get truly indicated by a mere bald statement about wages that we should receive all such statements with caution. Accurate enough in themselves, they are too often misleading and sensational in their implications, and newspapers which circulate them in ways calculated to give form and substance to the false implications are much to be condemned.

Illusory Cases of Low Pay

Too often the elementary precaution of discriminating between low rates of pay and small total earnings is disregarded.

Only a little while back a considerable section of the Press was busy with the case of a woman who had stated in court that she was paid a penny apiece for 'making' fashionable mantles. Sensational headings on posters met one's eye at every turn. 'Five-guinea mantles for one penny,' or, more concisely, 'Penny mantles!'—a row of horrified exclamation-marks filling up the line and suggesting a world of condemnation. Comment on the supposed iniquity of the middleman and on the opportunities which home work affords of grinding the faces of the poor were numerous and vigorous.

Then the representative of an enterprising paper interviewed the woman herself, when it came out that what she was paid a penny for was machining the back, shoulder seams, and frills of those capes which were in vogue in 1892. On her own showing she could machine forty and fifty of these capes a day, and had sometimes earned 30*s.* a week. The employer, moreover, on being also interviewed, asserted that for the past month or so she had never earned less than from 22*s.* to 29*s.* a week. These statements, if true, effectually disposed of the charge of starvation wages.

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Low Wages and Low Degree of Skill

Putting aside such illusory cases of low wages as these, we certainly find innumerable instances where the total earnings at a given home industry are low in the extreme. But we find, too, that often the labour is really not *worth* more than is paid for it.

The fact that a good deal of work goes on to very little pay is not in itself a proof that there is sweating on the one side or underselling on the other. Every depth of inefficiency is reached by some home workers, and every economic disadvantage weighs upon them. Sometimes a dying trade, as we find with the women working at hand-wrought nails in the Black Country, at straw-plaiting in Bedfordshire, or at hand-sewn gloving in the Western Counties; sometimes husbands irregularly employed, such as the casual labourers whose wives make coarse shirts for 1½*d.* an hour; sometimes husbands regularly employed but poorly paid, like the agricultural labourers of Essex, whose wives are glad to finish trousers for a few shillings a week.

All such economic disadvantages mean scanty nourishment and no apprenticeship to any profitable trade for the girls of the family, and consequently poor stamina and inability to work well or quickly.

Cases where Lower Pay goes with Greater Gain

Finally, we come to cases where work is undeniably paid at very low rates. Such work, arduous in its nature and requiring skill, may bring in less than is got for some other kind of work involving no greater strain and requiring no greater skill, and differing only in the fact that it cannot be carried on in the home.

Yet, even so, we must not jump to the conclusion that the hardness of the home-worker's lot is in exact proportion to the smallness of her pay.

The smaller sum earned by her in her home may really place her in as good a pecuniary position as if she earned a larger sum in the factory.

As I have already pointed out,[8] the unequal pay is, to her, equivalent gain, because of the opportunities she has in her home of making money in other directions. She can take in a 'single man' lodger, 'mind' a neighbour's baby, or let a couple of rooms, and yet work at some trade such as bag or box making, button-holing, and the like.

Say she earns only 4*s.* to 5*s.* 6*d.* by her trade, makes a couple of shillings out of her lodger, and is paid 3*s.* a week for the neighbour's baby, is she not every whit as well off as the woman who earns 10*s.* in a factory, but is not able to 'do for a lodger,' and has to pay 3*s.* for having her baby minded? 'I tried working inside, but it worn't

[8] In a paper read before Section F of the British Association, 1893.

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no good,' said an East End working woman to me; 'your place ain't your own when you are out of it all day.' This woman, when I last saw her, took in one lodger, minded two babies, and worked at putting wire and lace goffering round fancy straw hats. 'Why don't I work inside?' said another woman (she had charge of a widowed brother's child and kept house for a younger brother): 'well, if I did, I should have to put out the washing and pay some one to look after the boy.'

Do Home Workers Undersell the Inside (Factory) Hands?

While it is evident that home work is advantageous to the women carrying it on, the question arises, Is it not positively disadvantageous to those other women with whose work in factories and workshops it competes?

Unquestionably the married woman, with her varied resources for making something here, and something there, and a husband in good work, can afford to accept lower pay than the isolated single woman wholly dependent on her one trade for her living. She *can* drag down the level of pay, but the question is, *does* she?[9] Miss Collet says No, and my experience fully confirms hers. It is the desperate eagerness of the necessitous women with young children, aged parents, or sick husbands, who drag down wages. It is the unskilled worker with nothing to fall back upon, trying to support herself out of a manufacturing process so simple that any nimble-fingered child can pick it up, who competes most fiercely for work and is soonest forced into accepting an abatement.

'I never have worked for no cutting-down price, nor ever will,' I have been assured over and over again by many an independent outspoken working-man's wife. 'I ain't got no call to work, and as long as my old man can keep me, I don't intend to work for nothink, and 6*d.* a dozen for these 'ere *is* nothink, me findin' my own thread.'[10]

The charge, then, that the married women with husbands to help keep them bring down wages by direct underselling is not substantiated by fact. The charge that the whole body of home workers, married and single, brings down the level of pay for inside workers is more difficult to disprove.

[9] The evidence collected by the Lady Labour Commissioners brings out very clearly—(1) the prevalent belief that married women do undersell, (2) that no evidence of such a practice is forthcoming.

[10] The testimony of the manager of a firm of mantle-makers given by one of the Lady Assistant Commissioners is strikingly corroborative. 'He never employed people who only wanted to add to their income—he preferred people who wanted to earn good wages. The "pocket money" people were the most tiresome of all; they always considered themselves unfairly and impolitely treated by the forewomen, and were sure that their work was beautiful.'

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It is alleged that home workers as a class receive less than inside workers, that even when ostensibly paid at the same rates, and kept equally supplied with work, this is not the same thing, because they provide their cotton, silk, find sewing-machine, paste, glue, shears, or some one or more of the essentials for work.

When it is objected that in some firms the inside workers are subjected to deductions for power, thread, needles, &c., with the avowed object of equalising the rates of pay to indoor and outdoor workers, and that the rent of the home—having equally to be paid whether work goes on in it or not—cannot fairly be deemed a charge on the worker, the ground is shifted. It is, then, contended that even if home workers abstained from all direct or indirect underselling, and even if they were recouped for all out-of-pocket expenditure, their mere presence in the labour market, increasing as it does the already large number of competitors for whatever work is open to women, would reduce wages. If the actual rate did not fall, the total earnings of women would still be diminished. Each woman would get a smaller share of the work to be done than if all available work were distributed amongst a number made less by the withdrawal of wage-earning wives.

To those who imagine the work of the world is a fixed quantity, and that additional workers never create—as, of course, they do—an additional fund from which their remuneration can be derived, this sounds plausible enough. But even they must perceive that withdrawing married women from the labour market in the sense of forbidding them to work for wages inside or outside the home does not necessarily mean withdrawing them from competition with labour in the sense of making them sit with hands folded. Even they can conceive that if industrial wives are denied money-*making* work, the money-*saving* work they will at once attempt will equally leave less work to be done by other women—and even by men.

The prohibition of wage-earning for married workers would not relegate them to idleness or even to work hitherto left undone.

Partially maintained wives—and most working-class wives, I repeat, are only partially maintained—have to provide the rest of their maintenance, and if they may not *make* money, they simply have to *save* money.

The economic result of the two processes is almost identical.[11]

This truth, indeed, is recognised at times by the working men themselves when they allege that there is only fourpence a day difference between the woman who goes out to work and the woman who stays at home, and the woman who stays at home gets it.

[11] 'You make any money?' he inquired.

She glanced at him quickly, but there was not any irony in tone or expression, it was accidental.

'Yes—by saving. I made this dress, I trimmed this hat, I tatted this lace.'—*Battle in Crackerdom.*

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Identity of the Money-saving and the Money-making Process

But to demonstrate clearly that the money-*saving* process is economically similar, though not economically superior, to the money-*making* process, we have only to realise some of the domestic arrangements in a working-class family. Constantly we find many of the women's duties of washing, cleaning, and cooking performed for her by some old woman, either her own or her husband's mother, who, past more lucrative work, earns at least part of her keep in this fashion, supplementing it further by doing odd jobs for strangers of the same class. In the meanwhile, the wife, left free to work at a trade for several hours in the day, earns more than will cover the cost of the old woman's board and lodging.

Sometimes, instead of an old mother, a daughter, who would otherwise be put to work outside the home, is kept at home, where under the house-mother's supervision she can look after the last new baby. Where the mother happens to be a skilled workwoman, capable of earning from 12*s.* to 15*s.* a week, and the girl has no special skill or aptitude, the wisdom of such an arrangement is obvious. The average untrained girl of fifteen earns at most 7*s.*, but more generally 5*s.*, a week. It is distinctly better from the point of view of the whole family to do without the girl's 5*s.* and permit the mother to earn the larger sum.

Where neither mother, daughters, nor aged relations are available, poorer neighbours living in the same house or close by are extensively utilised. Particularly are they called in to do the washing.

I was struck, when recently conducting an investigation into laundry work, by the number of working-class women, both married and single, who put out their washing.[12] In one instance the customers of a shop laundry were found to be almost exclusively tailoresses and boot-closers. It paid them better in the season to be at some expense for their washing than to take half a day from their trade in order to do it for themselves.

Not only have many working-men's wives ceased to do their washing, they have also lost the habit of making their own and their children's clothes. Nowadays they either buy cheap ready-made things or still cheaper second-hand garments; philanthropy having encouraged this new departure by the extensive 'Jumble Sales' it organises in every parish.

[12] *Report of an Inquiry into the Condition of Women's Work in Laundries conducted for the Women's Industrial Defence Committee*, by Ada Heather-Bigg, Helen Ogle Moore, and Jean Greive.

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Abolition of Home Work would not mean Withdrawal of Workers from the Labour Market

Say now that home work could be abolished,[13] the net result would be this: *There would be no withdrawal of workers from the labour market, there would simply be a change in the class of workers seeking employment in its lowest ranks.*

Certain competitors in the higher grades of labour would be withdrawn, and the whole host of doorstep-cleaners, washerwomen, odd job women, aged mothers and other dependents would be forced into still lower depths of the miserable struggle for existence. The whilom tailoresses, boot-closers, &c., would now do their own washing, make their own clothes, scrub their own flights of steps, look after their own babies, and—which is a point to be carefully borne in mind—*would have less money to expend than heretofore*; while the class which had hitherto performed these offices would wage a hopeless fight with competition amongst themselves, made fiercer by the falling off in the demand for their services. For it needs not to be said that few of this last class would be able to do the work of the displaced tailoresses, boot-closers, dressmakers, &c., though some might make their way into those branches of the trade which exacted the minimum of skill. The effect, indeed, upon their earning power would be precisely the same as though there had been a large influx of workers into their ranks. While, as to the factory and workshop hands in the tailoring and other trades in which home work had before prevailed but was now abolished, they would not gain, as it is often declared they would. The gain to them in any rise of wages consequent upon restriction of their numbers would be qualified by the following circumstances:—

1. The demand for all objects of general consumption produced by them diminishing in consequence of the lessened means of the home workers; this would mean a diminished need for workers to produce such goods.

2. The support of their old, sickly, and temporarily unfortunate would fall more heavily upon them than it had hitherto done. The abolition of home work having made it more difficult for these semi-dependent persons to eke out existence by rendering services to the home workers, their claim on their belongings would be correspondingly increased.

[13] This is an aim openly avowed by many of those who urge restrictions being put upon home work. 'You miss the whole point of the case,' said Miss Tuckwell, of the Women's Trade Union League, in an interview detailed in the *Daily Graphic* on the 12th of July, 1894. 'Our ultimate aim is to get the work out of the home altogether. If the giver out of work found himself so widely and deeply responsible he would cease to give out work.'

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HOME WORK, ALLEGED TO BE DETRIMENTAL TO THE COMMUNITY

Careful investigation, then, results in showing that home work is advantageous to the worker herself, and harmless to the outside worker with whose toil in factories hers competes. But even so evils to the community generally are declared to follow from home work. To its account are attributed—

1. Neglect of children and consequent high rate of infant mortality.
2. Loss of comfort in homes.
3. Creation of a lazy, loafing manhood.
4. Spread of infectious disease.

This last is the gravest of all the charges brought against home work: first, because in the absence of precautions, the home system of manufacture would undoubtedly be a potent means of communicating disease; second, because the slightest suggestion of a danger of the kind calls up all our selfish fears to exaggerate its extent.

From the hysterical cries constantly raised, few people would imagine that existing law as embodied in the Public Health Act, the Notification of Infectious Disease Act, &c., provides as elaborate and adequate a series of safeguards against the spread of disease in this particular fashion as any that legislation could devise.

If it be true that all these admirable laws get evaded, there is small justification for supposing that laws prohibiting or regulating home work would stand any better chance of being enforced.[14]

The danger, then, of disease being disseminated through work done in houses is grossly exaggerated; while if we consider this danger not absolutely but relatively, we see that it is vastly less than other risks we run.

Amongst agencies for spreading disease must be reckoned visits of our servants to their homes, homes which are just such places as are accused of being centres of infection; seats in public parks, which rest the wearied limbs of the unclean tramp one moment and are clambered over by the child of the wealthy classes the next; money, which changes hands perpetually, so that sixpence clutched in the early morning in the bare palm of some little child sent out to buy a

[14] The fact of work going on in a home is far more easily concealed than is the fact of illness. In the last case a natural desire for medical aid, and a natural fear of losing those dear to one, involve recourse to the doctor, when notification of the disease to the proper authorities follows, and measures for promptly disinfecting work and workers are taken. And this is to be remembered. It is precisely where the danger to the community would be greatest that the chance of evasion is slightest. The stock instance used to scare the public with is the case of a mother with several children down with fever, whom she covers up at night with the garments on which she has worked all day. But where there are many children some at least will be of school age, and the School Board Visitor is swift to find out what illness keeps any of them from school.

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skein of silk for its tailoring mother will glide at noon from the dainty finger tips of a patrician dame into the open grasp of a carefully guarded son and heir clamorous for a new toy.

Nor can the charwoman be forgotten, who comes weekly into many modest households, periodically into most, and whose well-worn dress may equally have lain over the shivering limbs of a child sick with fever. In fact, this is a far more likely contingency than that goods upon which a woman is working should be utilised in this fashion. The dread of crumpling or soiling these, and being fined or deprived of future employment in consequence, would sufficiently deter her from making bedclothes of her work.

When we consider the vast amount of possible risk we are exposed to and escape, we may well regard all sensational details about this or that specific danger with level-headed equanimity. If, on the one hand, we are appalled by hearing a medical expert declare that 'the dust, filth, and dirt accumulated in sweating dens contain the germs of prevailing infectious diseases,' and that 'all clothing manufactured in these shops may transmit such germs to persons who handle or wear it,' we ought to be equally appalled when another medical man assures us that the sweepings of railway carriages reveal similarly germs of diphtheria and tuberculosis.

It is clear that, if all the dangers to health which alarmists say accompany home work did indeed accompany it, we ought to be able as constantly to trace outbreaks of diseases to the conditions under which goods are manufactured as diphtheria to the milk supply and typhoid fever to a drain leakage.

Above all, the 'takers in' of work, who must have the very complete handling of goods when they first leave the workers' homes, would have to be constantly on the sick list.

A Working Wife—a Lazy Husband

The remaining indictments can be dealt with briefly. Nothing is commoner than to be assured that a working wife makes a lazy husband. But this is putting the horse at the tail of the cart with a vengeance. As long as there are self-indulgent drunkards or idle, fibreless men, in the world, the women who have the misfortune to be mated to them will need to earn a living. Were all opportunities of doing so easily in their homes taken from them, and were all employment of married women in factories prohibited, the man's moral character would suffer no transformation.[15] There would still be charing, the streets, crime, and promiscuous charity, to which women could be driven by the sight of their starving children.

[15] 'I could bring many instances myself where, whether women work or not, the men will not work, and if they were all clemmed they wouldn't work . . . The

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It is futile to say that a man not ashamed to live on his wife's honest toil would yet shrink from living on the proceeds of her vicious or immoral courses—that her working gives him an excuse for idleness which he can take without self-degradation. Disreputable 'ne'er-do-weels' can frame excuses for misdoings out of everything, and, if these excuses were conclusive, Trades Unionism itself could be shown to be responsible for a vast amount of loafing and laziness. For a man who idles while his wife toils is generally considered a poor-spirited creature. But if he loafs on the ground that he will 'walk the streets till he drops afore he'll work for less nor Union rates and drag down wages for other men,' this excuse throws a glamour of self-sacrifice over his incorrigible laziness, and wins applause even from his deluded wife.

Comfortless Homes and Neglected Children

This objection is constantly caught up by people who have never systematically studied the cause of comfortless homes and the reasons for out-work. Where such work is resorted to because of extreme poverty or drunken betting husbands, all possible discomfort and squalor will generally accompany it. But it is the poverty, not the work mitigating it, which is at the bottom of the mischief. It is the one-room homes, with their over-prolific mothers and swarming broods of fretful ailing children, which banish comfort.

Where home work is the outcome of a thrifty couple's higher conception of the standard of comfort to be attained by themselves and their family, homes do not suffer.

Of many such can be said truthfully what a woman once remarked apologetically to me of her work: 'It's littery, miss, but it ain't dirty.' Superficial disorder will be apparent, but the essentials of comfort will not be lacking.

Of course we all know it is more consonant with many people's prejudices that clean-faced children in neatly patched rags should be gathered round a well-scoured table to dine off a meagre half-slice of bread. But physiologically the children will be better off if their home and clothes be less neat and their nourishment more sufficient.[16]

In the same way it may be true that a mother cannot adequately attend to an ailing child if she has a job of tailoring to finish; but it

women have tried it for month after month, and have not gone to work till the children had scarcely a rag to put on.' Evidence of Mrs. Wood, Power Loom Weaver, *Factory and Workshops Commission*, 1875, p. 647.

[16] I questioned an East End schoolmistress as to the well-being of children drawn from—(1) homes in which an annual baby precluded much work, (2) homes in which work went on, (3) homes where the women went out to work. The most neglected children, she said, came from (3); those from (2) and (1) were on a par as regarded cleanliness and care taken of them; but those from (2) were better fed and clothed.

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ıf she secures seven or eight shillings a week by be better fed, and therefore less likely to ail.[17]

: No Case against Home Work

ome work, then, breaks down in every particular. ı method of employment forced upon reluctant oated capitalists and greedy landlords. It is most profitable way in which wives and mothers ıare to family maintenance.

o's theory declares that the work of one sex is ort of both sexes—that there is room for only of production. History gives the lie to this le women belonging to the working class, and a ırried women, have had at all times to work for e maintenance. Such objection to home work, ı a dislike to wage-earning wives is most un- unreasonable is it to attribute to home work arvation wages, and insanitary conditions which he low wages of home workers often mean low long hours mean the extremes of poverty due e, and a minimum of money-earning capacity ds and wives.

better to take poorly remunerated work to do in she enjoys various other opportunities of turn- than to earn higher wages at work outside her additional sources of income. This being so, quite easily undersell the single woman in factory is not the slightest proof, however, that they do. ersell do so by reason of exceptional disabilities sick, or worthless husbands—not by reason of es. The married woman's need to work being rried worker has not the slightest right to object the labour market. Competition with her can imple expedient of not thronging into industries ıtrated competition of home workers. The single bility can be set against the married woman's nly partly dependent on her trade. Any attempt ied worker by the prohibition of home industries the character of her competition, not lessen it. would be substituted for money-earning on her nic result, as far as other women workers are con- e same.

s of home work can be minimised by a careful ıitary laws, by increased technical education for ıality, this is admittedly highest where mothers go out to work.

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the girls of the working class, by dissuading those who can easily go out to work from working in their homes, and by utilising and remodelling various existing organisations amongst women, so as to make them effective in the improvement of woman's industrial conditions.[18]

ADA HEATHER-BIGG.

[18] The difficulties in the way of Women's Trade Combination are great, but the first step towards this goal is taken, as Miss Orme points out, when any organisation draws women together and creates some sort of public spirit amongst them. The multiplication of clubs for adult working women, similar to those opened lately by the Countess Cadogan in Bethnal Green and by Miss J. Boucherett in the West End, is fruitful in possibilities.

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RECENT SCIENCE

I

THERE is no doubt that diphtheria has lately attained an alarming frequency in Europe. To say nothing of Russia, where the last epidemics had swept away nearly all children in many villages, we find that in Prussia no less than one-sixth to one-fourth part of all children dying in the age of from one to five years succumb to diphtheria;[1] and the same proportion must have lately prevailed in Western Europe as well. One fully understands, therefore, the keen interest which is taken at this moment by the general public in the experiments of the French doctors Roux and Yersin, who try to cure diphtheria by means of the blood serum of animals previously vaccinated against that disease. However, the scientific importance of these experiments is even greater than their immediate utilitarian value. Serum-therapy has a direct bearing upon nearly all infectious diseases; and it touches upon some of the most burning questions relative to the fundamental problems of life; while the manner in which the researches have been conducted is such that there is hardly, in the whole domain of modern science, another branch which could better illustrate the best methods of scientific investigation applied to a most complicated subject, or better contribute to the general promotion of scientific methods of thought.

That diphtheria, like tetanus (or lockjaw), with which it has much in common, or like anthrax, cholera, malaria, and so on, is due to an infection of the body by special bacteria is by this time an established fact. Without an infection by either the bacteria discovered by Löffler, or the poisons which they secrete, there is no diphtheria. But it is also known that the powers of different animal species, and even of different individuals, to resist infection vary a great deal, and that they can be weakened or increased by vaccination, so as even to confer full immunity. This being true of nearly all infections, the attention of bacteriologists is chiefly directed now towards finding out what is the cause of the poison-resisting powers of the organism, how they are acquired, and how to strengthen them.

[1] Professor Behring, *Die Geschichte der Diphtherie, mit besonderer Berücksichtigung der Immunitätslehre*, Leipzig, 1893.

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Two years ago E. Metchnikoff's ingenious theory of immunity was analysed in this Review.[2] According to this theory, the organism which has been successful in its struggle against infection owes its recovery to a victory which has been won by its amœba-like white cells, or leucocytes, over the infecting microbes. As soon as poisonous bacteria are introduced into the animal body, the free white cells—i.e. the white corpuscles of the blood and the lymph, and the so-called wandering cells—probably attracted by the secretions of the bacteria, gather in immense numbers at the spot of infection. There they wage a war to the intruders. If they are healthy and numerous, and if the bacteria do not multiply too rapidly, so as to overpower the leucocytes in numbers, the latter absorb the microbes, enveloping them with their protoplasm and rendering them inoffensive. In some cases the leucocytes actually digest the microbes—that is, dissolve them and absorb them—thus fully deserving the name of microbe-eaters or phagocytes; in other cases they simply keep them enveloped in their protoplasm, and, without killing them, prevent them from casting spores and multiplying; or else, as it would appear from some recent researches, they carry them away to the liver, the lungs, and partly the spleen, where the intruders gradually decay. Wonderful as these statements are, they are facts and not theories. The leucocytes really come together in their millions at the infected spots, hastening thereto from all parts of the body;[3] and hundreds of microscopical preparations, showing to the eye how the leucocytes envelop the microbes with their protoplasm, have been made in the laboratories; many of them have been figured in the works upon the subject.[4] Consequently, the reality of the absorption of the microbes by the leucocytes (the 'phagocytosis') is now generally recognised, and the importance only of this struggle between two sets of cells, as compared with other possible means of protection against infection, is now under discussion.

Other agencies, besides the leucocytes, most probably intervene, and during the last few years a great deal of attention has been given to these agencies. It has become evident that the action of bacteria is very complicated. In some cases the poisoning bacteria must be associated with various species of other micro-organisms, inoffensive in themselves, but probably required to prepare some favourable conditions for the multiplication and the deadly action of the former. Without the aid of their associates the poisoning bacteria may have no effect, as has been proved several times with cholera and typhoid

[2] 'Recent Science,' *Nineteenth Century*, August 1892.

[3] Their disappearance from the blood immediately after infection has lately been confirmed by several explorers.

[4] We are glad to state that Metchnikoff's *Leçons sur la pathologie comparée de l'inflammation* has by this time been translated into English by T. A. Starling and E. H. Starling. Notwithstanding its rather technical title, the reading of this little and suggestive book can safely be recommended to non-specialists.

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fever, and is well known for tetanus bacilli. Again, the bacteria may simply destroy some cells of the body—this is the way of the malaria parasites, which destroy the red corpuscles of our blood [5]—or they may attack the tissues of some special organs; or they will deprive the cells of the body of the plastic elements, or gases, necessary for their life, and, so to say, starve or suffocate them. But their effect may also be more indirect; they develop, also, what we call, for want of a better knowledge of the subject, some poisons—some living, ferment-like 'toxines'—which affect the fluids of the body, and especially its blood, and, through it, the whole organism. Since Koch discovered his 'tuberculin,' these poisonous products of the bacteria have been studied a great deal; and, although we are very far from a somewhat precise knowledge of their nature, we know, nevertheless, that most 'toxines,' although deprived by filtration of all bacteria and bacteria spores, exert upon the animal body the same deadly effects as the bacteria themselves—they provoke the same disease.[6] And, finally, there is in the animal body another class of ferment-like albumoses, also very imperfectly known, which also develop out of the activity of bacteria, and which seem to meet in the body the effects of the above poisons. The *British Medical Journal* has proposed for them the very good name of 'defensive proteids.'[7] These 'anti-toxines,' whatever their nature may be, undoubtedly develop in the blood, and especially in the serum of animals which have caught certain infectious diseases and have recovered from them; and, consequently, another—that is, a fourth—branch of research has grown up, the explorers of which want to know whether blood altogether, and especially its serum, as well as other liquids secreted by the body, and especially milk, do not possess immunity-conferring, or even curative, properties. This is the branch of bacteriology which interests us most at the present moment, especially as regards the applications of blood serum to the cure of diphtheria.[8]

[5] For all concerning the malaria microbes see the excellent work of Dr. Julius Mannaberg, *Die Malaria-Parasiten, auf Grund fremder und eigener Erfahrung dargestellt*, Vienna, 1893.

[6] Besides the researches of Koch and his school into the properties of tuberculin, a wide number of works ought to be named under this head. Such are the studies undertaken by Roux and Widal (at the Institut Pasteur), and Wooldridge in 1888, into the poisons secreted by the diphtheria and the tetanus bacteria; the investigations of Brieger and Fränkel into the poisonous albumines ('toxalbumines'); and those of E. H. Hankin, Kanthack, and Dr. Sydney Martin into the 'toxines' and the protective 'anti-toxines.'

[7] See E. H. Hankin's 'Report on the Conflict between the Organism and the Microbe' in *British Medical Journal*, July 12, 1890; also his review of Behring and Kitasato's work in *Nature*, December 11, 1890, xliii. 121. Indications of the corresponding literature are given in both papers.

[8] Its literature is immense. Indications relative to it will be found in the quoted works and reviews. Buchner's reports to the Hygienic Congresses at London (1891) and Buda-Pesth (this year) are excellent reviews of the whole question, the more so as Buchner is one of the chief workers in this branch.

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For many years past Doctors Richet, Héricourt, and Klein, amidst general indifference, have advocated the use of the watery parts of blood—the serum—as a means of protecting animals against infection, and insisted upon its curative properties. However, their opinions passed unnoticed. All that preparatory work concerning the bacterial poisons and the anti-toxines which has just been mentioned had to be done before the importance of the serum could be properly understood and demonstrated. It was therefore only at the end of 1890, when the German doctor Behring and the Japanese bacteriologist Kitasato published the results of their elaborated researches, that the whole matter was put on a firm scientific basis.[9] Modern serum-therapy, as acknowledged over and over again by Roux and all other explorers, dates from these memoirs.

The development of Behring's ideas is extremely interesting, and it admirably illustrates the present aspects of bacteriological research. Rats, as is known, are resistent to several infective diseases, including anthrax. While mice, rabbits, guinea-pigs, sheep, and horned cattle rapidly succumb to an infection of anthrax bacteria; rats do not catch the disease. This was known years ago, and it had also been remarked, in laboratory experiments, that while anthrax bacteria thrive in the serum of the last-named animals they rapidly degenerate in the serum of rats.[10] It was natural, therefore, to suppose that the same takes place in the living organisms, and that the resistance of rats and the susceptibility of mice, rabbits, and so on, are due to the different bacteria-killing properties possessed by the serum in these different species. But experiment, directed this way, refused to support the hypothesis. Animals whose blood showed no bactericide properties in the laboratory were found to be immune against certain diseases; while, on the other hand, animals whose blood destroyed the bacteria in a glass bottle were not always immune. Some experiments were in favour of the hypothesis, but others were dead against it, and there remained nothing but to submit to the verdict, however undesired it was.[11]

These negative results were arrived at at a time when Roux and Yersin, who studied diphtheria, and Kitasato, who worked on tetanus, had succeeded in obtaining, out of the secretions of the respective bacteria, such powerful poisons that it became possible to provoke both

[9] Behring and Kitasato, 'Ueber das Zustandekommen der Diphtherie-Immunität und der Tetanus-Immunität bei Thieren,' in *Deutsche medizinische Wochenschrift*, 1890, 49, p. 1113. Analysed in *Nature* by Mr. Hankin, December 11, 1890, xliii. 121.

[10] I follow in this sketch Behring's own description of the evolution of his ideas, as given in his Introduction to his and Kitasato's memoirs, 'Die Blutserumtherapie bei Diphtherie und Tetanus,' in Koch und Flügge's *Zeitschrift für Hygiene und Infectionskrankheiten*, 1892, xii. 1–10.

[11] A long series of such experiments was made in Bouchard's laboratory; so also by Behring and Nissen.

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diseases by injecting the poisons alone, after all bacteria and their spores had been carefully eliminated from the injected matter. Illness and death evidently resulted in such cases, not from some action of bacteria upon the cells of the animal, but from a general poisoning, whatever that poisoning might be. Accordingly, Behring and Kitasato, and several other bacteriologists, at once began to experiment upon such substances as might paralyse the bacterial poisons, even though they might be unable to kill the bacteria themselves. Various chemicals were tried, and for some time great hopes were entertained as to the chemical treatment. But again the results were utterly disappointing. It appeared that the effects of the chemicals are mostly quite local, and that, to be of any use, they must be applied immediately after the infection takes place. Their practical value is therefore extremely limited.[12]

Nevertheless an important point was won by such researches. Behring and Kitasato found, to their astonishment, that if the spread of tetanus in an animal had been stopped by any sort of chemical treatment, the blood of that animal, although it was unable to kill the *bacteria* of tetanus, paralysed the *poisons* evolved by the bacteria. The animal was rendered immune against infection; and when the two doctors attempted to *cure* tetanus by means of the serum of such blood, they at once obtained results which went far beyond their expectations. To quote but one instance: several mice were dying from inoculated tetanus, when an injection of the serum of an immune rabbit was tried upon one of them. Improvement became apparent at once, and it was followed by recovery, while the other mice died in a few hours. The cure for tetanus was thus found, and this was what Behring and Kitasato announced in their epoch-making memoir in December 1890.

But now that the final aim seemed to have been reached, new difficulties arose. The first successes were not always confirmed by subsequent experiments, and, in proportion as the field of research was widened, failures became more and more frequent. Then it was much more difficult to obtain a curative serum for diphtheria cases

[12] The limited effect of chemicals will be better illustrated by the following: Dr. Calmette, the chief of the Bacteriological Institute of Saigon, having once received from a locality infested by cobra snakes a barrel containing fourteen living specimens of the snake, utilised this opportunity for studying the means of combating the deadly poison. He experimented with all sorts of chemicals. It appeared, however, that although permanganate of potassium at once destroys the cobra poison in a glass tube, and precipitates it, it has but little effect in the animal body unless it is introduced into the wound immediately after, or simultaneously with, the inoculation of the poison. Otherwise the latter rapidly spreads through the body, and can be paralysed no more either by the permanganate or by ammonia. Chloride of gold is but a little more efficacious. If the spreading of the poison is slackened by ligatures, and injections of chloride of gold are made all round the wound, and *on the way of the poison from the wound to the central parts of the body*, there are some chances of recovery; but the whole must be done very quickly, in order to prevent the spreading of the poison ('Observations expérimentales du Venin de *Naja tripudians* ou *Cobra capel*,' in *Annales de l'Institut Pasteur*, 1892, vi. 160).

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than it was for tetanus. Moreover, large quantities of serum were required for the serum cure, and they could be obtained only by conferring immunity against diphtheria on larger animals very susceptible to diphtheria—a feat which was found by no means easy to accomplish. Happily enough, the two explorers made no secret of their discoveries, so that new and easier methods of vaccination were sought for and discovered, especially by Roux and Yersin.

It would not be possible to relate here the details of these memorable researches.[13] Sufficient to say that gradually the following method was elaborated, and that it proved successful for big animals as well. Instead of introducing a deadly virus, and then trying to cure it by chemicals, an *attenuated* diphtheria (or tetanus) poison was used for vaccination—all bacteria and their spores having been removed by filtration from the vaccinating liquid, and the morbid properties of the poison itself having been reduced by the addition of certain chemicals.[14] This attenuated poison was injected into a quite sound sheep (or horse) in such limited quantities as to obtain but a very feeble reaction of fever; and the injections were repeated until the animal was accustomed, so to say, to the poison, and no more fever was provoked by subsequent injections. Then stronger doses, up to three and six cubic inches of the attenuated poison, were resorted to; and when they also had no marked effect, an injection of the most virulent diphtheria poison, such as would kill outright an untrained sheep, was attempted. If it did not provoke diphtheria, the sheep or horse was considered immune, and the serum of its blood could be used to cure diphtheria in other animals.[15] This method was gradually perfected, and it was discovered by Roux that the serum need not be drawn each time afresh. It may be desiccated, and kept for a long time in such state without losing its properties.

The curative effects of such serum are really wonderful. A guinea-pig usually dies from inoculated diphtheria in thirty-six to forty-eight hours. But an injection of a very small quantity of serum ($\frac{1}{5000}$th part of the weight of the patient), if it be made a quarter of an hour after the inoculation of the poison, prevents the appearance of the disease. If the treatment begins at a later period, say eight hours after the inoculation, ten times more serum is required. Even twenty-four hours after the infection takes place the animal can be saved by an injection of serum attaining $\frac{1}{100}$th part of the animal's weight. Its blood is renewed; it acquires new forces, and it destroys

[13] The reading of the chief original papers, namely, by Behring and Kitasato, in the *Zeitschrift für Hygiene* (1892, xii. 1–81), and by E. Roux and L. Vaillard in the *Annales de l'Institut Pasteur* (February 1893, vii. 64–140), can be recommended to non-specialists as well as others.

[14] Roux prefers iodine, while the German explorers prefer iodine trichloride, or a chloride of gold and sodium. Many other chemicals, including peroxide of hydrogen, were experimented with before these three were chosen.

[15] Behring's *Die Geschichte der Diphtherie*, pp. 160–165.

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the poisons of diphtheria which were rapidly bringing the disease to a fatal end.[16] With tetanus, injections of serum are effective even in a more advanced stage.

Moreover, as shown by Kitasato and his colleagues,[17] the same method is applicable to Asiatic cholera, erysipelas, hog-cholera, and anthrax. Immunity at least, or, more correctly, a resistance to poisoning, is easily obtained for these diseases as well; and in cholera immunity is conferred so rapidly—in twenty-four hours—that the treatment has very much the characters of a real cure. A wide field is thus opened for most promising discoveries.

In how far the serum treatment may be relied upon for man is still a question to be solved by experiment, and upon which Roux, Behring, Kitasato, Ehrlich, and all the above-named explorers, as well as Tizzoni and Cattani in Italy, are now busy at work. The brilliant successes announced from time to time in the daily papers must certainly be received with caution. But in view of the undoubted, though not always infallible, successes obtained with animals, and the fair proportion of successful treatment of men, we can be hopeful. In some cases the cures have been most remarkable. Moreover, we learn from statistics which reach us as we write these lines that Roux at Paris has obtained seventy-four per cent. of cures in three hundred ascertained cases of diphtheria, already treated by the serum; and that Professor Ehrlich at Berlin has had eighty-five per cent. of recoveries in the one hundred and sixty-three cases treated by the new method. There were only two failures out of the seventy-two cases in which serum was injected during the first two days of the disease.[18] Such results are more than reassuring.

The theoretical value of these investigations is self-evident. Important points have been won, and new and broader vistas have been opened. Metchnikoff's theory of immunity has certainly not been overthrown by the new discoveries. On the contrary, the part played by the phagocytes in the struggle against infection is fully recognised even by such promoters of the serum theory as Buchner and Roux. It has been proved, moreover, that an injection of an antitoxic serum provokes a marked increase in the numbers of the leucocytes in blood,[19]

[16] Behring and Wernicke, 'Ueber Immunisirung und Heilung von Versuchsthieren bei der Diphtherie,' in *Zeitschrift für Hygiene*, 1892, xii. 10–44; also Behring's *Geschichte der Diphtherie*, p. 184.

[17] S. Kitasato, L. Brieger, and A. Wassermann, 'Ueber Immunität und Giftfestigung,' in *Zeitschrift für Hygiene*, 1892, xii. 137–182. For immunity through milk, P. Ehrlich, in same volume, p. 183, where copious bibliographical indications are given. Kitasato attenuates the bacterial poisons by cultivating the bacteria in preparations obtained from the thymus gland. His researches thus join hands with the most remarkable therapeutic results obtained by Brown-Séquard and D'Arsonval, and they tread upon the ground which has been so well reviewed lately by Professor Schäfer in his presidential address before the British Association at Oxford.

[18] M. A. Ruffer, in *Nature*, November 1, 1894, li. 18.

[19] Roux and Vaillard recognise the fact in the above-quoted memoir, p. 91.

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and it appears probable[20] that the leucocytes of a vaccinated animal differ from those of other individuals of the same species in being capable of more rapidly attaining their stage of full development, when they are more active in absorbing microbes. But it also becomes more and more apparent that the phagocyte theory will require some further extension. Perhaps, if the views developed by Héricourt upon infectious disease altogether[21] prevail in science, it will be found that phagocytosis and the struggle between the bacterial poisons and the anti-toxines of the serum correspond to the two different phases which, according to Héricourt, are marked in each infectious disease. But we must first learn what the toxines and the anti-toxines are. Up till now we can only say that they are living matter, and that they must be considered as ferment-like substances; but we do not know what is the reason of their action upon each other, and bacteriologists have not yet succeeded in separating them from each other in the laboratory. Perhaps the modern researches into the structure of the cell, which prove that each cell is a world in itself,[22] will throw some light upon this difficult subject, and some day we may learn that the toxines and the anti-toxines belong to the category of those component self-reproducing elements of the cell which have been named *pangenes* by De Vries.

II

The destructive earthquakes which have lately visited Italy, Greece, Turkey, and Japan have again brought to the front the long since debated question as to the probable origin of those grand trepidations of the soil. Great divergence of opinion undoubtedly prevails still among geologists; but some accord begins also to be established upon the chief points at issue, so that the main features of an earthquake theory can already be delineated.

A really scientific study of earthquakes is of relatively recent origin. It may be said that it dates from the great catastrophe at Naples in 1857, when H. R. Mallet worked out, in his classical report,[23] the methods of investigation of earthquakes, and when Palmieri, establishing his seismometric observatory on the slopes of Vesuvius, attracted general attention to the necessity of special instruments for measuring the movements of the soil. Each earthquake of importance has been carefully investigated since, and the spot, or the line, from which the disturbance originated, as well as the depth at which it lay below the surface, have been carefully determined in each case. In many places the tremors of the soil are now carefully measured and registered by means of special instruments; and although it was

[20] Mademoiselle C. Everard, J. Denmoor, and J. Massart, 'Sur les Modifications des Leucocytes,' in *Annales de l'Institut Pasteur*, 1893, vii. 187–194. See also Metchnikoff's fifth memoir on immunity in the same volume.

[21] *Revue Scientifique*, November 15, 1884, xxxiv. 619.

[22] See 'Recent Science,' in this Review for December 1892, p. 1013.

[23] *Great Neapolitan Earthquake of 1857*, 2 vols. London, 1862.

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found very difficult to devise an instrument which would accurately record the movements of the soil, the chief difficulties have gradually been overcome, and the records of our seismometers and seismographs, properly interpreted, give already a good idea of the waves which spread in the soil. As to the delicacy of the modern tools used for detecting the slightest tremors, it is sufficient to say that by means of the new seismometrograph established at the Collegio Romano it was possible to observe at Rome not only the earthquakes which took place in Greece, India, and Turkestan, but also to see, on March 22 last, three distinct waves coming from three distinct shocks in Japan. They had travelled over an enormous distance—nearly one earth-quadrant—at a speed of about 2,750 yards in the second, and yet were visible in the tracings by the instrument. But the new bifilar pendulum devised this year by Mr. Horace Darwin is even still more promising; it can record and measure a tilt of the earth's surface of less than $\frac{1}{300}$th part of a second [24]—that is, a change of level which would occur if a line one mile long were lifted by one-thousandth part of an inch at one of its extremities. And, finally, direct experiment is now called in to the aid of the young science, and artificial earthquakes having been provoked both by explosions of mines and by the fall of heavy masses of iron, their effects upon delicate instruments have been carefully studied. The tools of the seismologist thus attain a high degree of perfection.

In studying the distribution of earthquakes upon the surface of the globe the annals of all countries have been ransacked, and monumental catalogues have been compiled by H. R. Mallet, Alexis Perrey, and Fuchs, and, quite lately, by Orloff and Mushketoff for Russia and the adjoining lands of Asia. Special centres have also grown up for a detailed study of earthquakes, in South Italy, Greece, and Japan,[25] especially in Japan—the land of earthquakes and earthquake studies—where invaluable data are collected by sending out all over the country scores of thousands of post cards, which are returned every week to the Seismological Institute, with notices of the shocks experienced at each spot.

There is also no lack of investigations relative to the distribution of earthquakes in time, their supposed periodicity, and their possible connection with the seasons of the year, the relative positions of sun and moon, the atmospheric pressure, the electric earth-currents, and so on; and if the expectations of Falb and Perrey, who have tried to predict earthquakes, have not been fulfilled, we may still hope that warnings similar to those which are issued for coal-mine explosions will some day be possible. One fact of importance appears, at any

[24] C. Davison, in *Nature*, July 12, 1894, l. 249.

[25] The *Transactions of the Seismological Society of Japan*, named now *The Seismological Journal of Japan* (edited by J. Milne), are full of the best information relative to earthquakes altogether.

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rate, with certainty from these investigations—namely, that earthquakes are decidedly more frequent during the winter months than during the summer, and that their frequency stands in some not ye fully determined connection with atmospheric pressure.[26] Of course this does not mean that cold seasons, or a high atmospheric pressure, or even the supposed tidal action of the sun and the moon upon the elastic earth's crust, may be considered as causes of earthquakes. They must be taken only as additional impulses aiding to break an already unstable equilibrium which originates, according to the now prevailing views, from the dislocations of the strata themselves, chiefly due to aqueous causes.

The study of earthquakes thus stands now on a firm scientific basis. As to their causes, current opinions are undergoing just now a deep modification. The theory of earthquake origin which has till lately prevailed in science, and which had for it the authority of Humboldt and Leopold Buch, is well known. Earthquakes and volcanic eruptions were considered as effects of a common cause, the never-ceasing reaction of the hot and molten interior of the earth upon its thin solid crust. When water, percolating the rocks or running down their fissures, reaches the depths at which the temperature is so high that rocks and metals are maintained in a liquid state, steam is evolved under a formidable pressure, and, together with the gases originated from the molten mass itself, it accumulates in the subterranean cavities. Rows of volcanoes rise along gigantic trends which are opened in the earth's crust, and they act as so many safety-valves for the escape of the gases and steam; but if one of these valves be obstructed for some reason, the pressure of the gases grows, until they open a passage through the solid crust, bringing the rocks into a formidable commotion.

The theory was grand. It brought into causal connection a wide range of volcanic and seismic phenomena; it inspired research. Who does not remember the beautiful lines devoted by Humboldt in his *Cosmos* to this subject? However, even at the time these lines were written the theory was beginning to inspire serious doubts. Was not the cause too grand in comparison with its results? Would not the molten nucleus break the thin crust to atoms if it stood in such free intercourse with the atmosphere? Local hearths of chemical

[26] Sjögren, 'Om jordkorpans sammanpressning under atmosfertrycket,' in *Öfversigt af Vetenskaps Akademiens Förhandlingar*, 1888, ii. 131, has lately promoted the idea that the compression of the strata by high pressure favours the outbursts of subterranean gases. R. Langenbeck holds a similar opinion (in Gerland's *Geographische Abhandlungen aus Elsass-Lothringen*, 1892, Heft i.) Günther (*Beiträge zur Geophysik*, Bd. ii. 70) has lately paid a good deal of attention to the subject, and came to approve of Sjögren's idea (in *Naturwissenschaftliche Rundschau*, ix. 20). For all concerning earthquakes Professor J. Milne's excellent little volume of the 'International Science Series,' and S. Günther's *Lehrbuch der Geophysik* (2 vols. Stuttgart, 1884), will be found trustworthy guides.

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activity would do as well to explain volcanic action, and local disturbances in the superficial strata would perfectly well explain the greater number of earthquakes. In fact, when we know that the mere fall of the steam-hammer in Krupp's gun factory shakes the houses and their windows for several miles round; [27] that the explosion of a mine loaded with gunpowder or dynamite is felt many miles off; and that the mere trampling of a holiday crowd is reported to the astronomers of Greenwich by the behaviour of their levels, we feel disinclined to appeal to the molten nucleus, and we look for causes nearer at hand.

Gradually, the very existence of the molten nucleus of our planet became more and more problematic. Already the mathematical investigations of Fourier and Poisson had shown that, owing to our very imperfect knowledge of the physical aspects of the question, we are reduced to mere conjectures as regards the state of the inner parts of our globe.[28] Later on, the admirable investigations of Sir William Thomson, G. H. Darwin, Mellard Reade, Osmond Fisher, R. S. Woodward, and others rendered the existence of a molten nucleus surrounded by a thin solid crust less and less probable. And the geologist had to conclude that, so long as physics would not supply more reliable data for mathematical investigation, he had better leave the question as to the physical state of the inner parts of the earth unsolved, and study the dynamic processes which are going on in the superficial layers of the planet. The more so as the subsidence of strata undermined by water; the disturbances of equilibrium which result from the transport of immense masses of matter by the rivers, and the accumulation of deposits in their deltas; the side pressures so well illustrated by the folding of the strata; the chemical processes which must go on in the rocks at relatively small depths; and the forces originating in the crystallisation of rocks, are agencies largely sufficient to explain both the activity of volcanoes and the most severe subterranean shocks.

Research was accordingly directed towards a study of the local causes which might have given origin to each separate earthquake. There is, of course, a number of earthquakes directly due to volcanic causes; but these, as already indicated by Humboldt, are always limited in their areas and are the minority. As to the greater number, their causes must be sought for in local disturbances of the rocky strata. Everywhere there are softer strata which are disintegrated by water between the rocky layers above and beneath them. One day or the other they must yield; and when they do yield, their subsidence,

[27] The fact had been indicated by Mohr in his *Geschichte der Erde* (Bonn, 1875), which was so much scoffed at at the time of its appearance for its pronounced Neptunist ideas.

[28] For a capital review of the mathematical theories of the earth, see R. S. Woodward's presidential address in *American Journal of Science*, 1889, xxxviii. 337 *seq.*

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or the gliding of the upper strata upon a softened i mediate layer, must result in an earthquake. And when geologist looks for a local cause of an earthquake, he finds some such disturbance has really taken place. Such was the ca the great Naples catastrophe of 1857; such was again the case i Irkutsk earthquake of 1861–62, when all information pointed to delta of the Selenga, where a large area subsided, and 140 sq miles of land were covered with the waters of Lake Baikal maximum depth of seven feet.[29] The great earthquake of Mi Japan in the year 1891 had again the same character. It was f that a rent was opened in the superficial strata for a length of than forty miles, and that on one side of the rent the strata subsided by as much as twenty feet in the places of maximum sidence. And all indications agreed in pointing to this re the line from which the earthquake waves had proceeded, s to leave no doubt as to the subsidence being the cause, and not consequence, of the earthquake.[30] Moreover, in this case, as i others, after the sudden subsidence had provoked several se shocks, thousands of smaller shocks, proceeding from the s locality, continued to be noticed for a year or so, until a succes of smaller subsidences had brought the displaced mass to a The great earthquakes which affected in April last the north-eas region of continental Greece had the same character. A great fis thirty-five miles long was opened, and on one side of the fissure Plain of Atalante was lowered and slightly shifted towards the no west;[31] and similar, although submarine, changes of level were obse during the earthquakes which visited Zante and the Gulf of Co in 1873, 1886–90, and April 1893.[32]

For almost every great earthquake which has taken place du the last thirty years the cause was found in local dislocations subsidences. But while our knowledge of the local causes was progressing, the part which belongs to earthquakes in the g ral life of the planet was lost sight of. Some broader ge lisations, the necessity of which Humboldt insisted upon, required, and they were given in the epoch-making work of S *The Face of the Earth*.[33] The 'local dislocation' theory is endorsed by Suess; but these dislocations themselves are treate but separate instances of the activity of those 'tectonic' or buil

[29] Orloff and Mushketoff's *Catalogue*, St. Petersburg, 1893.

[30] B. Kotô, 'On the Cause of the Great Earthquake in Middle Japan in the 1891,' in *Journal of the College of Science*, Tokyo, 1893.

[31] S. A. Papavasiliore, 'On the Earthquake of Locrio of April 1894,' in *Co Rendus*, 1894, cxix. 112, 380; analysed in *Nature*, l. 607.

[32] W. G. Forster, in *Mediterranean Naturalist*, April 1893; analysed in *N* April 27, 1893, xlvii. 620.

[33] Ed. Suess, *Das Antlitz der Erde*, 2 vols. Prague, 1885. This work of firs portance has not yet been translated into English.

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forces which continually re-model the earth's surface, create the abysses of the oceans and the depressions of the continents, and lift up the highest mountains. Starting from the idea that the cooling of the globe results in a steady decrease of its diameter, and consequently in a continuous shrinking and shrivelling of its outer strata, Suess endeavoured to show how this process would work in producing the leading features of the earth's surface. He described how large areas have been, and are still, sinking bodily, producing the great faults which intersect our rocky formations; how semicircular depressions arise on the borders of the highlands; and how the lateral pressures developed during the shrinking of the outer layers result in lateral pressures which fold the strata and lift them into mountain chains. The earthquakes under this broad conception of 'geo-tectonics' appear as simple trepidations of the soil by which the shrinking of the crust and mountain-building processes are necessarily accompanied.

Kant had already remarked that most earthquakes take place on the seaboard. Modern research fully confirms this view, and goes a step further. It maintains that by far the greatest number of earthquakes—perhaps ninety per cent., as Professor Milne says—originate beneath the sea, where the rocks, under the superincumbent hydrostatic pressure, are continuously saturated with moisture, and can the easier be displaced. In fact, in nearly every earthquake in Japan, the centre of disturbance of which could be determined, it was found to lay a short distance off the eastern coast of Nippon. The same is true of the earthquakes which have lately visited Greece, as illustrated by the breakages of submarine cables, which undoubtedly indicate that considerable changes of level have taken place at the bottom of the sea.[34] And the same is true, again, of the Constantinople earthquake of July last, which had its centre of disturbance in the Sea of Marmora, at a short distance from San Stefano.[35] In short, it may be taken as a fact that a great number of earthquakes, to say nothing of the sea-tremors, which also are numerous,[36] originate at the sea-bottom, near the sea-coast.

However, not all sea-coasts are equally liable to be visited by earthquakes. The flat lands of Subarctic Asia, which gradually merge into the shallow Arctic Ocean, are seldom disturbed. A steep slope of the sea-bottom itself, or of an elevated land towards a deep sea, is a necessary condition for both earthquakes and sustained volcanic action. The eastern coasts of the Japanese archipelago, which face the till lately unfathomed abysses of the Northern Pacific, and the

[34] W. G. Forster, 'Earthquake Origin,' in *Transactions of the Seismological Society of Japan*, Yokohama, 1890, xv. 74, 77.

[35] Charles Davison, in *Nature*, September 6, 1894, l. 450.

[36] See E. Rudolph's monograph of the same in Gerland's *Beiträge zur Geophysik*, Stuttgart, 1887, Bd. i. 133.

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abrupt slope of the Chilian coast of South America, are well-known instances in point.

The deep depressions of the bottom of the East Mediterranean, where a depth of over 2,000 fathoms is found within twenty miles from the island of Rhodes; the western coast of Southern Greece, facing the 2,170 fathoms deep abyss of the Ionian Sea which separates it from Sicilia; the Neapolitan coast, separated by but a hundred miles from the 2,000 fathoms depth of the Tyrrhenian Sea; and so on—all these facts enable geologists to formulate another law, namely, that steep slopes, either from the land to the sea or of the sea-bottom itself, are another condition for frequent earthquakes.

But even in this form the law would not be complete, as it would not include the disturbed regions of the continents; and it is most remarkable that, when worded accordingly, it applies to continents also. In the very heart of Asia there are two regions where earthquakes are especially frequent, and both of them lie along the steep north-western border of the Great Plateau of Central Asia, where it abruptly falls from the heights of the Tian Shan to Lake Issyk-kul, and from the heights of the Khamar-daban (about 8,500 feet high) to the 750 fathoms deep Lake Baikal. A third depression of the same kind—also a hearth of earthquakes—is situated on the north-east border of the plateau of Persia and Armenia, where the 15,900 feet high Savelan rises over the deepest parts of the Caspian Sea, marked by the 500 fathoms line; while farther west we have the depression of Vienna, lodged between the north-eastern Alps and the north-western Carpathians, which has been so well described by Suess as another centre of earthquakes. Moreover, the three first-named depressions, like the so much disturbed Gulf of Tokyo, or the Bay of Arauco in South America, are semicircular depressions, carved out in the edge of the highlands; and this further confirms the above-mentioned views of Suess.

However, a further step seems to be required in the development of the hypothesis. The most severe earthquakes undoubtedly take place on the borders of high plateaus, whether these plateaus slope towards the ocean, or whether they rise over flat lowlands surrounding them. But all plateaus are fringed by border-ridges, which gently rise over their elevated surfaces all along their edges, as well as on the edges of the separate terraces which are so frequent in the plateaus of Asia and America. This feature is too general to be merely accidental, although it has hitherto remained quite unexplained. It is therefore possible to suppose that the subsidences which take place, chiefly along the borders of the plateaus, must have a double effect—that of lowering the levels of the surrounding lowlands or plains (or of the adjoining sea-bottom), and of lifting up at the same time the tops of the inclined strata; this process, repeated for ages, resulting in the formation of the border-ridges, which are a necessary accompani-

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ment to all plateaus of the Old and the New World. And as these border-ridges mostly are, or have been in recent geological times, the seats of intense volcanic activity, we see that earthquakes and mountain-building are thus brought again into connection. But this hypothesis, which I venture to add as a further extension of Suess's views, lands us on a new domain—the origin of mountains—which may be better treated separately on some future occasion.

III

Great hopes have been revived again among aeronauts by the experimental flights of Dr. Lilienthal in Germany, and the partial successes obtained with their flying-machines by Messrs. Maxim and Phillips in this country, and Mr. Hargrave in Australia. For more than a half-century inventors in aeronautics have been treated as foolish dreamers, and no later than two years ago an American professor who wanted to address his students on the subject of mechanical aviation felt it necessary to seriously beg his audience not to interpret his choice of the subject as a token of declining mental faculties. But, happily enough, these dark times are over, and aeronautics is becoming a regular department of scientific research. The general revival of science which we witnessed in the early sixties has given new life to this branch of research, and we have now an excellent scientific literature devoted to the subject, several aeronautic societies (one in Great Britain) which are doing excellent work, and several reviews in the pages of which aeronautics is discussed in a scientific spirit.[37]

The services rendered by balloons during the last Siege of Paris are well known, and since that time steady progress has been achieved both in the mode of construction of balloons and the art of aerial navigation.[38]

By taking advantage of the different directions of wind at different heights, which begin to be better known, and may be ascertained by means of pilot balloons, the navigator to some extent chooses his own direction; and with the new anchors and guide-ropes, landing, which is the most dangerous part of ballooning, has been so much simplified that balloon trips are now as safe as any other kind of sport. For meteorology the balloon is a precious aid, and a good deal has been learned from the aeronauts about temperature and electricity in cloudland; while unmanned balloons, provided with

[37] *L'Aéronaute* is published at Paris since 1869. The *Zeitschrift für Luftschiffahrt und Physik der Atmosphäre* is a sister review to the *Zeitschrift für Meteorologie*, and is published by the German and Austrian Aeronautic Societies. A new review, *The Aëronaut*, has been started this year in America. And so on.

[38] For the technical part of the subject and the succession of invention, see the new book of Mr. Chanute, *Progress in Flying Machines*, New York, 1894. Also his address before the Congress of Aeronautics at Chicago.

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self-registering instruments, as has been found by M. Hermite, can bring us down the most precious information from those highest strata of the atmosphere in which Mr. Glaisher nearly lost his life.

The idea of adding a propeller to a balloon, and thus enabling it to navigate close to, or even against, the wind, is certainly not new—Girard had already realised it in 1852—but the practical application of his idea had to contend with many technical difficulties. The deformation of the balloon, which takes place as soon as it begins to progress against the wind instead of being carried with it, had to be prevented; a light but powerful motor had to be devised under the limitation of employing no fire for it; and a number of minor obstacles had to be overcome. Accordingly, although propelled balloons are now the pets of the ministries of war in the big States, and money is freely spent upon them, the advance is still very slow. The greatest speed ever attained by the French officers Renard and Krebs with their cigar-shaped balloon, propelled by a storage-battery motor, was only fourteen miles to the hour. True, that even with this modest speed the balloon could be navigated in a feeble breeze, so as to return to its starting-point, after having described a triangular route; but in order to brave the wind a speed of fifty miles is required, and all that the French officers expect from their new balloon is a speed of twenty-five miles, which will enable it only to take tacks in a moderately fresh breeze.[39] Moreover, there being but little hope of discovering a gas the density of which would be still smaller than that of hydrogen, the dimensions of a propelled balloon must remain very great, in proportion to the useful weight it can carry. The new French balloon (as remarked by Mr. Chanute) will be of the size of a river steamer, and yet it will hardly carry more than four passengers; and a further increase of size would be of little avail, in proportion to the cost of the ship. Consequently, scientific research and invention are now directed more and more towards the flying-machine, which, being much heavier than an equal volume of air, will find in its very density and inertia the means of contending against the currents of air.

We have under our very eyes a most perfect flying-machine—the bird—and we have only to study, from a physical point of view, the laws of its flight, in order to find out the laws which must guide us in our schemes. This is what science has tried to do ever since the time of Leonardo da Vinci. But, owing to a want of interest in such researches in the general public, the scientist had hardly completed his work ere it was forgotten. The wonderful observations and physical reasonings and experiments of Leonardo da Vinci had to be re-discovered a few years ago.[40] Even the admirable work of Borelli,

[39] It is 215 feet long, and 40 feet in diameter. The motor, 45 horse-power, will weigh, with fuel for ten hours, 3,400 pounds.

[40] Amans, 'La Physiologie du Vol d'après Léonard de Vinci,' in *Revue Scientifique*, mai 28, 1892, xlix. 687.

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who wrote on the flight of birds in 1680, and the very valuable researches of Silberschlag, published in 1783,[41] were little known; nay, even the work of Cayley, which dates from 1796, had fallen into oblivion. Modern science had thus to begin anew, and it began by dismissing, first, certain prejudices which had taken hold of most minds.

One of these prejudices was to believe that the warm gases contained in the cavities of the bird's body and its quills render it lighter than an equal volume of air. Everyone can, however, calculate how insignificant the effect of that warm air must be;[42] and everyone knows that a bird which has been wounded on the wing falls at once to the ground. This prejudice could easily be discarded; but another, as to the immense force which the bird is supposed to develop during its flight, is much more difficult to get rid of. No amount of evidence, borrowed from what everyone can verify by dissecting the muscles of a bird, or by observing the ease with which it flies, could overthrow that very common error, supported by the most fallacious calculations of a French mathematician made in the early part of this century.[43] It took Professor S. Langley in America nearly four years of careful experiments to show how erroneous were both those calculations and the data upon which they were based.[44] Now we can at last take it as granted that, although the energy spent by birds in sustaining themselves in the air varies a great deal according to their shapes and manners of flight, it is less than one $\frac{1}{100}$th to $\frac{2}{100}$ths of one horse-power for each 2 lb. of body weight. And, as art has already succeeded in producing small prime motors whose weight does not exceed 10 lb. per horse-power, one sees at once that the problem to be solved by the flying-machine offers no mechanical impossibility, provided we learn to utilise the energy of our motor as well as the birds utilise their forces.

The next step to be made is, accordingly, to learn from the birds how best to utilise the force of a motor, and therefore to study the mechanical details of birds' flight. Science has done this well, and we have already most excellent guides for this part of the problem in the works of the Duke of Argyll, Mr. Pettigrew, Mouillard, and the fundamental work of Marey (*Le Vol des Oiseaux*), in which last all such problems have been treated with the aid of instantaneous photo-

[41] *Schriften der Berliner Gesellschaft der Naturfreunde*, Bd. ii. 1781–1784.

[42] Its effect can counteract but $\frac{1}{50000}$th part of the weight of the bird (Marey, *Le Vol des Oiseaux*, p. 287).

[43] Navier (*Mémoires de l'Institut*, ii. 1829) maintained that in order to sustain itself in the air a swallow spends a force of one-seventeenth of a horse-power. Langley found that force fifty times smaller. Even the calculations of Babinet, a supporter of aviation, were quite erroneous, as shown by Marey (*Le Vol des Oiseaux*, p. 328).

[44] S. P. Langley, in *Smithsonian Contributions to Knowledge*, 1891, p. 801; and *American Journal of Science*, November 1891. Also Lord Rayleigh's discussion of the same in *Nature*, December 3, 1891 (xlv. 108), where indications to the works of Mr. Wenham and Mr. W. Froude will be found.

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graphs, taken at intervals of small fractions of a second, not t
speak of many others, each of which contains some valuable in
formation.[45] It would be impossible to describe here in a few word
and without the aid of drawings, the admirable mechanism by whic
the bird drives the air with its wings (rigid at the front edge an
flexible at the back), compresses it, and has only to progress forwar
in order to sustain itself in the air in spite of the action of gravita
tion. This must be read in the above-named works and seen o
Marey's photographs. But what must be said is, that a continuou
rotatory movement being more advantageous in a machine than
mechanism which would be an imitation of the flapping of the wing
the best form to be given to a screw-propeller which has to act in th
air was indicated by such investigations. It was found already b
Leonardo da Vinci, and worked out by Cayley in 1796. It has bee
lately studied experimentally by several physicists, meteorologist
and inventors—all experiments proving the considerable liftin
powers of a screw-propeller in the air. And we have now a direc
proof of these powers in Maxim's machine. His propeller, whic
rotates in a medium having such a small density as air has, com
municates nevertheless to the heavy machine, with its moto
aeroplane, and a dozen passengers, a horizontal speed of nearly fort
miles in the hour. Half the problem is thus solved, because, as sha
presently be shown, a great horizontal speed is the first condition
aviation.

We all know, indeed, that most birds, before they can rise in th
air, must acquire a certain horizontal speed. Many good flyers ca
be kept prisoners in an open small yard surrounded by walls twent
feet high, or even on a small open pond surrounded by low bu
grassy shores, upon which the bird cannot take the necessary run.
But once a bird has acquired this speed—and it mostly acquires
by running against the wind—it flies with a wonderful ease; i
spread wings and its speed sustain it. Once in motion, the swallo
and many other birds will fly any amount of time, hardly using
all their wings for flapping.

These observations, supported by a number of theoretical i

[45] The chapter devoted by the Duke of Argyll, in his *Reign of Law* (first editio
1866), to the flight of birds is a masterly work, based upon his and his fathe
observations, and imbued with a thorough knowledge of Nature. The sa
qualities will be found in the more exhaustive works of Mr. Pettigrew (*Animal Lo
motion . . . with a Dissertation on Aeronautics*, London, 1873) and Mouillard (*L'Emp
de l'Air: Essai d'Ornithologie appliquée à l'Aviation*, Paris, 1881); while the lar
work of Marey (*Physiologie de la Locomotion Le Vol des Oiseaux*, Paris, 1890, whi
must not be confounded with his earlier work) is an exhaustive treatise, based up
observations made with the aid of chronophotography. Some of the earlier works a
already named. See also Lilienthal's *Der Vogelflug als Grundlage der Fliegekun*
Berlin, 1889; T. d'Esterno, *Du Vol des Oiseaux*, Paris, 1864; Goupil, *La locomoti
aérienne*, Charleville, 1884, &c., each of which contains valuable observations.

[46] Mouillard (*L'empire de l'air*) has made the experiment with *Procellaria*.

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vestigations by Wenham, Froude, Langley, and others, into the resistance of the air, naturally suggested to inventors the idea of the 'aeroplane'—that is, of a thin rigid surface, inclined by very few degrees (not more than five) to the horizon, and moving horizontally, edge forward. The particles of air which strike the surface under a certain angle spend part of their energies in lifting it, and this lifting power, as foreseen by experimenters and lately supported theoretically by Lord Kelvin, is very much greater than was supposed.[47] A great number of experiments have already been made to measure the lifting powers of different surfaces placed under different angles of inclination and moving at different speeds, especially by Professor Langley; but if there remain some doubts as to the correctness of the result, Maxim's machine should dispel them. Those who have travelled on its platform unanimously maintain that it hardly touches the ground when it is launched at a speed of nearly forty miles, and that, were it not prevented from rising, it would do so, as soon as its speed, or the aggregate surface of its aeroplanes were slightly increased.

To be lifted in the air, and to move in it in a horizontal direction, is, however, one part only of the problem. The other is to maintain equilibrium, which is continually modified by the continually changing pressure of air upon the different parts of the aeroplane or the superposed smaller aeroplanes. The bird feels the changes of pressure on its wings, and gently alters their position, in the same way as the bicyclist feels the slight alterations of equilibrium and changes accordingly the relative positions of his two wheels. But a flying-machine must accomplish this automatically; and before this is achieved, some better acquaintance with the minute details of the art of flying will necessarily be required. This is what gives an especial interest to the flights which Otto Lilienthal has performed in Germany.[48] He adjusts to his body a pair of moderate-sized concave wings, and after having taken a run down a gently sloping hill, always against the wind, he is soon lifted in the air. Floating at a certain height over the ground, against the wind, he glides down a gently sloping line without ever attempting to flap with the wings, and he lands some 100 to 300 yards (occasionally, 500 yards) from the spot where he left the ground. Of course, this is not flight properly speaking, but, as foreseen by Lord Rayleigh in 1883, it is through such experiments that we may learn the technics of flying and steering. Through them we learn also a good deal about the lifting force

[47] *Nature*, August 30, 1894. Of course, there is a certain relation between the area of the surface and the weight it has to support. In large birds, a surface of wings 10½ square feet easily supports a weight of 18 lb. A concave surface, as shown by Lilienthal, supports a greater weight than a plane surface of equal area.

[48] See his work on the subject, his later papers in the *Zeitschrift für Luftschiffahrt* Dr. A. Dubois Reymond's account to the Berlin Academy (December 15, 1893), and the accounts given in *Nature* (vol. l.) and the aeronautic papers.

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of the wind. Thus, during one of his experiments, Lilienthal was caught by a gust of stronger wind, and instead of being thrown backwards by it, or being overturned (this last was prevented by a timely manœuvre of the feet), he was *lifted* to a higher level than the spot where he left the ground. He simply received an object-lesson in soaring.[49] It is known, indeed, that when a fresh breeze is blowing, many big birds, after having reached a level of from 200 to 300 feet by means of strokes of their wings, remain almost motionless in the strong breeze, and by simply changing the inclination of their wings and the direction of their gliding they gradually rise to the level of 2,000 and 3,000 feet, as they describe their great spirals. Rising in the air, without spending any muscular effort, certainly sounds like a paradox; but the best naturalists, including Audubon and Darwin, are unanimous in testifying that in such flight the birds do not flap their wings; they even do not move the feathers of their wings; and it now appears certain, after a long discussion has run through the papers on the subject and exhaustive experiments have been made, that no such movement is needed in reality. The bird, gliding against the wind, is lifted by it and rises to a higher level, in the same way as Lilienthal was thrown upwards against his own will; and it takes advantage of the thus gained height for gliding down a slightly inclined line and for acquiring velocity, which permits it again, after it has turned against the wind, to win in height. But still these manœuvres did not well explain how the bird could gradually rise to a higher level, and some uncertainty continued to prevail about the matter.

The key to the puzzle (foreseen by Lord Raleigh as early as 1883,[50] and indicated by Mouillard) was finally given this year by Professor Langley, again on the basis of physical experiments, in which the American physicist is known to excel. The explanation is in the 'waves and gushes' of which every wind consists. Wind, we now learn, is not what it is usually considered to be. It is not 'a mass of air in motion,' but consists of small masses moving with such irregularities of speed as we never suspected before. By means of very light paper anemometers, the rotations of which were measured every second instead of every minute, Professor Langley ascertained that the velocity of wind is continually changing. It varies every second, and while the average velocity may be twenty-three miles, it will, in the course of one minute, be altered several times, from twenty-three miles to thirty-three miles, back to twenty-three, then

[49] The diagram of this case is given in the *Zeitschrift für Luftschiffahrt*, 1893, ii. 259.

[50] He remarked in *Nature* (xxvii. 535), at the end of a long discussion which had run through the paper, that *wind is not uniform*, and he inquired 'whether anything can be made of the difference of horizontal velocities which we know to exist at different levels.' Leonardo da Vinci was also very near to this solution. He also explained the rising of the bird by the 'waves and gushes' in the air.

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to thirty-six, then fall to zero, and so on. So that a heavy bird which glides with a certain velocity through the air can constantly utilise the gushes of the wind to be lifted, without ever using its wings for flapping. It has, as Professor Langley shows by direct experiments upon floating surfaces, merely to change the inclination of its wings in order to win in height, and then to spend part of the potential energy in acquiring velocity,[51] all this with the judgment which it derives from its experience of the medium it lives in. The differential energy of the gushes supplies the necessary energy for lifting the bird. These considerations explain why birds succeed with so little or no effort in rising to great heights, or in covering immense distances. They do what the boatman does when he takes advantage of a gust of wind to progress under sail. They may be said to take tacks, but in a vertical direction.

The above sketch can only convey a very faint idea of the rich body of data upon which scientific investigation bases its conclusions as to the full possibility of aerial navigation by means of a machine which is heavier than air. All the elements of the problem are being settled one after the other by experiments and calculations, and the points in which the aid of the mathematician is especially required are indicated. The data are there, and what is wanted is the creative inspiration to utilise these data. And in this direction, the machine of Mr. Maxim, the very successful models of Mr. Hargrave, worked by small steam-engines,[52] and the flying experiments of Lilienthal, are important steps already made. The solution thus seems to lie now within a measurable distance from our own times—unless a wind of reaction, such as has already blown twice in the past, comes to throw again into oblivion all that has been done up to this date.

P. KROPOTKIN.

[51] S. P. Langley, 'The Inner Work of Wind,' in *American Journal of Science*, 1894, 3rd series, xlvii. 41.

[52] *Journal and Proceedings of the Royal Society of New South Wales*, 1892, xxvi. 170, and 1893, xxvii. 75

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TO A BABY KINSWOMAN

Love, whose light thrills heaven and earth,
Smiles and weeps upon thy birth,
Child, whose mother's love-lit eyes
Watch thee but from Paradise.
Sweetest sight that earth can give,
Sweetest light of eyes that live,
Ours must needs, for hope withdrawn,
Hail with tears thy soft spring dawn.
Light of hope whose star hath set,
Light of love whose sun lives yet,
Holier, happier, heavenlier love
Breathes about thee, burns above,
Surely, sweet, than ours can be,
Shed from eyes we may not see,
Though thine own may see them shine
Night and day, perchance, on thine.
Sun and moon that lighten earth
Seem not fit to bless thy birth:
Scarce the very stars we know
Here seem bright enough to show
Whence in unimagined skies
Glows the vigil of such eyes.
Theirs whose heart is as a sea
Swoln with sorrowing love of thee
Fain would share with thine the sight
Seen alone of babes aright,
Watched of eyes more sweet than flowers
Sleeping or awake: but ours

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Can but deem or dream or guess
Thee not wholly motherless.
Might they see or might they know
What nor faith nor hope may show,
We whose hearts yearn toward thee now
Then were blest and wise as thou.
Had we half thy knowledge,—had
Love such wisdom,—grief were glad,
Surely, lit by grace of thee;
Life were sweet as death may be.
Now the law that lies on men
Bids us mourn our dead: but then
Heaven and life and earth and death,
Quickened as by God's own breath,
All were turned from sorrow and strife:
Earth and death were heaven and life.
All too far are then and now
Sundered: none may be as thou.
Yet this grace is ours—a sign
Of that goodlier grace of thine,
Sweet, and thine alone—to see
Heaven, and heaven's own love, in thee.
Bless them, then, whose eyes caress
Thee, as only thou canst bless.
Comfort, faith, assurance, love,
Shine around us, brood above,
Fear grows hope, and hope grows wise,
Thrilled and lit by children's eyes.
Yet in ours the tears unshed,
Child, for hope that death leaves dead,
Needs must burn and tremble; thou
Knowest not, seest not, why nor how,
More than we know whence or why
Comes on babes that laugh and lie
Half asleep, in sweet-lipped scorn,
Light of smiles outlightening morn,

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Whence enkindled as is earth
By the dawn's less radiant birth
All the body soft and sweet
Smiles on us from face to feet
When the rose-red hands would fain
Reach the rose-red feet in vain.
Eyes and hands that worship thee
Watch and tend, adore and see
All these heavenly sights, and give
Thanks to see and love and live.
Yet, of all that hold thee dear,
Sweet, the dearest smiles not here.
Thine alone is now the grace,
Haply, still to see her face;
Thine, thine only now the sight
Whence we dream thine own takes light.
Yet, though faith and hope live blind,
Yet they live in heart and mind
Strong and keen as truth may be:
Yet, though blind as grief were we
Inly for a weeping-while,
Sorrow's self before thy smile
Smiles and softens, knowing that yet,
Far from us though heaven be set,
Love, bowed down for thee to bless,
Dares not call thee motherless.

ALGERNON CHARLES SWINBURNE.

May 1894.

The Editor of THE NINETEENTH CENTURY *cannot undertake to return unaccepted MSS.*

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